THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Accounts of Time,

To the DEATH of the

Late Queen *ANNE.*

VOL. III.

Beginning with the Reign of King *James* I. and ending with that of King *Charles* II.

LONDON,

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KING IAMES THE I.ST

THE REIGN OF K. *JAMES* the First.

WE are now arriv'd at a very remarkable Period of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, namely, the Addition of the antient Kingdom of *Scotland* to that of *England*; which Conjunction of the two Kingdoms was in the Perſon of *James* the ſixth of *Scotland*. He was deſcended from King *Henry* the ſeventh, by *Margaret* his eldeſt Daughter, who was marry'd to *James* the fourth, King of *Scotland*, and by him had *James* the fifth, whoſe only Daughter, Queen *Mary*, was Mother to the preſent King. Being nominated by Queen *Elizabeth*, on her Death-Bed, for her Succeſſor, he was, on her Demiſe, proclaimed King of *England*, &c. in the thirty-ſeventh Year of his Age, having been King of *Scotland* from his very Infancy, his Mother being dethron'd to make room for his Acceſſion to that Crown.

An. 1603. 1 Jac. I.

K. *James* proclaimed.

The firſt News of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death was brought him by Sir *Robert Cary*, with the greateſt Expedition, tho without Orders; but preſently after the Lords of the Council diſpatch'd Sir *Charles Piercy*

Has Notice of the Queen's Death.

An. 1603. and Mr. *Thomas Somerset*, with a Letter, signifying, that they had proclaimed him, and humbly desiring him to repair into *England* with all speed: And these were soon follow'd by Sir *Thomas Lake*, Clerk of the Signet, who was sent to inform his Majesty in what Posture the Affairs of the Nation stood. And truly Queen *Elizabeth* had left him a Kingdom in very prosperous Circumstances, in Peace both at home and abroad; a Country potent at Sea, and flourishing in Trade, a Crown without any Incumbrance, a People rich and free, a great Treasure in the *Exchequer*; and what admirably conduces to these great Blessings, a wise and prudent Council. And well had it been if King *James*, by pursuing the wise Methods of his great Predecessor, had secur'd this Felicity to his People: But it was far otherwise; for from his first Accession to the Crown, the Reputation of *England* began sensibly to sink; and two Kingdoms which had made each of them a-part a considerable Figure in the World, now when united under one King, fell short of the Reputation which the least of them had in former Ages.

State of the Nation at that Time.

King's Progress from Scotland.

To return, King *James* having receiv'd the hearty Invitation of his new Subjects, on the fifth of *April*, set out with a noble Attendance from *Edinburgh*, and on the seventh arriv'd at *Berwick*. In all his Journey thro the North he was follow'd by vast Companies of People with loud Acclamations and Applauses, which were so great, that a *Scotchman* in the Company said bluntly, *This People will spoil a gud King*. As he was every where entertain'd in a royal manner, and receiv'd with rich Presents, so he carried himself with great Affability; and very freely distributed his Favours, in most Places discharging all Prisoners who were not confin'd for Treason or Murder. He staid three Days at *Newcastle*, where he heard the Bishop of *Durham* preach on *Sunday*; and the Inhabitants were so overjoy'd at his coming, that during his Stay they bore all the Charge of his Household. When he came near the City of *York*, his Train encreased to a great Multitude; whereupon he caused an Inhibition to be publish'd to restrain the People from following him: which was generally imputed to his Desire of enjoying his Recreations without Interruption, he being mightily addicted to hunting, which he practis'd as

as he went along. On the twenty-first Day of the Month he arriv'd at *Newark* upon *Trent*, where a Cut-purſe being taken in the Fact, was by the King's Warrant alone hang'd, without any formal Trial. On the twenty-ſeventh he came to *Hinchinbrook* by *Huntingdon*, a Houſe of Sir *Oliver Cromwell's*, where he was ſolemnly met by the Heads of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; and as he paſſed thro *Godmanchester*, the Bailiffs of the Town preſented him with ſeventy Team of Horſes, all trac'd to fair new Ploughs; and told his Majeſty, 'That it was the antient Cuſ-'tom ſo to do, when any King of *England* paſſed 'thro their Town, by which they held their Lands 'as Tenants to the King,' On the ſecond of *May* he remov'd to *Brosbourn*, a Houſe of Sir *Henry Cook's*, where he was met by the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Admiral, and divers other Lords of the Kingdom. The next Day he arriv'd at *Theobalds*, Secretary *Cecil's* Houſe, where all the Lords of the Privy-Council preſented themſelves, and the Lord-Keeper made a ſolemn Oration: and there he made ſeveral Noblemen of *Scotland* of his Privy-Council; as alſo the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Henry Howard*, the one the Brother, and the other the Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who would have married the Queen his Mother, but became a great Sufferer for her: This gave great hopes to the Popiſh Party, one of the foreſaid Lords being a known, and the other a reputed Papiſt. On *Saturday* the ſeventh of *May* he rode towards *London*, being met on the Road by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, who by their Orator made him an eloquent Speech; and then with a numerous and ſplendid Train he was conducted to the *Charter-Houſe*, where he ſtaid four Days, and promiſcuouſly created eighty Knights, who were followed by a hundred more not many Days after. Thus his whole Journey laſted above a Month; and ſoon after his Arrival at *London*, he made fourteen new Serjeants at Law, and four new *Engliſh* Lords, namely, Sir *Robert Cecil*, Baron of *Eſindon*; Sir *Robert Sidney*, Baron of *Penhurſt*; Sir *William Knolls*, Baron of *Greys*; and Sir *Edward Wotton*, Baron of *Marley*: and not long after, the Lord *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Northampton*; and *Thomas Sackville*, 1 Jac. I.

An. 1603. Lord *Buckhurſt*, Earl of *Dorſet*. The King being thus ſafely arriv'd, ſoon diſpatch'd ſeveral Lords and Ladies to conduct his Queen and Children into *England*, who being met on the Way by the King himſelf, in few Weeks alſo came ſafe to *London*.

Ambaſſadors from foreign Princes.

The Inclinations of foreign Princes towards King *James*, for ſome Time, was uncertain; till the Beginning of *June*, there came firſt an Ambaſſador from the Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*; ſoon after, another from the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*; then another from the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*; another from the King of *Spain*; a fifth from the State of *Venice*; a ſixth from the Duke of *Tuſcany*; and laſtly, Monſieur *de Roſny*, from the King of *France*; all congratulating his Acceſſion to the *Engliſh* Throne: For the more ſolemn Reception of which Ambaſſadors, and all others for the future, he inſtituted a new Officer by the Name of *Maſter of the Ceremonies*. In the ſame Month alſo he ſent the Earl of *Rutland* Ambaſſador to his Brother-in-law the King of *Denmark*, to preſent him with the honourable Order of the Garter; upon which Employment he ſhortly after ſent the Lord *Spencer* to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*.

Tirone brought from *Ireland*.

About this Time the Lord *Montjoy* returning out of *Ireland*, brought with him the old *Iriſh* Rebel *Tirone*, who was not only pardon'd, but had all outward Civilities ſhewn him, and a Proclamation was made that none ſhould ſhew him the leaſt Diſreſpect. The Lord *Montjoy*, at his coming over, was ſworn of the King's Privy Council; and as a Reward of his good Services, was created Earl of *Devonſhire*. And thus having given way to new Creations, they ſoon after broke in like a Deluge upon the Nation.

New Honours conferred.

His Majeſty now holding a ſolemn Feaſt at *Windſor*, Prince *Henry*, with ſome others, was inſtalled Knight of the Garter: After which Preparations were made for the King's Coronation, which was preceded by many new Creations. Sir *Thomas Egerton* was made Baron of *Elſmere*; Sir *William Ruſſel* Baron of *Thornaugh*; Sir *Henry Gray*, Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harrington*, Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Danvers*, Baron of *Dantſey*; Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Baron of *Gerrard Bromley* in *Staffordſhire*; and Sir *Robert Spencer*, Ba-

Baron of *Wormleyton*. But theſe Creations were but as an Eſſay; for they afterwards grew ſo numerous, that ſome waggiſh Fellow paſted up a Paſquil in St. *Paul's*, wherein he pretended an Art to help weak Memories to a competent Knowledge of the Names of the Nobility. 1 Jac. t.

The appointed Day for the King's Coronation now came on, which was the twenty fifth of *July*, being St. *James's* Day; when the King and Queen were both ſolemnly crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, in preſence of the Nobility and others, *viz.* the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and twelve principal Citizens admitted to attend on them. All other Citizens were ſtopp'd from paſſing either by Land or Water; and ſoon after, all Suitors were by Proclamation forbidden to repair to the Court till the Winter following, by reaſon of the Plague, which rag'd ſo much, that this Year in *London* there dy'd above thirty thouſand of that Diſtemper. King and Queen crown'd.

Some Days before the Coronation, *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, *George Brook* his Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham*, Knights; *Bartholomew Brooksby* and *Anthony Copley*, Gentlemen; *William Watſon* and *William Clarke*, Popiſh Prieſts, were all taken up on Suſpicion of Treaſon; and on the fourth of *November* following, were remov'd from the Tower by ſtrong Guards, and arraign'd at *Wincheſter*; where the Term was order'd to be kept by reaſon of the Peſtilence then raging at *London*. Their Indictment lay for conſpiring to kill the King, to raiſe Rebellion, to alter Religion, to ſubvert the State, and to procure a foreign Invaſion. Several things being alledg'd againſt them for the Proof of all theſe Particulars, what was chiefly reply'd in mitigation of theſe Crimes was, Firſt, *That theſe things could not be Treaſon, becauſe the King was not yet crown'd*; and ſecondly, *That the Whole was but a verbal Matter, and never took effect, therefore it could not be Treaſon.* But theſe Aſſertions being both refuted by the Court, they were all, but Sir *Edward Parham*, found guilty of High-Treaſon, and Sentence paſs'd upon them accordingly. In purſuance of which Sentence, the two Prieſts were executed at *Wincheſter* on the twenty ninth of *November*; and *George* Traitors apprehended.

An. 1603. *Brook* was beheaded on the fifth of *December*: after which, the King was pleas'd to shew Mercy, and pardon'd the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Griffith Markham*; which Pardon he order'd to be deliver'd after their several Confessions, at the very point of their Execution: But notwithstanding, they were carried back to the Tower, where the Lord *Grey* not long after died. Sir *Griffith Markham*, after some time, was set at liberty, and retired beyond Sea, where he liv'd long in a very mean Condition. The Lord *Cobham* likewise was discharg'd from his Imprisonment, but depriv'd of his Estate, living many Years in great Penury and Misery. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was confin'd several Years in the Tower, where he spent his time to very good purpose, in writing one of the most valuable Histories in the World. This Conspiracy put on such a face, that few or none could discover, or know what to make of it: The Whole of it has been look'd upon as a State-Trick to weaken a Faction; and Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Part in particular is acknowledg'd by all the Historians and Writers of that time, to have been a Riddle of State, and altogether mysterious. 'Tis certain that the Foundation of this excellent Person's Misfortunes, was his great Opposition to the Earl of *Essex*, King *James* never heartily forgiving any of *Essex*'s Enemies.

A Censure upon the Conspiracy.

1604. 2 Jac. I. The King being now settled in his Throne, began to turn his Thoughts towards the Affairs of Religion in his Kingdom. He found two very disagreeing Parties in the Church, the high Episcopal Party, and the Puritans, as they then call'd some pious and good Men, who were sollicitous for a further and more clear Reformation. Both these Parties were very active to attain their own ends, the Bishops opposing that Reformation which the others were zealous of. Hereupon his Majesty appointed a Conference to be held at *Hampton-Court*, in order to bring their Disputes and Debates to some Issue; where, when some of the chief of the contending Parties were met before the King, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewstubs*, and Mr. *Chadderton*, Men eminent in Learning and Piety, and much esteem'd of the People, did desire, in the name of the rest of their Party, *That the Doc-*

Conference at *Hampton-Court*.

trine

trine of the Church might be preſerv'd in Purity; That good and faithful Paſtors might be fix'd in all Churches; That Church-Government might be ſincerely adminiſtred; That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more Increaſe of Godlineſs. And then deſcending more to Particulars, they inſiſted on the Biſhops Power of Confirmation, which they would have every Miniſter capable of in his own Pariſh: They diſputed againſt the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Ring in Marriage, the Surplice, the Oath *ex Officio*, and other things that ſtuck with them; which they hoped to get all purged away. The King himſelf anſwer'd moſt of their Arguments and Demands, ſometimes mildly and gently, where he found Ingenuity; at other times roughly, telling them theſe Oppoſitions proceeded more from ſtubborneſs in Opinion, than tenderneſs of Conſcience: and ſo betwixt his Arguments and kingly Authority, menaced them to a Conformity; which prov'd a Way of ſilencing them for the preſent, and ſome of them were content to acquieſce for the future. The King manag'd this Diſcourſe with ſuch power, and was ſo ready and expert at all points, that he rais'd great Admiration in his Hearers: The Lord Chancellor *Egerton* ſaid, *That he had often heard*, that a King was a mixt Perſon with a Prieſt, *but never found it verify'd till that Day*: And Archbiſhop *Whitgift* went further, and ſaid, *He was verily perſuaded that the King ſpoke by the Spirit of God.* This Conference, tho pretended for the Satisfaction of both Parties, was really nothing but a Blind to introduce Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*; all the *Scotch* Noblemen then at Court being deſign'd to be preſent, and others, both Noblemen and Miniſters, being call'd up from *Scotland* to aſſiſt at it, by the King's Letter. Soon after this noted Conference, good Archbiſhop *Whitgift* died, and was ſucceeded by *Bancroft*, tho with another Spirit; for what *Whitgift* ſtrove to do with Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs, *Bancroft* carried on with Rigour and Severity.

2 Jac. I.

ABp. *Whitgift's* Death.

At this time alſo ſeveral important Matters were projected, tho after-times brought them to perfection; among the reſt was his Majeſty's Order for a new Tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures: to which pious end, three ſelect Companies, from *London* and the two

Orders for a Tranſlation of the Bible.

An. 1604. two Universities, being employ'd, after long Conference, much Reading, and diligent comparing of former Translations, it was publish'd, and to this day continues in use. About the same time, Jesuits flock'd into *England* in great numbers; and the King perceiving that their near Approaches put his Person and Religion in danger, he issued out a Proclamation, commanding all Priests and Jesuits to depart out of the Kingdom. This did somewhat allay the Heat and Hopes of them and their Correspondents, but it made way for more dark and secret Contrivances, which they afterwards put in practice. Soon after, another Proclamation came out for Uniformity in Religion, as by Law establish'd, to reduce those to conformity, who had not receiv'd Satisfaction at the late Conference: Which Proclamation was follow'd by others, against Monopolies, Salt-Petre Men, Purveyors, Cart-Takers, and other insolent Offices.

Proclamation against Jesuits.

For Uniformity in Religion.

This Year the fifth of *August* was commanded to be kept holy, in memory of the King's Deliverance from the *Gowries* Conspiracy; which Conspiracy being so very improbable in it self, and attended with so many inconsistent Circumstances, was not believ'd in *Scotland* at the time it was said to have been attempted: For King *James* having immediately thereupon issued out a Proclamation for a Day of publick Thanksgiving, several Ministers, and some of them his own Chaplains, refused flatly to observe it, and chose rather to lose their Livings, and be sent to Prison, than *to mock God*, (to use their own Words) in giving him Thanks for what they believ'd never was.

Fifth of *August* made a Holy-day.

The King went abroad first privately, to visit some of his Houses, for naturally he lov'd not to be gaz'd on; and those Formalities which set a Lustre upon Princes in the People's Eye, were burdensome to him. His private Recreations at home, and hunting Diversions abroad, were his greatest Delight. During his stay in the Tower, in order to pass thro the City in State, he took great Pleasure in baiting of Lions: and the first Parliament being to meet on the nineteenth of *March*, he with his Queen and Prince *Henry*, four Days before, rode from the Tower to *White-hall*, having his Eyes tir'd with the Pageants

King rides thro *London* in State.

and

and Splendor of the City, and his Ears cloy'd with the Compliments and Applauſes of the People. He bore all this indeed patiently, as he did afterwards his triumphal Riding to the Parliament, as not expecting to meet with the like again; but afterwards, in his publick Appearances, eſpecially in his Sports, the Acceſſes of the People made him ſo impatient, that he often diſpers'd them with Frowns, and ſometimes with Curſes. 2 Jac. I.

At the opening of the Parliament, the King entertain'd them with a very prolix and extraordinary Speech, containing great Variety, both as to the Matter and Method of it. Several Paſſages in it gave a general Satisfaction; but ſome things he ſaid concerning Religion, were not ſo univerſally reliſh'd. The *Romaniſts* were diſpleas'd at his ſaying, *They were unſufferable in the Kingdom, as long as they held the Pope to be their ſpiritual Head, and to have power to dethrone Kings:* And the Separatiſts (as the King call'd them) were offended at his declaring, *That if the Papiſts would lay aſide King-killing, and ſome other groſs Errors, he would be content to meet them half way.* So that every one grounded his Hopes, or his Fears, upon the Shallows of his own Fancy, not knowing yet what Courſe the King would ſteer. But in general, the Parliament applauded the King, and admiring his Abilities, made a Recognition of his Title to the Crown of *England*, to which they oblig'd themſelves, their Heirs and Poſterity. First Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

One of the King's main Deſigns, was to have an entire Union between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland:* Accordingly the Parliament paſs'd an Act to authorize certain Commiſſioners to manage and effect it. In order to promote this Work, the King caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd King of *Great-Britain*, and the Names of *England* and *Scotland* to be diſcontinu'd; the *Scotch* Coins were made current, and the *Engliſh* Ships had St. *George*'s and St. *Andrew*'s Croſſes quarter'd together in their Flags. But all theſe Deſigns did not take effect, as afterwards appear'd. The Parliament having ſat almoſt three Months, was prorogu'd, after the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons had made a long Speech, anſwerable to that made before by the King. A Union deſign'd between *England* and *Scotland*.

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An. 1604. Peace with *Spain.*

These things being transacted at home, his Majesty began to turn his thoughts abroad; and forasmuch as in the Capacity of King of *England*, he was at enmity with the *Spanish* Monarch, being very desirous of the Title *Pacificus*, he consented to a Treaty of lasting Peace and Amity. In which Treaty, the Commissioners for the King of *England* were the Earls of *Dorset*, *Nottingham*, *Devonshire* and *Northampton*, and Secretary *Cecil*, lately made Viscount *Cranburn*; those for the King of *Spain* were the Constable of *Castile*, the Earl of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Robidius*, Professor of Law; and those for the Arch-Duke, were the Count *de Aremberg*, *Richardot*, President of the Privy-Council, and *Werreiken*, principal Secretary. By these a Peace was concluded, consisting of many Articles, very advantageous to the *Spaniard*, and said to be purchas'd by *Spanish* Gold. The Treaty being finish'd, the King of *Spain*, besides the Constable of *Castile*, sent *la Sierra*, his Great Chamberlain, accompany'd with several Marquesses, Earls and Barons, to take the Oath of the King of *England* on this Occasion. In like manner, the Earl of *Nottingham*, Admiral of *England*, was sent into *Spain*, to take the Oath of the *Spanish* King: He had a very splendid Retinue of *English*, who were the more admir'd by the *Spaniards*, by how much the Jesuits had made impressions in the vulgar Opinion, That since the *English* left the *Roman* Religion, they were transform'd into strange horrid Shapes, with Heads and Tails like Beasts and Monsters. Before the full conclusion of this Peace, the strong Town of *Ostend*, after above three Years Siege, and the Deaths of above a hundred and twenty thousand Men on both sides, was taken by the Marquess *Spinola*, for which he was highly honour'd by the King of *Spain*.

1605. 3 Jac. I.

New Promotions.

About this time, many new Honours were conferr'd: *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, the King's second Son, then but four Years of Age, was, with unusual Pomp and Solemnity, created Duke of *York*. Afterwards the King made Secretary *Cecil*, and Viscount *Cranburn*, Earl of *Salisbury*; *Thomas Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*, Earl of *Exeter*; Sir *Philip Herbert*, Earl of *Montgomery*; *Robert Sidney*, Baron of *Penshurst* and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, Viscoun

count *Liſle*; Sir *John Stanhope*, Vice-Chamberlain to the King, Lord *Stanhope* of *Harrington*; Sir *George Carew*, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundel*, Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*; and Mr. *William Cavendiſh*, Lord *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick*. Not long after, on the fifteenth of *June*, one *Thomas Dowglaſs*, a *Scothman*, was committed to the Tower, for counterfeiting the King's Privy-Seal to ſeveral Princes of *Germany*; of which being convicted, he was hang'd and quarter'd in *Smithfield*. On the twenty ſeventh of *Auguſt*, the King and Queen viſited the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where they were entertain'd according to the Dignity of their Perſons. 3 Jac. I. *Dowglaſs* executed.

Whilſt all things ſeem'd to go ſmooth and well, there was on a ſudden diſcover'd the blackeſt and moſt horrid Conſpiracy that ever could enter into the Heart of Man. The Papiſts were very reſtleſs and uneaſy, and inflam'd with an implacable Zeal againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion and Religion. This put them upon contriving one of the moſt horrible and ſtupendous Miſchiefs that ever could be invented, in order to overturn the whole Conſtitution: Their Malice would not be ſatisfied with the Blood Royal, but the Nobility and Gentry, the repreſentative Body of the whole Kingdom, united at *Weſtminſter*, muſt be ſhatter'd in pieces and deſtroy'd at once. This had its riſe in the latter end of the laſt Reign, when Pope *Clement* the Eighth publiſh'd his bold *Breves* in *England*, to exclude the King of *Scotland* from the Succeſſion. The principal Author of this helliſh Conſpiracy, was *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of a plentiful Eſtate, who firſt contriv'd the Plot, and drew in to his aſſiſtance *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Winter*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Grant*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, *John Wright*, *Francis Treſham*, Sir *Everard Digby*, and others, Gentlemen of good Eſtates, for the moſt part, and all zealous Promoters of the Catholick Cauſe. Five of theſe meeting together behind St. *Clement*'s Church, and conſidering by what means they might retrieve their ſinking Cauſe, *Percy* preſently propos'd the killing of the King; but *Catesby* replied, *That if it ſhould ſucceed, the Catholick Cauſe would be no better, while the Prince and Duke of* York *were alive; and if they were removed, ſtill the Counſellors, Nobility,* Gunpowder Plot. The Conſpirators.

An. 1605. *Nobility, Judges, Knights, and many others would remain, ſufficient to croſs all their Purpoſes: Therefore he had thought of a ſafer and more effectual Way, which was, at one Time, and with one ſingle Blow, to cut off all their Enemies, by blowing up the Parliament-Houſe with Gun-powder, at the very Moment the King and the Eſtates of the Realm were aſſembled.* This was readily approv'd by all; but firſt it was deem'd requiſite to ask the Opinion of their ghoſtly Fathers, *Henry Garnet*, *Oſwald Teſmond*, and *John Gerard* Jeſuits; who being adviſ'd with, commended the Undertaking, aſſuring them, *They might proceed with a good Conſcience and perform the Deed, ſince the Deſign was againſt Hereticks.*

They take an Oath of Secrecy.

Being thus ſatisfied, for their greater ſecurity, they proceeded to take an Oath of Secrecy, ſwearing to each other, *By the ſacred Trinity, and the bleſſed Sacrament, which they were then going to receive, that neither directly nor indirectly, by Words or Circumſtances, they would diſcover the Purpoſe they had taken to any whomſoever, nor would deſiſt from performing the ſame, without leave from their Aſſociates.* This done, *Percy* was appointed to hire a Houſe cloſe adjoining to the upper Houſe of Parliament, for their more ſafe and ſecret working of their Mine deſign'd for the Powder: Which being obtain'd, and one *Guy Fawks*, a deſperate Ruffian, appointed to be the Man, about *Chriſtmas*, in the Year 1604, they began their Work with great Labour and Difficulty, in digging thro a vaſt thick Wall; and had ſeveral Intermiſſions, by reaſon of the Prorogation of the Parliament from the ſeventh of *February* to the third of *October*, and then to the fifth of *November*. About *Candlemas* they had almoſt wrought their Mine thro the Wall, when ſuddenly they heard a Noiſe in the next Room, which threw them into a great Conſternation; but ſending *Guy Fawks* to find out the occaſion, he brought word, that it was a Cellar where Sea-Coals had been laid, which were now under Sale, andthe Room offer'd to be let for a yearly Rent. This Room being directly under the Parliament-Houſe, was immediately hir'd by Mr. *Percy*, who brought thirty ſix Barrels of Gun-powder from *Lambeth* in the Night, and placing them

They hire the Cellar under the Parliament-Houſe.

them in this Cellar, cover'd them over with great Quantities of Sea-Coal, Billets, and Faggots. 3 Jac. I.

The firſt Part of the Plot being thus carried on, it now remain'd to conſider what was to be done when the fatal Blow ſhould be given. *Percy* undertook to ſecure the Duke of *York*; and for ſurprizing the Lady *Elizabeth*, they agreed upon a Hunting-Match at *Dunſmore-Heath*, where under Colour of Sport they might draw People together, and ſecure her at the Lord *Harrington*'s Houſe in *Warwickſhire*, where ſhe then reſided, As to Money and Horſes, *Digby* made offer of fifteen hundred Pounds, *Treſham* of two hundred, and *Percy* promiſed to bring all he could gather from *Northumberland* Rents, which he thought would amount to four thouſand Pounds, and to provide ten Horſes for his Share. Then they agreed to ſave as many Catholicks from going to the Houſe as they could with Conveniency. Next it was determin'd, that no foreign Princes ſhould be acquainted with their Deſign; but for Aid after the Work was done, they might have Time to apply themſelves to *France*, *Spain*, or *Flanders*. Laſtly, they reſolv'd to proclaim the Lady *Elizabeth* Queen; to which Purpoſe they had a Proclamation form'd, in which no mention was made of altering Religion, becauſe they wanted ſufficient Forces; and till they could ſufficiently ſtrengthen their Party, they would not acknowledge the Fact to be theirs, but endeavour to charge it on the Puritans. Further Conſultations.

Thus all things were concerted, and ſeem'd to promiſe Succeſs to the Conſpirators, when about ten Days before the Meeting of the Parliament, the Lord *Monteagle* was ſurpriz'd with a Letter from an unknown Perſon to this Effect: *My Lord, out of the Love I bear to ſome of your Friends, I have a Care of your Preſervation; therefore I would wiſh you, as you tender your Life, to forbear your Attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurr'd to puniſh the Wickedneſs of this Time: And think not ſlightly of this Advertiſement; for tho there be no Appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay they ſhall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurt them. This Counſel is not to be contemn'd, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the Danger is paſt as ſoon as you have* Plot diſcover'd.

An. 1605. *have burnt this Letter. I hope God will give you Grace to make use of it, to whose holy Protection I commend you.* The Lord *Monteagle* astonish'd at this Letter, (tho he understood it not) thinking there might be something in it of dangerous Concern, communicated it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and some others of the King's Council. *Salisbury* could not find out the Riddle; but concluded him either a Fool or a Madman that wrote it. The King was at this Time hunting at *Royston*; and as soon as he came to *Whitehall*, the Earl of *Salisbury* shew'd him the Letter, who considering it circumspectly, said, *This is no Madman's Writing*; and concluded that by the Expression, *They shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet shall not see who hurt them*, some sudden Danger was meant, such as blowing up by Powder. Hereupon the Day before the Parliament was to meet, he commanded the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord-Chamberlain, to make a strict Search about the Parliament-House; who, accompanied by the Lord *Monteagle*, enter'd the Cellar under the House, which he found stuffed with Billets, Faggots, and Coal; and close by in a Corner of the Cellar stood *Fawks*, with a ghastly Aspect, who being question'd, said he was *Percy*'s Servant. The Lord-Chamberlain would make no stir at that Time, but left all things as he found them, taking no further Notice; but apprehended just Cause to have the Cellars further search'd. The King with his Council advising what to do, resolv'd on a further Search that Night, committing the Trust to Sir *Thomas Knevet*, a Man of approv'd Fidelity; who with a Retinue suitable to such an Enterprize, coming to the Cellar about Midnight, met *Fawks* at the Door, in a Cloak and Boots, on whom he presently seiz'd; and searching him found about him a Watch, a dark Lanthorn, and three Matches, and other Instruments for putting his wicked Design in execution at the exact Juncture of Time. On a further Search they detected the whole Contrivance, having found thirty-six Barrels of Gun-powder under the Billets. *Fawks* seeing all discover'd, confess'd the Design, and was only sorry it came not to perfection, saying, *God would have conceal'd it, and the Devil only discover'd it.* Being examin'd by the Lords of the Council, he could

could have little drawn from him, only he ſaid again, he was ſorry it was not done. But the reſt of the Conſpirators reveal'd themſelves, for they preſently march'd to *Dunſmore* to the hunting Match, breaking open ſome Stables in *London*, and taking out divers Horſes of Noblemen, that were put into Riders Hands to manage, thinking to make a great Party: But the High-Sheriffs of *Warwickſhire* and *Worceſterſhire* purſued them ſo, that they were forc'd to betake themſelves to *Littleton*'s Houſe at *Halbach*; where *Percy* and *Catesby* deſperately ſallying out, were both ſlain; as were alſo *John Wright*, and *Chriſtopher Wright*: *Thomas Winter*, and the reſt were taken, and committed to the Tower of *London*. 3 Jac. I. Conſpirators taken.

Thus far the Gun-powder Plot, which, as to the Manner of its Diſcovery, has ſomething myſterious in it to this Day. The Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*, that pretended to diſcover it, ſeems to be only a Contrivance of King *James*; and 'tis very probable he had ſome Notice of it before from *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, thro the means of Monſieur *de Rhony*, afterwards Duke of *Sully*. Cenſure upon its Diſcovery.

The King met his Parliament upon *Saturday* the ninth of *November*, and made a long and remarkable Speech to them; in which having aggravated the Danger by many Circumſtances, and as much magnified the Mercy of God in the Deliverance, when he mention'd the Trial and Puniſhment of the Offenders, he was obſerv'd to retain an excellent Temper in his Diſcourſe, wiſhing that no innocent Perſon, either domeſtick or foreign, might thereby receive any hurt. Having finiſhed his Speech, without further Buſineſs, he prorogued the Parliament to the twenty firſt Day of *January* next. Second Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

This prodigious Contrivance did not only amaze the whole Kingdom, but foreign Princes made their Wonderment alſo: And though, for the Propagation of the Catholick Cauſe, they might have Conſcience enough to wiſh it had taken effect, yet they had Policy enough to congratulate the Diſcovery; and ſome of them to take off all Suſpicion, ſweetned their Expreſſions with many rich Gifts and Preſents to the King and Queen. And now his Majeſty was not unmindful of the Lord *Monteagle*, but as a Reward An. 1606.

An. 1605. of his good Service, gave to him and his Heirs for ever, two hundred Pounds a year in fee Farm Rents, and five hundred Pounds a year besides, during his Life.

Third Session of the first Parliament.

On the twenty first Day of *January* the Parliament met again; and six Days after, a Commission was directed to several Lords and Judges of both Benches, for the Trial of the several Conspirators, who were all fairly convicted and condemned to die; and accordingly on the *Thursday* following, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Grant* and *Bates*, were drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd at the West-End of St. *Paul's*: And on the next Day *Thomas Winter*, *Keys*, *Rookwood*, and *Fawks* were in the same manner executed in the Parliament-Yard at *Westminster*. Not long after *Henry Garnet*, Provincial of the *English* Jesuits, was arraign'd at *Guild-hall*, for concealing and promoting the foresaid Treason; and being condemn'd, he was drawn from the Tower to the West End of St. *Paul's*, and there hang'd and quarter'd. At his Death he acknowledg'd his Crime, begg'd Forgiveness, and exhorted all Catholicks never to attempt any Treason against the King or State, as a Method to which God would never give Success. Besides these who were executed, some others were brought into Trouble: *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton*, not coming to the Parliament according to their Writ of Summons, were suspected to have Knowledge of the Conspiracy; and so was the Earl of *Northumberland* from some Presumptions: and all three were committed to the Tower. The two Barons, after some Imprisonment, were redeem'd by Fine in the *Star-Chamber*; but the Earl continued a Prisoner there for many Years after.

Conspirators executed.

Rumour of the King's Death.

While the Parliament was sitting, a Rumour was spread (by what means unknown) that the King was stabb'd at *Okingham* (where he was hunting) with a poison'd Knife. The Court, the Parliament, and City presently took the Alarm: The Court-Gates were immediately shut, and double Guards were set in all Places about the City, and all Mens Minds were confounded and distracted. In the midst of this Agony there came Assurance of the King's Safety, which he was constrain'd to divulge by

by Proclamation, to re-eſtabliſh the People: And that Afternoon he came himſelf to *Whitehall*, where great Multitudes, tranſported with Joy, came flocking to ſee him. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador gave Sir *Lewis Lewknor*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, a gold Chain of great Value, for bringing him the News of the King's Safety. 1 Jac. I.

Before the Parliament broke up, with Hearts full of Affection for God's gracious Deliverance of the whole Kingdom, they made an Act to have the fifth of *November* for ever ſolemniz'd with publick Thankſgiving; imputing the Diſcovery of the Treaſon to God's inſpiring the King with a divine Spirit to interpret ſome dark Phraſes of the Letter, above and beyond all ordinary Conſtruction. They attainted the Blood of thoſe Traytors who were executed, as alſo thoſe who were ſlain in the Field, or died in Priſon. They made many Laws for the diſcovering and ſuppreſſing of Popiſh Recuſants: And gave the King three entire Subſidies, and ſix fifteenths; beſides four Subſidies of four Shillings in the Pound, granted by the Clergy. Fifth of *Nov.* made a Holy Day.

In *July* this Year, *Chriſtianus*, King of *Denmark*, the Queen's Brother, came in Perſon as a Viſitor. He was very magnificently entertain'd, and met with all the Variety, that Riches, Power, and Plenty are capable to produce for Satisfaction. Having ſtaid here almoſt a Month, and ſeen Tilting, Fencing, Wreſtling, and many other Exerciſes, he took ſhipping, and in eight Days arriv'd ſafe in *Denmark*. King of *Denmark's* Arrival.

On the eighteenth of *November* the Parliament met again according to Prorogation, when the chief Conſideration was the Union with *Scotland*, which was much urg'd by thoſe who were acquainted with the King's Mind: Among the reſt Sir *Francis Bacon*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor, was a principal Inſtrument, who firſt mov'd the Houſe of Commons, that the *Scots* might be naturaliz'd by Act of Parliament; which was oppos'd by many ſtrong and modeſt Arguments. After ſeveral Debates on both Sides, the King ſent for both Houſes to *Whitehall*, where in a formal Speech he earneſtly preſs'd the Matter to them, and ſaid, 'That as there was but *Unus Rex*, 'ſo there ought to be but *Unus Grex*, and *Una* '*Lex*; and that his Deſign was not, as ſome have Fourth Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

An. 1607. 'talk'd, to give *England* the Labour and Sweat, and 'Scotland the Fruit and Sweet; but he ſought this 'Union only to advance the Greatneſs of the Em-'pire here in *England*, yet with ſuch Cautions as 'might ſtand with the Weal of both States.' He likewiſe gave diſtinct Anſwers to Objections againſt, and the Inconveniencies ariſing from this Union. But all did not ſatisfy the Parliament, who ſtill apprehended the King's Partiality to his Countrymen, and that Damage would proceed from an Union, where the Laws and Government were of different Natures.

Diſturbances in the midland Counties.

About this Time, ſome Diſturbances happen'd in the midland Counties, where many aſſembled together in a riotous and tumultuous Manner, throwing down Incloſures, and committing many Outrages of the like kind. At firſt they were without any particular Head, till at length one *John Reynolds* aroſe, whom they call'd Captain *Pouch*, becauſe he wore a large leather Pouch by his Side, declaring, *That in that he had ſufficient to defend himſelf againſt Oppoſers*; tho it afterwards appear'd to be nothing but a Piece of green Cheeſe. A Proclamation was iſſued out, declaring them Traitors if they perſiſted in their Diſorders: but this had no effect, till the King ſent ſome to ſuppreſs them by Force of Arms, and to puniſh them according to the Nature of their Crimes; which put an End to the Diſturbance.

King made free of the *Clothworkers*.

In the Month of *June* his Majeſty being attended with ſeveral Lords, din'd with the Lord-Mayor, who after Dinner preſented him with a Purſe full of Gold, and humbly beſought him, that he would pleaſe to be free of his Company, the *Cloth-workers*. To which the King graciouſly condeſcended; and thereupon call'd to Sir *William Stone*, Maſter of the Company, and familiarly ſaid, Stone, *Give me thy Hand, I am now a* Cloth-worker, *and in token of my ſpecial Favour to this Society, I do hereby give a Brace of Bucks yearly for ever to this Company, at the Election of the Maſter and Wardens.* In the following Month, the King and Prince, with many Lords, din'd at *Merchant-Taylors* Hall, where the Prince was made free of that Company.

The

An. 1608. 6 Jac. I.

The King being very desirous of effecting the Union, and thinking it would be more easily done if a Beginning was made in *Scotland*, call'd a Parliament in that Kingdom. But after all his Endeavours, by means of the Suspicions of the *English*, and the Stiffness of the *Scotch*, the whole Design dropt; and all that was obtain'd from the *English* Parliament was, That the Laws of Hostility, antiently made between *England* and *Scotland*, were repealed: And in the said Act they provided, 'That if a natural-born 'Englishman did commit any Misdemeanour in 'Scotland, and fly into *England*, he should be try'd 'where he was taken, and not carried into *Scotland* 'to receive Sentence there, till such Time as both 'Kingdoms shall be made one in Laws and Govern-'ment.' The Laws made in *Scotland* to the Prejudice of the *English*, were likewise repeal'd. And thus a Way was pav'd for the Accomplishment of that in after-times, which could not now be effected.

Further Attempts for a Union to no purpose.

This Year *George Jervis*, a seminary Priest, and *Thomas Garnet*, a Jesuit, were both executed according to Law at *Tyburn*. The latter had the Favour offer'd to be pardon'd, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance; which he utterly refus'd. About the same Time many famous *English* Pirates, after several Depredations and outrageous Acts at Sea, were suppressed, partly by the King of *Spain*, and partly by the King of *England*; and nineteen of their Associates being taken, were executed at *Wapping*.

Priests and Pirates executed.

The same Year the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord High-Treasurer, died suddenly, as he sat at the Council-Table, and was succeeded in Office by the Earl of *Salisbury*, a Courtier, and bred up to Policy from his Infancy; to whose Outside tho Nature was not propitious, he being crook-back'd, she supply'd that Defect with admirable Endowments of Mind. The Earl of *Northampton* was likewise made Lord Privy-Seal: And upon the Shoulders of these two the King laid the chief Burden of his Affairs. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made Lord-Chamberlain before; but he came far behind in the Management of the King's Concerns, being fitter to compose the Differences of a Court than a Kingdom.

Earl of *Dorset's* Death.

An. 1609.

Treaty between *Spain* and *Holland.*

About this Time the King joining with *Henry* the fourth of *France*, undertook a Mediation between the King of *Spain* and the confederate States of *Holland*, and brought them to a Treaty of Amity, in which the States were acknowledg'd free and independent; and this after a bloody Conteſt of above forty Years. Tho this Treaty prov'd of great Conſequence, yet King *James*'s Part in it was as mean, as that of the King of *France* was glorious; for beſides ſeveral uncommon Condeſcenſions to the *French* in the Perſons of his Ambaſſadors, which made Foreigners think meanly of his Government, he was tax'd with being inſincere in the Treaty which he appear'd to encourage. What Opinion the *French* Miniſters had of his Conduct in this Affair, appears from the printed Negotiations of *Jeannin*, the chief Agent of *France*, who wrote to his Maſter, *That King* James *was never hearty in the Treaty, but had all along condemn'd the* Hollanders *for throwing off the Sovereignty of* Spain, *upon the account of its bad Example.* King *Henry*, in Anſwer to the ſaid Letter, own'd his Knowledge of that King's ill Intentions towards the States, and withal told *Jeannin*, *That his Carriage did not break his Sleep*; and concluded with this contemptuous Expreſſion, *I know his Capacity, and the Inclinations of his Subjects.*

New-Exchange built.

At this Time the Suburbs betwixt *London* and *Weſtminſter* had many ruinous Piles of Building, which Age had worn out, and Induſtry and Riches did ſtrive to renew. Among the reſt, the Lord-Treaſurer erected out of the Rubbiſh of the old Stables of *Durham* Houſe, a goodly Fabrick to be Rival to the *Old Exchange*, which the King dignify'd with the Name of *Britain*'s Burſe; afterwards call'd the *New-Exchange*. But with mature Deliberation of his Council, he forbad all new Buildings to be ſet up for the future within two Miles of the City; and by Proclamation ſtrictly commanded, if any were, they ſhould be pulled down, tho not taken notice of till ſeven Years afterwards: Which, whatever was pretended as a Reaſon, was, in the Opinion of moſt Writers, deſign'd to bring in Money to ſome Favourites.

New Buildings prohibited.

Prince

An. 1610. 8 Jac. I.

Prince *Henry* being now about ſixteen Years old, began to ſhew himſelf in a more heroick manner than was uſual with Princes of his Time, by Tiltings, Barriers, and other martial Exerciſes; which made him highly admir'd and extoll'd by the People. The King now thought him ripe for the Honour of Knighthood: in order to which, according to an antient Cuſtom, his Majeſty receiv'd an Aid of his Subjects throughout *England*. Not long after, he created him Prince of *Wales* after a very ſolemn manner. And now it was thought fit that he ſhould keep his Court by himſelf; and thereupon all Officers were aſſign'd him belonging to the Court of a Prince, which was kept at St. *James*'s. In all things he ſhew'd himſelf ſo ripe for Majeſty, that he ſeem'd to be a King when he was but a Prince; and all Men began to fix their Eyes upon him as the great Hopes of the Nation.

Prince *Henry* made Prince of *Wales*.

This Year was fatal to *Henry* the Great of *France*, who, in the height of his Glory, was ſtabb'd by one *Ravillac* in the open Streets of *Paris*. When he came firſt to the Crown, he was a profeſſed Proteſtant, being ſo born and bred up; but finding himſelf in a tottering Condition among his Popiſh Subjects, for his better Security he did ſomewhat comply with them in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; which gave great Scandal to the Reformed, and did not much advance him in the good Opinion of their Oppoſers: for the Jeſuits being unconfident of him, one of their Inſtruments, ſome time before this fatal Blow, ſtabb'd him into the Mouth with a Knife, tho without much hurt. Hereupon an Intimate of his told him plainly, *That the hand of God was much ſeen in this Action; for he had now denied the Truths of God but with his Mouth, and therefore this Puniſhment came to him as a Warning: But let him take heed of denying it with his Heart, for if he did (it is to be fear'd) God would ſtrike him there alſo.* Which did but too plainly appear, for he was now ſtabb'd to the Heart. The News of this Blow preſently reach'd *England*; whereupon the King iſſu'd out a Proclamation, ſtrictly commanding all Jeſuits and Prieſts to depart the Kingdom, and all Recuſants to repair to their own houſes, and not come within ten Miles of the Court: And to ſecure all the reſt of his Subjects, he caus'd them to take the Oath of Allegiance; which the Parliament, both

Henry the Fourth of *France* murder'd.

Proclamation againſt Jeſuits.

An. 1610. Lords and Commons, (then ſitting) began, and the reſt of the People follow'd, to the King's great Content.

Fifth Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

Before theſe Tranſactions the Parliament having met, continu'd ſitting a great Part of the Year, with leſs Satisfaction to the King than formerly; there wanting not ſome in both Houſes who openly ſaid, *The whole Wealth of* England *was not ſufficient for the King's vaſt Bounty, and therefore it was in vain to give him Money, who would give it away again.* Beſides this, they began to complain of general Grievances, and of the King's Incroachments upon the publick Liberty. To put a ſtop to theſe Oppoſitions, he made a Speech to both Houſes; and in concluſion, obtain'd one Subſidy and a Fifteenth. And after this Parliament had continu'd above ſix Years, it was diſſolv'd upon the laſt Day of *December*.

Parliament diſſolv'd.

1611. 9 Jac. I.

The King at this time liv'd in the Height of his Pleaſures and Expences, keeping two Courts beſides his own; for as Prince *Henry* was Maſter of St. *James's*, ſo the Queen was Miſtreſs of *Somerſet-Houſe*, which ſhe call'd *Denmark-Houſe*, and that Name continu'd during her Life. She had ſeveral great Men to attend her, and the Court was then in a continu'd courſe of Maſquerades, where ſhe and her Ladies often appear'd in ſtrange and various Dreſſes. She had alſo her particular Favourites, as the King had his; for ſhe lov'd the Earl of *Pembroke* the elder Brother, and he the Younger, whom he made Earl of *Montgomery* and Knight of the Garter. But either not finding him ſuitable to his Humour, or viewing another more agreeable Object; his Fancy run violently upon a young Gentleman of no great Parts or Birth, but of a comely Preſence and courtly Addreſs. His Name was *Robert Car*, born near *Edinburgh*, who being lately come from *France*, in a Tournament before the King, by a Fall of his Horſe, broke his Leg. This Accident made the King take notice of him; and hearing that his Name was *Car*, he remembred he had a Page of that Name when he came firſt into *England*, who was found to be the ſame Perſon. The King recollecting himſelf, fix'd his Thoughts upon this Object of Pity, giving Orders to have him lodg'd in the Court, and that his own Phy-

Riſe of *Robert Car*.

Phyſicians and Surgeons ſhould uſe their utmoſt Endeavours for his Recovery. He often viſited him during his Illneſs, diſcourſing with him ſometimes an Hour or more upon ſeveral Subjects; and as ſoon as he recover'd, he made him a Knight, and Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, took the Pains himſelf to teach him the *Latin* Tongue, and laid a foundation by his daily Diſcourſes to prepare him for his moſt endearing Affections. 9 Jac. I.

All Addreſſes were now made to Sir *Robert Car*, who was ſaid to be the Favourite in Ordinary; no Suit nor Reward was manag'd but by his means; his Hand diſtributed Favours, and his Hand reſtrain'd them; and the Lords could ſcarce have a Smile without him: And what greatly contributed to his encreaſing Power, was the Death of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's old Servant, and the Cabinet of his ſecret Councils: ſo that *Car* took them now ſolely into his charge, together with the Office of Lord High-Treaſurer of *Scotland*; the Credit of which carry'd ſome Reputation into his own Country, where it was his fortune to be extoll'd, as well as in *England*. Then further to raiſe this young Favourite, the King created him Baron of *Brand-Spech*, and Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and ſhortly after, Knight of the Garter. Thus he maintain'd his ground againſt all Oppoſers; and Sir *Thomas Overbury* was the Man he moſt particularly honour'd with his Friendſhip and Familiarity. He is a great Favourite. Made Viſcount *Rocheſter*.

Before this, the Earl of *Salisbury* had made an Alliance with the Houſe of *Suffolk*, by marrying his eldeſt Son, the Lord *Cranborn*, to *Katherine* the eldeſt Daughter of that Family; and that Reſentment might not become hereditary, he was a great Inſtrument in marrying the young Earl of *Eſſex* to the Lady *Frances Howard*, another of thoſe Siſters. The Earl of *Eſſex* was then but fourteen Years of Age, and the Lady thirteen; and therefore he was ſent to travel in foreign Countries for ſome time. The Lady in the mean while, being kept by her Mother, and educated in all the bewitching Pleaſures of the Court, and being a very great Beauty, every one admir'd her, and the Prince himſelf diſcover'd his Inclinations by many amorous Glances: But the Lady building more on the An. 1612. Earl of *Eſſex's* unhappy Marriage.

An. 1612. the increaſing Fortunes of *Rocheſter*, the moſt zealous of her Admirers, and inclining more to him, the Prince ſlighted her, as tho he had offer'd his Addreſſes rather out of Envy to the Viſcount, than Love to her. Upon the Return of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Counteſs being alienated from him and violently inclin'd to *Rocheſter*, had a double Task to undergo; firſt to hinder her Husband from enjoying her, and then to ſecure the Viſcount's Affection. In order to effect which impious Deſigns, ſhe conſulted one Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of Phyſick's Widow, who brought to her one *Forman*, a reputed Conjurer, to whom they made their Complaint. He promiſed ſudden help; and to amuſe them, fram'd many little Images of Braſs and Wax, ſome like the Viſcount and Counteſs, whom he muſt unite and ſtrengthen, others like the Earl of *Eſſex*, whom he muſt debilitate and weaken; and then ſupply'd them with philtrous Pouders and ſuch like Drugs. Theſe things being adminiſter'd, the miſerable Woman preſently imagin'd extraordinary Effects; imputing the eager Affections of the Viſcount towards her to the Operation of thoſe Drugs he had taſted, and her Husband's ſeeming Diſregard, occaſion'd by her ſtubborn and unnatural Behaviour, to the wonderful Effects of thoſe unknown Potions and Powders he had taken.

His Lady in love with *Rocheſter*.

Her wicked Practices.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, now ſenſible of his Misfortunes, complain'd to her Father, in hopes of Relief; thro whoſe Importunities and Threats ſhe was prevail'd upon to go into the Country to *Chartley* with her Huſband: where her Diſappointments ſo enrag'd her, that ſhe could ſcarce ſhew him common Civility, and was continually in a melancholy and ſullen Temper. At length ſhe wrote to her wicked Confederates, *That ſhe ſaw little effect produc'd by all the Potions ſhe had given her Husband, for he ſeem'd more eager after her than ever, and ſhe was ſenſible that the Viſcount would never love her, if he knew her Huſband enjoy'd her, whom, with Difficulty, ſhe had yet put off; but how long ſhe ſhould be able to reſiſt his Violence, ſhe knew not: and therefore unleſs they deſign'd to ſee her the moſt miſerable Creature in the World, they ſhould ſpeedily aſſiſt her; and for their Reward they ſhould make their own Price.* And now all the abominable Tricks that could be invented

being

being us'd really to debilitate the Earl, he at laſt ſuf- 10 Jac. I.
fer'd her to take her own Courſe, and the next Win-
ter came up with her to *London*; where ſhe us'd all
the Ornaments that Art and Nature could invent to
inflame the Viſcount's Affections; and her Abſence in-
creaſing his Paſſion, they had many repeated Meet-
ings: Several Perſons fitted for ſuch kind of Offices
were employ'd, and when Nature was exhauſted, new
Spirits were purchas'd at the moſt extravagant Rates,
to rekindle their unlawful Fires.

Thus the Viſcount triumph'd in his Conqueſts; but
as to the Height of the King's Favours, the politick
Miniſter *Salisbury* was ſtill an Obſtacle in his Way:
ſo that he could not arrive to that pitch of Greatneſs
and Power, in his time, that he afterwards obtain'd.
One thing among the reſt, wherein *Salisbury* obſtruc- *Salisbury*
ted him, was in moderating the King's Bounty to diſappoints
him, on this Occaſion: The King had given to *Roche-* *Rocheſter.*
ſter five thouſand Pounds, which this Treaſurer thought
too great a Preſent where there was ſo little Merit;
therefore he laid the Money in Silver upon Tables
in his Gallery at *Salisbury-Houſe*; and having invited
the King to dinner, he made this Room the Paſſage
to his Entertainment. The King ſurpriz'd at the
ſight of ſuch great Heaps of Money, ask'd what it
was for; to whom the Treaſurer reply'd, *That he had
Orders from his Majeſty to give ſo much to the Viſ-
count* Rocheſter. The King, who either careleſly
thought five thouſand Pounds was no more than the
Name of ſo much in *Scotland*, or cunningly perceiving
the Earl's Meaning, ſaid, *It was too much for one
Man*; and made him be contented with leſs than half
the Sum.

But the King was generally very profuſe to his Fa- King's Pro-
vourites; particularly, being on a time in his Gallery fuſeneſs.
at *Whitehall*, with only Sir *Henry Rich*, a young in-
genious Knight, and *James Maxwell*, one of his
Bed-Chamber, ſome Porters paſs'd by with three
thouſand Pounds going to the Privy-Purſe: Sir *Henry*
whiſpering *Maxwell*, the King ask'd what he ſaid;
and being told he wiſh'd he had ſo much Money, he
immediately order'd the Porters to carry it to his
Lodgings, with this Expreſſion, *You think now you
have a great Purchaſe; but I am more delighted to*
think

An. 1612. *think how much I have pleasur'd you in giving this Money, than you can be to receive it.*

Translation of the Body of *Mary* Queen of *Scots.*

And now the King cast his Thoughts towards *Peterborough*, where the Body of his unfortunate Mother lay, which he caus'd to be translated to a magnificent Tomb at *Westminster*; many solemn Ceremonies being perform'd on this occasion, to pay the last Tribute to her Memory. This Year also, on the sixteenth of *October*, the illustrious Prince *Frederick*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, with whom a Treaty of Marriage had been made with the Princess *Elizabeth*, arriv'd at *Gravesend*; to whom the King dispatch'd several Lords, who conducted him to *Whitehall*, and then into the great Banqueting-House; where the King, the Queen, the Prince, and the young Lady her self, entertain'd him in the most obliging manner, and then by Barge conducted him to *Essex-House*, which was appointed for his Reception.

Arrival of *Frederick* Prince *Palatine.*

The Death of Prince *Henry.*

The great Joy of the People for this approaching Marriage was suddenly check'd by the Sickness and Death of that great Delight and Hopes of the Nation and Darling of Mankind, Prince *Henry*, who on the sixth Day of *November* expir'd at the Age of eighteen Years, eight Months, and seventeen Days. Several Passages are related of this excellent Prince, that make much to his Honour: particularly, once when he was hunting the Stag, it happen'd that the Game was kill'd by a Butcher's Dog; at which those about him endeavour'd to incense him against the Butcher, telling him, *That if his Father had been thus interrupted, he would have sworn so that no Man could have endur'd it. Away*, reply'd the Prince, *all the Diversion in the World is not worth one Oath.* The Publick is always apt to impute the Death of Princes of so great Hopes to foul Play, and it was the general Report at that time, that this Prince was poison'd. However it was, there is yet extant a Sermon preach'd at St. *James*'s, upon the Dissolution of his Houshold, that boldly insinuated some such thing; and the violent Contests between him and *Rochester*, and the wicked Practices of that implacable Man, gave strong Presumptions of some unfair Dealing: and whereas his Body was open'd, and the manner of his Death pass'd over by a Certificate from some Court Physicians,

'That

'That his Liver was paler than ordinary, his Gall 10 Jac. I.
'without any Choler in it, his Spleen, Midriff and
'Lungs very black, and his Stomach in no Part of-
'fended;' this ſignified but little either way, there being Poiſons of that ſubtile Nature, that they leave no convincing Marks behind them. On the ſeventh of *December* he was ſolemnly carried in a Hearſe to *Weſtminſter*; where the Pomp of his Funeral was compleated by the People's Lamentations.

On *Shrove-Sunday*, being St. *Valentine*'s-Day, the much deſir'd Marriage between the Prince *Palatine* and the excellent Lady *Elizabeth* was ſolemniz'd after an extraordinary manner in the Chapel at *Whitehall*. The beautiful Bride was publickly led by two Batchelors, her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton*; ſhe being richly adorn'd in White, having a reſplendent Crown of Gold upon her Head, her Hair diſhevel'd down her Back, glorioufly ſhining like a Conſtellation, and her Train ſupported by twelve young Ladies, finely attir'd with all the Emblems of Innocence. The Marriage being celebrated with ſeveral magnificent Maſques, and all things that could be invented being perform'd for the honour of it, on the tenth of *April* the illuſtrious Pair took leave of the King and Queen at *Rocheſter*, and there taking Shipping, arriv'd ſoon after at *Fluſhing*; from whence ſeveral Lords waited on them to their capital City of *Heidelberg*, being receiv'd in all Places as they paſs'd with great Pomp and State. An. 1613. Prince *Frederick* marries the Lady *Elizabeth*.

About this time dy'd that famous Stateſman, the Earl of *Salisbury*, a Perſon of admirable Abilities, and one of whom *Osborn* confeſſes, that with all his Faults he was a Man of incomparable Prudence. Upon his Death, *Rocheſter*, without controul, aſſum'd the whole Adminiſtration of the Government, executed the Place of principal Secretary, receiv'd Pacquets and diſpatch'd Anſwers without the Knowledge of the King or Council; and all done by the Privity, if not Aſſiſtance, of his Confident Sir *Thomas Overbury*. But when that Gentleman underſtood that *Rocheſter* deſign'd to marry the Lady *Eſſex*, he declared freely to him, *That nothing could be more deſtructive to both their growing Hopes, than to lay a Foundation upon ſo much Injuſtice, as to marry another Man's Wife,* Earl of *Salisbury*'s Death. *Rocheſter*'s Greatneſs. *Overbury* reproves him.

An. 1613. *Wife, while her Husband was living*; and therefore earneſtly deſir'd him *To fix his Thoughts upon a more honorable Object, and not upon one whoſe Diſloyalty to her Husband was branded with perpetual Infamy.* This rough Advice was but ill receiv'd by the Viſcount, who thereupon not only withdrew his Friendſhip from *Overbury*, but excited the Fury of the Counteſs againſt him; who being enrag'd, importun'd the Earl of *Northampton*, her Uncle, to vindicate the Honour of their Family; and he joining with the Viſcount, they agreed to take off *Overbury* by Poiſon: which not being eaſy to be done in a publick Way, they contriv'd to exaſperate the King againſt him, and procure him to be impriſon'd; which they accordingly effected.

For which his Life is threatned.

Counteſs of *Eſſex* ſues for a Divorce.

In the mean time the Counteſs endeavour'd to procure a Divorce between her and her Husband, on pretence of his Inability, that ſhe might marry the Viſcount. Hereupon the King granted a Commiſſion under the broad Seal, to ſeveral Biſhops and others, to try the whole Cauſe, who accordingly made their Appearance; but before they proceeded any further, they impanell'd a Jury of twelve diſcreet Matrons to ſearch the Counteſs, whether ſhe was a Maid or not, as ſhe pretended to be in her written Allegations. She, under a Pretence of Modeſty and Shame to paſs under ſuch an Examination, would not expoſe her Face to the Light, but procur'd leave of the Court to appear in a Veil before the Matrons; by which means ſhe had an Opportunity to ſend in a young Girl in her Place, who, in the Opinion of the Jury, paſs'd for a real Virgin.

Obtains it.

Then Articles being drawn up in Form, the good Earl, willing to be freed from ſo horrid a Miſchief, confeſs'd that he had ſeveral Times attempted to enjoy her, but he never did, and believ'd he never ſhould. Upon theſe Grounds the Judges proceeded to a formal Sentence of Divorce and Separation.

The wicked Deſigns againſt the unfortunate Sir *Thomas Overbury*, who was now a Priſoner in the Tower, were ſtill carried on; and two of the Counteſs's Agents, *Forman* and *Greſham*, being dead, ſhe rely'd wholly on the Aſſiſtance of Mrs. *Turner*, who procur'd one *Weſton* to be the Inſtrument to effect their impious Purpoſes. The Lady alſo procur'd Sir *Tho. Munſon* to recommend him to Sir *Jervaſe Elwayes*, Lieutenant of the Tower, that he might recommend him to Sir *Tho. Over-*

Poiſon given to *Overbury*.

Overbury, to be his Attendant; by whoſe means, with the Aſſiſtance of one *Franklin*, and the Connivance of the Lieutenant, ſeveral Potions were adminiſter'd to conſume Nature inſenſibly. But theſe were not quick enough to ſatisfy their Malice; therefore ſtronger Ingredients were infus'd, and given him in his Broths, his Meats, and his Tarts; and his very Salt was uſually mixt with white Mercury. Hereupon the poor Gentleman fell extreamly ſick; and having no Friend that could or durſt viſit him, none to ſupplicate but the inhuman Authors of his Miſery, he, without knowledge of his Diſtemper, languiſh'd both in Body and Mind after an unheard-of manner. 11 Jac. I.

In the mean time the Counteſs being freed from her Husband, triumph'd and ſhin'd above all the Ladies of the Court, and became admir'd by the King, as well as lov'd by *Rocheſter*; who to deſerve ſo valuable a Lady was now created Earl of *Somerſet*. On the twenty ſixth Day of *December* the new Earl and Counteſs were marry'd at *Whitehall*, in the Preſence of the King, Queen, and Prince, and a great Number of the Biſhops and temporal Nobility; which Marriage was celebrated with all imaginable Pomp both in Court and City. *Rocheſter* made Earl of *Somerſet*, and marries the Lady *Eſſex*.

The Noiſe of the Rejoicings for this Marriage reſounding in the cloſeſt Corners, brought the News to *Overbury*; which was but a poor Comfort to him, who was now conſcious to himſelf, that all his Sufferings proceeded from his Oppoſition in this Affair; ſo that he could not ſee the leaſt glimmering of Liberty, when he conſider'd the implacable Nature of the Woman. But yet entertaining ſome ſmall Hopes from the former Friendſhip between the Earl and himſelf, he wrote to him in the midſt of his Glory, to let him know his deplorable Condition, and how much his Health was impair'd, which he imputed to his Recluſeneſs and want of Air; humbly imploring his Aſſiſtance, that he might no longer languiſh under the Preſſure of his Infirmities. *Somerſet* not willing to have him exclaim, made Anſwer, That his Majeſty was now full of great Buſineſs, but he would take the firſt Opportunity to move him for his Deliverance; including in the Letter a white Powder, which he deſir'd him to take, aſſuring him, That tho it made him a little ſick at firſt, An. 1614.

it

An. 1614. it would do him much good in the End. The poor abus'd Gentleman took the Powder, which being of a poiſonous Quality, added to his Miſery; yet was not ſtrong enough to do the Work: But having lain in this diſmal Place above four Months, languiſhing under intolerable Pains, his Enemies being impatient that he held out ſo long, at laſt forc'd Nature ſo with an impoiſon'd Glyſter, compounded by *Franklin*, that within a few Days after he died.

Overbury poiſoned.

Not long after the Earl of *Northampton*, a great Actor in this Tragedy, was ſuddenly ſnatch'd away. He being one of the principal Miniſters of State, and a Papiſt in reality, tho a Proteſtant by Profeſſion, did many Kindneſſes to the Roman Catholicks contrary to Law; and a Letter of his being intercepted, that was directed to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, diſcover'd both his Religion and Intentions. Which things being firſt mutter'd, then urg'd againſt him, they touch'd him to the Heart, ſo that he ſuddenly retir'd, diſpos'd of his Eſtate, and died. His contriving *Overbury*'s Death was yet a Secret; but when it broke out, his Memory was deſervedly loaded with the blackeſt Infamy and Reproach.

Earl of *Northampton*'s Death.

Still the Earl of *Somerſet* met with no Interruption, till by degrees he perceiv'd he muſt a little alter his Courſe, or find ſome new ways to bring in Money. Therefore a new Project was thought of, and now effected, which the Earl of *Salisbury* had formerly advanc'd, upon the occaſion of new Colonies and Plantations to be eſtabliſh'd at *London-Derry* and *Colerain* in *Ireland*. In order to promote this, King *James* inſtituted a new Order of Knights, call'd *Baronets*, in Number two hundred, which were to be hereditary, and to take Place next to Barons younger Sons; and appointed certain Laws to make them capable of being admitted; as, That they ſhould maintain thirty foot Soldiers in *Ireland* for three Years, at the Rate of eight-pence a Day; and to pay down a whole Year's Wages at the paſſing of their Patent, the whole amounting to a thouſand Pound for their Honour.

Firſt Inſtitution of Baronets.

Notwithſtanding this, and other Projects of raiſing the Value of the gold Coin, the King's Expences exceeded his Incomes and Revenues; therefore after four Years Intermiſſion, he reſolv'd to have recourſe

Second Parliament.

to

to a Parliament, which was ſummon'd to meet on the fifth of *April*; and meeting according to their Summons, they were excited to give Money in Conſideration of the King's marrying his Daughter, and his unuſual Entertainments, with other Expences: But the Parliament, inſtead of contributing to the King's Wants, freely laid open his Waſtes, eſpecially thoſe made to the *Scots*, with whom they deſir'd a Share of his Favour; alſo beſeeching his Majeſty to ſtem the Current of the future Acceſs of that Nation to his Preſence and Bounty. They likewiſe enquir'd into the Cauſes of the unexpected Increaſe of Popiſh Recuſants ſince the Gun-powder Plot; and this they found was owing to his Majeſty's Admiſſion of Popiſh Nobility into his Councils, his ſilencing of many watchful and diligent Miniſters, the ſeveral Treaties he had made, not only for the Marriage of the deceaſed Prince *Henry*, but of the preſent Prince *Charles*, with the Daughters of Popiſh Princes: all which diſhearten'd the Proteſtants, and encourag'd the Recuſants. Theſe and many other Miſcarriages in Government being freely laid open, the King, without receiving any Advantage, or paſſing any Act, put a Stop to all by diſſolving the Parliament: After which he committed to the Tower and other Priſons ſuch as were moſt active for the common Good; and then proceeded to the moſt uneaſy of all Aids in *England*, a Benevolence upon the Subject, where thoſe who did not give their Money, were oblig'd to give their Names, which carried a kind of Fright with it: But the moſt knowing Men, like ſo many Pillars to the Kingdom's Liberties, aſſur'd their Neighbours, that theſe kind of Benevolences were againſt Law, Reaſon, and Religion.

12 Jac. I.

'Tis diſſolved.

In the Month of *July* this Year, *Chriſtian* King of *Denmark*, made a ſecond Viſit to his Siſter and King *James*. He travell'd privately and with a ſmall Retinue, ſo that he unexpectedly enter'd *Somerſet-Houſe*, where the Queen reſided, before the Nation had any Knowledge of his Arrival. The King being then in his Progreſs, upon the News of it immediately returned back; and after he had entertain'd him fourteen Days with various Sports and Diverſions, his *Daniſh* Majeſty took his laſt leave and return'd home.

King of *Denmark's* ſecond Arrival.

An. 1615. About this Time the King began to caſt his Eye upon a new Object, one *George Villers*, a younger Son to Sir *George Villers* of *Brookesby* in *Leiceſterſhire*. This hopeful young Gentleman being left by his Father with a ſmall Fortune, his Mother took very great Care in his Education; and to compleat his Accompliſhments ſent him into *France*, where he learnt the Language, and perfected himſelf in the Exerciſes of riding and dancing, which laſt was his Maſter-piece. Being thus qualified, and ſplendidly attir'd, at the Age of twenty-one Years he appear'd in the Court of *England*, after he had been well acquainted with the Nature and Cuſtoms of that of *France*. King *James* was ſoon taken with this pleaſing Object, and firſt made him his Cup-bearer, and then brought him nearer by Degrees, leſt he ſhould too much expoſe him to the Malice of a jealous Competitor. He was Cup-bearer but a few Weeks before he was knighted; and without any other Qualification was made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and then Knight of the Order of the Garter: and in a ſhort Time, had many more Honours and Titles confer'd on him.

Riſe of George Villers.

Somerſet declines.

Theſe accumulated Favours render'd him very formidable to the Earl of *Somerſet*, who as he began to decline, became more ſenſible of the Terrors ariſing from the innocent Blood of *Overbury*; therefore he was as vigorous to preſerve himſelf, as his Enemies were to ruin him. But not long after, what had been privately mutter'd in Corners, reſounded openly in the Streets: For the Apothecary's Boy, who gave *Overbury* the Glyſter, falling ſick at *Fluſhing*, diſcover'd the whole Matter, which Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary of State, gave a full Relation of by his Correſpondent; and a ſmall Breach being thus made, *Somerſet* had Enemies enough to ruſh in and overwhelm him. The King being inform'd of theſe things, ſent for the Judges, and gave them ſtrict Charge to examine the Matter with the utmoſt Severity, making Imprecations againſt them and their Families, if they did not endeavour to diſcover it; *and if he ſpar'd any that was guilty, he wiſh'd God's Curſe might light upon him and his Poſterity.* Then he repair'd to *Royſton*, and took *Somerſet* along with him, whoſe Ears were now continually diſturb'd with freſh Reports and Diſcoveries; but

Overbury's Murder diſcover'd.

but he ſtill thought himſelf too ſecure in the King's Favour to be remov'd: Therefore being ſent for by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, he made open Complaint to the King, reputing it an extraordinary Preſumption; but the King made Anſwer, *Thou muſt go then, for if Coke ſends for me I muſt go too.* Before he arriv'd at *London*, his Counteſs was apprehended, and committed to Cuſtody in *Black-Friars*; and as ſoon as he came, he was ſeiz'd, and committed to the Charge of Dr. *Mountain*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*: And the Offenders of an inferior Rank having been before apprehended, were try'd, convicted, and condemn'd, and not long after executed according to their Demerit. 13 Jac. I.

Somerſet and his Counteſs apprehended.

After the inferior Criminals were executed, the Earl of *Somerſet* and his Counteſs were ſolemnly arraign'd before their Peers; when all the ſcandalous Letters between the Lady and *Forman* were read in open Court, and the wax and brazen Images were publickly expos'd. They were both condemn'd to die, but found Mercy of the King, notwithſtanding his former Imprecation; and after ſome Time of Impriſonment in the Tower, were ſet at Liberty, and liv'd in an obſcure Condition, ſhewing, that no Happineſs can be truly eſtabliſh'd but on the Foundation of Juſtice: For that Love which caus'd them to break thro all Reaſon, became at length ſo languid that it quite pin'd away, and they liv'd long after in the ſame Houſe as Strangers to each other. She died firſt, in ſuch a manner as carried in it the viſible Marks of divine Vengeance, her Diſeaſe being attended with ſuch loathſome Circumſtances as were directly oppoſite to all the fatal Charms of her former Beauty. The Earl liv'd to an old Age, and at laſt died obſcurely, without Fame and without Poſterity. An. 1616.

They are condemn'd to die, but pardon'd.

Their Exits.

In theſe Times of Peace, the chief Care of King *James* was for his only Son *Charles*, now about ſeventeen Years of Age, whom this Year he made Prince of *Wales*. The principal Part of his Care was to find a proper Match for him, his Deſire being to marry him to one of the higheſt Rank, tho of a different Religion: About this he was ſo intent, that for almoſt all the latter Part of his Reign it over-rul'd all his Counſels, and led him to very diſhonourable Meaſures in many Reſpects. There had been a Treaty of Marriage between

Prince *Charles* made Prince of *Wales*.

An. 1616. the late Prince *Henry* and a Daughter of *Spain*; which on the Part of the *Spaniard* was found to be no more than a Compliment. Therefore after the Death of that Prince, the King ſet his Thoughts on a Daughter of *Henry* the fourth, late King of *France*, as the moſt fit Match for his Son *Charles*; but the Lord *Hayes*, Ambaſſador there, found the Duke of *Savoy* beforehand, who had prevail'd for his Son the Prince of *Piedmont*, tho the *French* diſſembled it.

His Father's Deſign of marrying him.

Whilſt this Affair was negotiating with *France*, the Duke of *Lerma* frequently intimated to Sir *John Digby*, Ambaſſador in *Spain*, his Maſter's Diſpoſition to match his ſecond Daughter with the Prince of *Wales*: But it being ſtrongly reported that the Match with *France* was concluded, the Buſineſs ſlept, till Sir *John Digby*'s Return to *England*; from whence he writ to the Duke, 'That there was no Cauſe of De-'ſpair, unleſs the Difficulty of the Conditions render'd 'it deſperate:' And at his Return into *Spain*, it was agreed between them, 'That the Difficulties ſhould 'be digeſted into certain Heads, and ſelect Perſons 'appointed for a Conference, (the two Kings not be-'ing as yet to appear in it:)' And that of Religion being thought the only Difficulty of Moment, it was propos'd to the Cardinal of *Toledo*, the King's Confeſſor, and Father *Frederick*, a Jeſuit. Having proceeded thus far, *Digby* advis'd the King his Maſter, not to ſuffer his other Deſigns to be retarded by this Overture, which might be a mere Device to ſtagger the *French* Treaty, and to keep his Majeſty from declaring himſelf againſt *Spain*, in the Affairs of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; and therefore he deſir'd no formal Commiſſion to treat, but only Inſtructions for his Direction and Warrant.

Spaniſh Treaty.

Theſe remote Proceedings made way for that ſlow-pac'd Treaty of many Years Continuance, which rather than break, the King of *England* would grant all things poſſible, being impatient in diſſembling his own Eagerneſs. The Affair was chiefly manag'd by the famous *Gondomar*, a Man exactly fram'd for the purpoſe, who by applying himſelf in a facetious manner to the King's Humour, had greatly captivated his Affections. And now the King endeavour'd to remove all Impediments to his darling Deſign, and ſtudied all ways to make himſelf acceptable to *Spain*: The *Engliſh* Navy

lay

lay unarm'd, leſt it ſhould cauſe Suſpicion in that King: *Fluſhing*, *Ramakins*, and *Brill*, Towns which were the Keys of the *Netherlands*, and were held by way of Caution, were deliver'd up to the *Dutch* by King *James*, to prevent Propoſals from the *Spaniard* who claimed them. By which means the *Engliſh* Intereſt in that State was very much weaken'd, and the Strangeneſs between us and the *United Provinces* increaſed. 14 Jac. I.

Before theſe Tranſactions, ſeveral Alterations were made in the Miniſtry. Sir *Edward Coke* was diſcharged from his Place of Lord Chief Juſtice, and within two Days Sir *Henry Montague*, the King's Serjeant at Law, was put in his room. About the ſame Time the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, weary with Employment, and weaken'd with Age, deſir'd the King's Leave to retire; upon which the Seal and Place was given to the famous Sir *Francis Bacon*, the Attorney-General. Time and Age had alſo worn out Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the King's able and faithful Secretary; who dying, Sir *Robert Naunton*, and Sir *George Calvert* were made Secretaries. But the greateſt Remove was the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord Treaſurer, who began to ſink upon *Somerſet*'s Fall: and now both his and his Wife's Extortions and Briberies being diſcover'd, he not only loſt his Place, which was given to Sir *Henry Montague*, but was alſo fin'd thirty thouſand Pounds. Several Alterations in the Miniſtry.

The King had not ſeen his native Country *Scotland*, ſince he firſt left it, whereupon he reſolv'd to take a Progreſs thither, ſetting out in the Spring, and warming the Country as he went with the Glories of the Court. His Paſſage was ſlow, in which the Days were generally ſhorten'd with the Diverſions of Hawking, Hunting, and Horſe-racing; and the Nights lengthen'd by the Entertainments of Feaſting, Maſking, and Dancing. And the King had fit Inſtruments for theſe Sports about his Perſon, as Sir *George Goring*, Sir *Edward Zouch*, Sir *John Fennit*, and others; but chiefly his great Favourite *Villers*, who being an excellent Dancer, brought that Paſtime into the greateſt Requeſt. The King enter'd *Scotland* in the Beginning of *May*, where he ſtaid about three Months, and took ſeveral Progreſſes, An. 1617. King's Progreſs to *Scotland*.

An. 1617. This Year the King put out a Book, call'd *The Book of Sports*, that gave Toleration for the Exercise of all common Pastimes after Evening Prayers on *Sundays*; which all Ministers were enjoin'd to read to their Parishioners in the Churches, and those who refus'd, were summon'd into the High-Commission Court, imprison'd, and suspended: all which gave great Offence to many pious Persons, and was one Cause of the many Mischiefs in the succeeding Reign. And as Profaneness crept in on one Side, so Superstition increased on the other, by the means of new Swarms of *Romish* Priests, who now dealt much in pretended Miracles. One Company of them repair'd to *Staffordshire*, among the Family of the *Giffords*, Gentlemen of plentiful Estates, where they practis'd their subtle Tricks to seduce the People. Among which there was a notorious Instance of the Boy of *Bilson*, who pretended to be bewitch'd and possess'd by the Devil: But after he had plaid many strange Pranks, and caus'd a poor Woman to be condemn'd for a Witch at the Assizes, the Imposture was by much Time and Industry detected by Dr. *Morton*, Bishop of the Diocese, who happily sav'd an innocent Woman from Death, exposed the *Roman* Forgeries, and converted a wicked Boy, who afterwards prov'd a good Man.

Book of Sports.

Boy of *Bilson*.

The Fate of the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh* now came on apace; of whom Prince *Henry* us'd to say, *That no King but his Father would have kept such a Man in a Cage*. He had been almost two Years releas'd out of the Tower, where he had been a Prisoner twelve Years: And being now enlarg'd, and desirous of Action and a full Liberty, he propos'd to the King to undertake a Voyage to *America*, upon a particular Assurance from one Captain *Kemish*, of gaining a Mine of Gold in *Guiana*, a Country which he had formerly known. The King looking on him to be a Man of Skill and Bravery, gave him a Commission to fit out Men and Ships for that Service. But he having acquainted his Majesty with the Number of his Men, the Strength of his Ships, and the Country and River he was to enter, (being commanded upon his Allegiance so to do) all was discover'd to *Gondomar*, and Intelligence sent into *Spain* and the *Indies*, before *Raleigh* was got out of the *Thames*. This render'd the Action unsuccessful; and the *Spaniards*

Sir *Walter Raleigh* undertakes a Voyage to *America*.

He is betray'd.

niards at St. *Thomas*, oppoſing his Paſſage up the River, he ſack'd and burnt the Town: Which News coming to *Gondomar*, he violently ſet upon the timorous King, and demanded Reparation. The King diſavowed the whole Action; and *Raleigh* at his landing at *Plimouth* was ſeiz'd, brought to *London* and recommitted to the Tower; from whence he attempted to make his eſcape, but was taken upon the *Thames*, and more cloſely committed. *Gondomar* prov'd an Adverſary too powerful for him, ſo that at length his Life was offer'd up as a Sacrifice to *Spain*, but not upon ſuch grounds as that Ambaſſador had deſign'd: For he deſir'd a Judgment upon the pretended Breach of Peace; but the late Voyage was not ſo much as brought into queſtion, only his former Condemnation was now reviv'd: his Arraignment at *Wincheſter* fifteen Years before, was laid before him at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, where it was demanded of him, *Why Execution ſhould not paſs upon him, according to the Sentence therein pronounc'd.* Sir *Walter* courageouſly anſwer'd, *That he was reſtor'd by the King's late Commiſſion, which gave him new Life and Vigour; for he that has Power over the Lives of others, muſt neceſſarily be Maſter of his own.* This moſt reaſonable Plea was by no means admitted by the Court; therefore he deſir'd that ſome Time might be allow'd him to prepare for Death: but it was anſwer'd, *That the Time appointed was the next Morning, and it was not to be doubted but that he had long ſince prepar'd himſelf for Death.*

An. 1618. 16 Jac. I.

At his return is committed to the Tower.

His former Sentence reviv'd.

The next Day, to the deep Concern of many worthy Perſons, he was brought to a Scaffold purpoſely erected in the *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, where, with a brave Conſtancy and Chriſtian Courage, he loſt his Head in the ſixty ſixth Year of his Age: at which Stroke ſuch Abundance of Blood iſſu'd from his Veins, as ſhew'd he had a ſufficient Stock to have continu'd many Years, if it had not been taken away by the hands of Violence. This was the fatal End of the great Sir *Walter Raleigh*, highly in favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake* the great Scourge and Terror of the *Spaniards*; a Man of extraordinary Bravery and admirable Abilities, who in his excellent Writings has nobly trac'd the Steps of Divine Provi-

He is beheaded.

An. 1618. dence and Vengeance in the Falls of great Men, yet after all could not eſcape himſelf.

King *James* ſeem'd now totally wedded to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, or at leaſt, fully reſolv'd to carry his Cauſe in the Marriage of Prince *Charles* with the *Infanta*: Therefore he this Year enter'd into certain Articles with the King of *Spain*; the Sum of which were, 'That the Pope's Diſpenſation ſhould be firſt 'obtain'd by the King of *Spain*: That the Children 'of this Marriage ſhould not be reſtrain'd in the Mat-'ter of Religion, nor their Titles prejudic'd if they 'prov'd Catholicks: That the *Infanta*'s Family, be-'ing Strangers, may be Catholicks, and have a Place 'for divine Service, according to the Uſe of the 'Church of *Rome*, the Eccleſiaſticks wearing their 'proper Habits: That ſhe ſhould have a competent 'Number of Chaplains, a Confeſſor, *&c.* That the 'Marriage ſhould be firſt ſolemniz'd in *Spain*, ac-'cording to the Council of *Trent*, and afterwards in '*England*, ſo as to make it valid there.' The King, in allowing theſe Articles, declar'd he would admit nothing that might blemiſh his Conſcience, or detract from the Religion eſtabliſh'd. But the *Engliſh* People being averſe to the *Spaniards*, and fearing Popery, generally oppos'd the Match; and if any ſpake louder than others, he was ſilenc'd and diſgrac'd: while in *Spain* and *Flanders*, Books and Pictures were publiſh'd to reproach the King and the State; for which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in vain ſought for Satisfaction. The *Engliſh* Papiſts extremely deſir'd the Match, hoping for a Toleration, if not a total Reſtoration of their Religion.

Articles of the *Spaniſh* Match.

King's Zeal againſt Arminianiſm.

At this time alſo, the King was buſily employ'd in Religious Affairs, on occaſion of the ſpreading of the Doctrines of *Arminius* in *Holland*, whoſe Followers were called Remonſtrants. When the States of *Holland* were determin'd to chuſe one *Vorſtius*, the chief of theſe Remonſtrants, to be Divinity-Profeſſor in *Leyden*, King *James* earneſtly ſollicited them, both by his own Letters and by his Ambaſſador Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the ſaid *Vorſtius* to that Employment, *leſt his Doctrines ſhould ſpread themſelves into his Dominions*. The Ambaſſador in the King's Name preſſing the Matter, the States endeavour'd in their Anſwer to juſtify *Vorſtius*; by which

which Anſwer, the King perceiving they thought ſo well of this Man that they would not comply with his Requeſt, he caus'd his Books to be publickly burnt in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, and in both the Univerſities; and again wrote to the States, *That if they did not diſplace him, he would publickly proteſt againſt them.* Sir *Ralph Winwood* repreſented this to the States, and finding them unwilling to proceed againſt *Vorſtius*, he ſeverely remonſtrated againſt them: to which the King finding them only to make dilatory Anſwers, he at laſt exhorted them to call a National Council, to put an end to theſe Controverſies; to which they at length conſented, and held a Synod at *Dort*, whither King *James* ſent Dr. *Carlton*, Biſhop of *Landaff*; Dr. *Hall*, Dean of *Worceſter*; Dr. *Davenant*, Divinity-Profeſſor, and Maſter of *Queens-College* in *Cambridge*; Dr. *Ward*, Maſter of *Sidney-College* in *Cambridge*; and Mr. *Belcanquel*, a *Scotchman* and Batchelor of Divinity: where they met with Divines from the *Palatinate*, *Heſſe*, *Geneva*, *Bern*, *Embden*, and other Provinces; who generally agreed to condemn the Doctrines of *Arminius*, concerning conditional Election and Reprobation, the Univerſality of Redemption, *&c.* 16 Jac. I. Synod at *Dort*.

Not long after, Queen *Anne* dy'd of a Dropſy at *Hampton-Court*, in the forty fifth Year of her Age. She was brought from thence to her Palace in the *Strand*, for the more triumphant Glory of her Obſequies, which were celebrated at *Weſtminſter* about a Month after. Queen *Anne*'s Death.

In the preceding Year, a fiery Contention broke out in *Germany*, between the Proteſtant Princes and the Houſe of *Auſtria*; which involv'd and drew along the Affairs of moſt Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially the Kings of *England* and *Spain*. The King of *Spain* was engag'd by the Catholick Cauſe, and the *Auſtrian* Family; and King *James* by the Religion he profeſs'd, and his Son-in-law the Elector *Palatine*; but his Counſels were wholly govern'd by the unhappy *Spaniſh* Treaty. An. 1619. Stirs in *Germany*.

Theſe Troubles in *Germany* began with the Emperor's crowning his Couſin *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; but with the Reſervation of all Regal Power to himſelf during Life. After this, the

An. 1619. the Proteſtants in *Bohemia* were terribly oppreſs'd, who at that time were very numerous, and had great Power and Authority. The States and Nobles of the Country, ſummoning an Aſſembly to redreſs their Grievances, were oppos'd by ſome of the Emperor's Miniſters of State, the very day of their Meeting; which exaſperated them to ſuch a height of Paſſion, (being back'd by ſome Forces they brought with them for their Security) that they threw *Slabata* the Emperor's Chief-Juſtice, *Smeſanſius* one of the Council of State, and *Fabricius* the Secretary, from a high Window in the Caſtle down into the Court. This raſh Action the *Bohemians* endeavour'd to palliate by Apologies to the Emperor; but withal ſtrengthned themſelves, making Levies both of Horſe and Foot, the better to ſecure their own Peace, and baniſh the Jeſuits out of *Prague*, whoſe malicious and diſtemper'd Zeal firſt kindled the Flame. The Emperor perceiving theſe Diſturbances, rais'd an Army under the Command of Count *Bucquoy*; and the Proteſtant States finding the Emperor exaſperated, rais'd two Armies, one commanded by Count *Thurne*, the other by Count *Mansfeldt*. Some Skirmiſhes paſs'd betwixt the Imperial Army and the *Bohemians*, ſome Towns were taken on both ſides; and in the heat of this Stir the old Emperor died.

King *Ferdinand* now propos'd a Ceſſation of Arms, but it was refus'd. The Evangelicks in the upper *Auſtria* were for uniting with the *Bohemians*; and the Proteſtant States of *Moravia* and *Sileſia* join'd with them, and baniſh'd the Jeſuits. The *Bohemians* proſper'd at firſt, but the *Auſtrian* Party receiv'd new Vigour by Supplies out of *Hungary* and *Flanders*; and the Duke of *Bavaria* levied Forces for them, the Emperor having for his Expence engag'd part of his Country to him. The War daily encreaſing, King *James* interpos'd in theſe Differences, and ſent the Viſcount *Doncaſter* extraordinary Ambaſſador to mediate a Reconciliation. His Love of Peace, his Fears of what the Iſſue might be, and the King of *Spain*'s Requeſt, mov'd him to it; and it was the Policy of *Spain* to make him a Reconciler, thereby to place him in a State of Neutrality: But his Mediation was ſlighted by the Catholick Confederates, and his Ambaſſador ſhuffled out of the

the Buſineſs; and Mr. *Cottington* profeſſed, the beſt Service he could do would be to diſengage the King his Maſter. 17 Jac. I.

After many Struggles, *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and adopted Heir of *Matthias* the late Emperor, was elected King of the *Romans* at *Frankfort*, and afterwards crown'd Emperor of *Germany*. The *Bohemians* diſclaim'd the Election, and choſe Count *Frederick Palatine* of the *Rhine* for their King; who immediately upon his Election, crav'd the Advice of his Father-in-law King *James*, whether he ſhould accept the Royal Dignity. When this important Buſineſs was debated in the King's Council, Archbiſhop *Abbot* wrote a zealous and fervent Letter to the Secretary of State, to urge the King's utmoſt Aſſiſtance in this critical Juncture, which might turn highly to the Advantage of the Proteſtant Cauſe all over *Europe*. Such was the Judgment of the Anti-*Spaniſh* Party; but the King was unfortunately engag'd in thoſe Meaſures, out of which he could not eaſily extricate himſelf: Beſides, he was not pleas'd that his Son-in-law ſhould ſnatch a Crown out of the Fire, and was wont to ſay, *That the* Bohemians *made uſe of him as the Fox did of the Cat's Foot.* In the mean time, before the King could give any Anſwer, the Count *Palatine* was perſuaded by the Proteſtant States to accept of the Election. King *James* diſavow'd the Act, and would never grace his Son-in-law with his new Title; but ſent Sir *Richard Weſton* and Sir *Edward Conway* his Ambaſſadors into *Bohemia* to make up the Breach: And he was ſo concern'd to remove all Suſpicion from his Brother of *Spain* that this Election had been made by his Procurement, that he commanded his Agent *Cottington* to give that King a plenary Account of all Proceedings.

Frederick Prince *Palatine* elected King of *Bohemia*.

Count *Frederick* was no ſooner ſettled in his new Kingdom, but the Emperor publiſh'd a Proſcription againſt him; wherein he proclaim'd him guilty of High-Treaſon, and abſolv'd all his Subjects from their Allegiance. All the Princes and Potentates of the Empire were alarm'd, and began to prepare for War. In *Spain* alſo they made Preparations for the ſame War; but the King of *England* would not take the Alarm, An 1620.

Is proſcrib'd by the Emperor.

An. 1620. Alarm, abhorring War in general, and disliking the *Palatine*'s Cause, as an ill Precedent against Monarchy; and hoping to compose all by the *Spanish* Treaty. For which purpose Sir *Walter Aston* was sent Ambassador into *Spain*, and *Gondomar* return'd into *England*, to continue there till the long debated Match should be concluded. The Articles for Liberty of Conscience to the *Infanta* and her Family were enlarg'd, and allow'd by the King of *England*; who assur'd the King of *Spain*, 'That he had done as 'much for the *Roman* Catholicks as the Times 'would bear, and promis'd upon the Word of a King, 'That no *Roman* Priest or other Catholick should 'henceforth be condemn'd upon any capital Law, 'and that he would do his utmost to oblige his Ca-'tholick Subjects to him.' This gave great Satisfaction in *Spain*, and a Paper was drawn up to persuade the Pope to grant a Dispensation for the Marriage.

Proceedings in the *Spanish* Match.

In the mean time, twenty six thousand Foot and four thousand Horse were rais'd in *Flanders*, under the Command of the Marquess *Spinola*; to whom the King of *England* sent to know the Cause of so great Preparations: His Answer was, *That he receiv'd his Commission seal'd up, with a Command not to open it till his Army was compleated and brought to a Rendezvouz.* When his Commission was open'd, he was to make War against all those who should be confederate with the *Bohemian* Rebels; which he communicated to the *English* Ambassador: and yet no more could be obtain'd of King *James* than one Regiment, tho two more were promis'd. This Regiment, consisting most of Gentlemen, set out under the Command of Sir *Horatio Vere*: The Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex* were Commanders under him; and this handful of Men reach'd the *Palatinate* with some Difficulty, by the particular Aid and Conduct of *Henry* Prince of *Nassau*. But *Spinola*, having got the Start of the *English*, took divers Towns before they arriv'd, but warily declin'd the Hazard of a Battel with the Protestant Confederates; nor was the Marquess of *Ansbach*, the Head of them, very forward to engage. And now the great Access of Strength to the Emperor, and the slender Aid from the King of *Great Britain*, to preserve his Childrens

Preparations against the King of *Bohemia*.

In-

Inheritance, extremely diſhearten'd the *German* Princes, and at length diſſolv'd the Confederacy. After a ſhort Space, the Seaſon of the Year drew the Armies into Winter-Quarters, and the *Engliſh* Regiment was diſpos'd into three principal Gariſons, *Manheim*, *Heidelburg*, and *Frankendale*. 18 Jac. I.

King *Frederick*, who had ſuffer'd extremely in his hereditary Dominions, now met with a ſeverer Fate in his new Kingdom, which ſoon put an end to his ſhort Reign. The Imperial Forces under *Bavaria*, *Bucquoy* and *Balthazar*, advanced towards *Prague*, with a Reſolution to fight the new King; whereupon the *Bohemians* quitted their Gariſons, to make their Army the more compleat; but neither Count *Mansfeldt* nor the *Engliſh* were there. Upon the eighth of *November*, being Sunday, both Armies met for the fatal Deciſion of the grand Controverſy. The *Bohemians* ſtood upon the moſt advantageous Ground; but the Enemy breaking thro, ſcatter'd and ruin'd the whole Army, and effectually purſu'd their Victory. The King and Queen, ſurpriz'd with this Defeat, among a wavering People, in a City not very defenſible, were forc'd to fly the next Morning, with what things they could carry with them. Thus after one Year's Reign, King *Frederick* firſt loſt a deciding Battel, with all his Treaſure, and ſhortly after all his Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and not long after that, all his hereditary Lands and Dominions in *Germany*; being at length forc'd to abandon his native Country, and with his Wife and Children to retire into *Holland* for a Place of Refuge and Reſidence. *Bohemians* defeated at *Prague*.

The Misfortune of the *Palatine* Family began now to rouze King *James*, and move him to Action: A full Council being call'd at *White-hall*, an Order was made to promote the *Palatine*'s Reſtoration; and the King, to encourage the Princes of the Union, and to keep them in Arms, ſent them thirty thouſand Pounds; yet withal, reſolv'd to treat for a Peace, and diſpatch'd Sir *Edward Villers* to carry the *Palatine*'s Submiſſion to the Emperor. The *Spaniards* never flatter'd King *James* more than at this time: They told him he ſhould do what he pleas'd in the *Palatine*'s Reſtitution; that the *Infanta*'s Portion was preparing, and the Pope muſt grant a Diſpenſation; And *Cottington* now cries up *Gondomar*, who had

An. 1620. had gain'd here the Acceſs of a Favourite, rather than a foreign Ambaſſador; ſo that Sir *Robert Naunton*, for ſhewing a diſlike to him, was, notwithſtanding his known Worth, removed from his Secretary's Place, and *Conway* put in his Room.

The King's great Favourite *Villers*, who was before made Earl, was now made Marqueſs of *Buckingham*; and to his Maſterſhip of the Horſe was added the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*. His Mother was made Counteſs of *Buckingham*; her eldeſt Son was made firſt a Knight, and afterwards Viſcount of *Purbeck*; her other Son was created Earl of *Angleſey*: and now happy was that Perſon who could claim a Kin to her, it being the next way to a rich Office or a ſwelling Title. The King, who never much regarded Women, had now his Court fill'd with young Ladies, Relations to the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*; who in appearance made all Removes and Advancements, tho in reality moſt of the Affairs in Church and State were privately tranſacted by his Mother; for moſt Addreſſes were firſt made to her, and ſo convey'd to be finiſh'd by her Son: Which caus'd *Gondomar*, among his other pleaſant Stories, to write into *Spain*, *That there were never more Hopes of* England's *returning to Popery than now; for there were more Prayers and Offerings made here to the Mother, than to the Son.*

The Power of *Buckingham*'s Mother.

An. 1621. The King aiming at uncontroll'd Sovereignty, and impatient of his People's intermedling with Myſteries of State, had fallen into a great diſlike of Parliaments, and for ſeveral Years had given way to Patents, Monopolies, and ſuch like Projects. Nevertheleſs he now reſolv'd to call a Parliament, concluding that the Eagerneſs of the People for the recovery of the *Palatinate* would open their Purſes, and the Treaty with *Spain* would ſave the Trouble and Expence of a War. Accordingly a Parliament was ſummon'd to meet on the thirtieth of *January*; when being met, the King made a long Speech to them; in which he laid open his great and numerous Expences, and pleaded for ſuitable Supplies: he alſo declar'd his great Readineſs to recover the *Palatinate*, for which, rather than fail, *he would engage his Crown, his Blood, and his Son's Blood, to effect it.*

The third Parliament.

it. At the ſame time, his Majeſty ſent the Lord *Digby* Ambaſſador to the Emperor, to urge him to a poſitive Anſwer, whether the *Palatinate* might be recover'd by Peace, before he proceeded to actual War. And now the Parliament proceeded in their Work, receiving Petitions from ſeveral Perſons impriſon'd and ruin'd by the horrid Extortions of voracious Patentees and Monopolizers, who were active in promoting illegal Exactions, to which the King's Neceſſities and ill-adviſed Counſellors had driven him. The chief Inſtruments of theſe Grievances were Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*, and Sir *Francis Mitchel*. Their Actions being laid open in Parliament, *Mompeſſon* made his eſcape, and *Mitchel* was fin'd a thouſand Pounds, degraded and impriſon'd, and rode from *Weſtminſter* into *London* with his Face to the Horſe's Tail, and a Paper on his Breaſt and Back declaring his Crimes. The pecuniary Puniſhment fell as heavily upon *Mompeſſon*, and upon other leſſer Confederates; which put an end to this Grievance. 19 Jac. I.

Soon after, the great Lord-Chancellor *Bacon* was brought to a Cenſure. His Crimes were Bribery and Extortion, yet rather thoſe of his Servants and Dependants than his own; all which were prov'd and aggravated againſt him by ſo many Circumſtances, that he, who in moſt things was thought a Man of the greateſt Parts in the Kingdom, and elevated above Pity, now fell miſerably below it; and his eloquent Tongue, that us'd to charm his Auditors with admirable Harangues, was now forc'd to deſcend to ſervile Supplications: for throwing himſelf and his Cauſe at his Judges Feet, before the Sentence paſs'd, he humbly begg'd the Lords in Parliament, *That his penitent Submiſſion might be his Sentence, the Loſs of the Great Seal his Puniſhment; and that their Lordſhips would recommend him to his Majeſty's Grace and Pardon for all that was paſs'd.* Thus his towering Spirit was brought low, and his Humiliation might have rais'd him up again, if the Weight of his Miſdemeanours had not kept him down. He loſt both his Peerage and Seal, and it was debated whether he ſhould carry the Title of Viſcount St. *Albans* to his Grave, which now was all he had: And to heighten his Miſery, many were cruſh'd in pieces by his Fall, thro the Debts he had contracted; and tho he had Lord *Bacon's* Fall.

An. 1621. a Penſion from the King, he wanted to the laſt, living obſcurely in his Lodgings at *Grays-Inn*, where the Remembrance of former Proſperity and Grandeur lay ſo heavy upon his ingenious and now melancholy Temper, that he pin'd and conſum'd away. This learned Perſon was a true Emblem of human Frailty, being more than a Man in ſome things and leſs than a Woman in others: He was no Admirer of Money, yet was unhappily defil'd therewith: He treaſur'd up nothing, but died in Debt: He conniv'd at his Servants Takings, which were moſt for interlocutory Orders; but his Decrees were made with ſo much Equity, that none of them were ever revers'd. He was ſucceeded in his Place by Dr. *Williams* Dean of *Weſtminſter*, who was firſt made Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*.

Debates in Parliament. In this Parliament, tho no Laws or Statutes were paſs'd, yet many Debates aroſe relating to the King's Power and Prerogative, and particularly in the Houſe of Lords, where the King had the ſtrongeſt Party; yet ſeveral of that Houſe ſtood up boldly for the publick Liberty, as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Southampton*, *Eſſex*, and *Warwick*, the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, and the Lord *Spencer*. The Commons on the other ſide were no leſs warm and impatient, highly diſliking both the Treaties with the Emperor and the King of *Spain*; and *Gondomar* had ſo rais'd the Peoples Fury by advancing the Deſigns of *Spain*, that he was revil'd and aſſaulted in *London*-Streets: Whereupon the Privy-Council commanded the Recorder of *London* to examine into it; and a Fellow already taken up for railing at him, the King commanded to be publickly and ſharply whipped the next day from *Aldgate* to *Temple-Bar*. This did but the more enrage the People againſt *Gondomar*, who by his Power with the King had tranſported Ordnance to the *Spaniſh* Arſenals, and, as was believ'd, had underhand caus'd the ſending of Sir *Robert Manſel* into the *Mediterranean* againſt the Pirates of *Algier*; where the *Engliſh* Fleet indeed perform'd bravely, and fir'd the Pirates Ships within their own Harbour: but this diverted the *Engliſh* Strength, exhauſted the Treaſure, ſecur'd the *Spaniards*, and left them at liberty to aſſiſt in ſubduing the *Palatinate*.

The

The Parliament having ſat about four Months, the King was deſirous to give them a Time of Receſs; therefore a Meſſage was ſent to the Houſe, 'That his Majeſty, by the Advice of the Privy 'Council, thought fit to adjourn the Parliament, leſt 'the Seaſon of the Year, by the continual Concourſe 'of People, ſhould cauſe Infection:' Which Adjournment, keeping the Parliament ſtill in being, was thought better than a Prorogation. The Commons were very ſorry at their Diſappointment, having but juſt before made a hearty Declaration to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the Affair of the *Palatinate*. A Committee of both Houſes attending the King, he declar'd to them, *That he took it very ill, that the Commons ſhould diſpute his Reaſons of Adjournment, all Power being in him alone, to call, adjourn, prorogue, and diſſolve Parliaments.* The Adjournment was appointed till *November* following, with a Declaration, *That in the mean time he would by his own Authority redreſs Grievances.* 19 Jac. I. Parliament adjourn'd.

On the twentieth of *November*, when the Parliament met the ſecond Time, the King commanded the Lord *Digby* to give an Account of his Journey, to the Houſe of Commons, and to repreſent how neceſſary it was for the King to obtain that by War, which he could not procure by a Peace. But tho the King, by his Miniſters, encourag'd the Parliament to a War, yet they found him more inclinable to Peace, as well in regard of *Gondomar*'s Power with him, as his Indulgence to the Roman Catholicks, and Fondneſs of the *Spaniſh* Match: Therefore the Houſe of Commons, before they granted Subſidies, reſolv'd to try the King's Spirit by a ſolemn Petition and Remonſtrance; in which they laid open to his Majeſty the many great and increaſing Dangers ariſing from the *Romiſh* Religion in general, the Power of the Papiſts in particular, and the great Oppreſſions of Proteſtants in foreign Parts; repreſenting at the ſame time proper Remedies for theſe Calamities. When the Remonſtrance was perfected, the King had a Copy of it before the Houſe could ſend their Members with it; in which ſome thing ſo highly diſpleas'd him, that he wrote the following Letter to Sir *Thomas Richardſon*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons: *We have heard by divers Reports, to our great Grief,* Second Meeting of the Parliament. Commons remonſtrate. King writes to the Speaker.

An. 1621. *that some fiery and popular Spirits in the House of Commons have publickly argu'd and debated Matters far above their Reach and Capacities, tending highly to our Dishonour, and a Breach of the Royal Prerogative. These are therefore to command you in our Name to make known to the House, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning our Government, or deep Matters of State, nor with our Son's Match with the Daughter of* Spain, *nor touch the Honour of that King, or any other our Friends and Confederates. And if they have already touch'd any of those Points, which we have here forbidden, in a Petition of theirs, which is to be sent unto us, it is our Pleasure that you tell them, that except they reform it before it comes to our Hands, we will not deign the Hearing of it.* When the House had duly consider'd the Reasons they had to draw up their Remonstrance, they sent it together with a new Petition to the King, in which they pray'd his Majesty *to allow them Freedom of Speech, the antient Liberty of Parliaments, and to take away the Doubts and Scruples which his Letter to the Speaker had brought upon them.* The King was exceedingly vext and uneasy at these things, and very roughly entertain'd the twelve Members who were sent to him; and after he had consider'd their Desires and Requests in their last Petition, he return'd them a long Answer in writing, mix'd with many severe Expressions.

The House of Commons judging the King's Letters so many Impediments to their Privileges, and that for all the King's Promises the Protestant Religion was unsecure, if the *Spanish* Match succeeded, resolv'd, whatever might be the Effect, to leave some Footsteps of their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges to their Posterities; and therefore on the nineteenth of *December*, they register'd the following Protestation in their Journal Book, after they had given two entire Subsidies: 'That the Liberties, Franchises, 'Privileges, and Jurisdictions of Parliament are the 'antient and undoubted Birth-Right and Inheri- 'tance of the Subjects of *England*; and that the ar- 'duous and urgent Affairs concerning the King, 'State, and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church 'of *England*, and the Maintenance and making of 'Laws,

Commons Protestation.

'Laws, and Redreſs of Miſchiefs and Grievances, 19 Jac. I.
'which daily happen within this Realm, are proper
'Subjects and Matters of Counſel and Debate in
'Parliament. That in handling and proceeding in
'ſuch Buſineſs, every Member of Parliament hath,
'and of right ought to have *Freedom of Speech*, to
'propound, treat, reaſon, and bring the ſame to Con-
'cluſion. That the Commons in Parliament have
'likewiſe Liberty and Freedom to treat of theſe
'Matters, in ſuch Order as, in their Judgments, ſhall
'ſeem fitteſt. That every Member of the ſaid Houſe
'hath like Freedom from all Impeachment, Impri-
'ſonment, and Moleſtation, other than by Cenſure of
'the Houſe it ſelf, for or concerning any ſpeaking,
'reaſoning, or declaring of any Matter or Matters,
'touching the Parliament, or Parliament-Buſineſs.
'And that if any of the ſaid Members be complain'd
'of, or queſtion'd for any thing done or ſaid in Par-
'liament, the ſame is to be ſhew'd to the King, by
'the Advice and Aſſent of all the Commons aſſem-
'bled in Parliament, before the King give Credit to
'any private Information.'

The King was again alarm'd by this Proteſtation, and he who naturally lov'd Peace both at home and abroad, had a War rais'd within his own Breaſt. Therefore neglecting his Pleaſures and Health in the Country, he came haſtily up to *London*, and in a full Aſſembly of the Council, and in the Preſence of the Judges, declar'd the ſaid Proteſtation void, invalid, and of none Effect, and with his Hand took it out of the Journal-Book of the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons; and commanded an Act of Council to be made thereupon, and this Act to be enter'd in the Regiſter of the Council-Cauſes. And to put a Stop to all Complaints, as he thought, on the ſixth of *January*, he, by a Proclamation, diſſolv'd the Parliament.

King oppoſes it.

Parliament diſſolv'd.

This unexpected Diſſolution and Proclamation occaſion'd ſeveral to reproach their Sovereign and his Government, eſpecially when they ſaw that ſeveral eminent Members of the Houſe of Commons, as Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Mallery*, and others, were committed to the Tower and other Priſons. And as Troubles bred Diſturbances at home, ſo they caus'd no leſs Diſhonour

Several Members impriſon'd.

An. 1621. abroad: for they now despis'd the King's Power, as much as before they did his Courage; and in the King of *Spain*'s own Towns, in their publick Comedies, they represented Messengers bringing News in haste, that the *Palatinate* would shortly be repleniſh'd with a most formidable Army; *for the King of* Denmark *could furniſh them with a hundred thouſand pickled Herrings, the* Hollanders *with as many Butter-Boxes, and* England *with as many Ambaſſadors.* Pictures were made in several Places to ridicule the King; and at *Antwerp* they pictur'd the unfortunate Queen of *Bohemia* like a poor *Iriſh* Mantler, with her Hair hanging about her Ears, and her Child on her Back, with the King her Father carrying the Cradle after her. Such Deriſions and Reflections were put upon the King, and in him upon the whole Nation: And truly King *James* gave too much occaſion for this by his unaccountable Conduct, eſpecially in the Affair of the *Palatinate*; the ſeveral ill Effects of which Conduct are ſumm'd up by *Spanheimius* in theſe Words: 'That thereby the Proteſtant Religion was entirely rooted out of *Bohemia*, the Electoral Dignity transferr'd from the *Palatine* Family, the *Palatinate* it ſelf loſt, the Liberty of *Germany* overthrown, and the famous Library of *Heidelburg* remov'd to *Rome*, to the irreparable Prejudice of Learning:' So that *Gondomar* had good Reaſon to ſay, in one of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma*, *That he had lull'd King* James *ſo faſt aſleep, that he hop'd neither the Cries of his Daughter, nor her Children, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects in their behalf, ſhould be able to awake him.*

King *James* ſtill retain'd his main Deſigns and Reſolutions of compleating the Marriage of his Son with the Infanta of *Spain*; where King *Philip* the third being lately dead, was ſucceeded by *Philip* the fourth. In order to effect this long and tedious Affair, he ſent the Lord *Digby* his Ambaſſador Extraordinary into *Spain*, who, landing at St. *Andero*, a poor maritime Town in *Biſcay*, where the People uſually went barefoot, had the Patience to ſtay a Fortnight in expectation of the *Spaniſh* Court Civilities; but in reality was ſo ſlighted by tedious and im-

An. 1622.

King deſpiſed abroad.

Digby's Embaſſy into *Spain*.

impertinent Delays, and at laſt by baſe and ſordid Accommodations, that it was admir'd how he could bear it, and that the *Spaniards* were not aſham'd to offer it to an Ambaſſador. 20 Jac. I.

Archbiſhop *Abbot's* Misfortunes.

About this Time Archbiſhop *Abbot* began to fall into Diſgrace at Court, his Enemies taking advantage of a late ſad Accident; for ſhooting at a Deer with a Croſs-bow in *Bramzil* Park, the Arrow glancing caſually kill'd the Keeper. This Misfortune ſo ſenſibly afflicted this pious Man, that he retir'd to an Almſhouſe of his own building at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, there to mortify himſelf from the Enjoyment of worldly Pleaſures. Some thought it diſabled him from exerciſing his Epiſcopal Function; but the King granting a Commiſſion to enquire into the Fact, he found Friends that reſtored him from his Alms-houſe to his Palace; and he allow'd a comfortable Maintenance to the Widow and Children of the ſlain Man. But having diſpleas'd the King by diſapproving the *Spaniſh* Match, he never could regain any great Authority; and a Plant was now growing up that overſpread him while he liv'd, and after his Deceaſe obtain'd the Primacy. This was Dr. *William Laud*, who was now made Biſhop of St. *Davids*, by the Intereſt of the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, and the Lord Keeper *Williams*.

Proceedings on the *Spaniſh* Treaty.

The Articles of Marriage between the Prince and the Infanta had taken up much Time in Debate, before they could be brought to any Form; and the ſending and reſending between *Spain* and *Rome*, and *Rome* and *Spain*, waſted much Time, and might have ſerv'd for a Colour to draw the Treaty *in infinitum*. Wherefore King *James* wrote ſeveral Letters to the Lord *Digby*, whom he made Earl of *Briſtol*, and commanded him to declare plainly to the King of *Spain*, 'How far the King his Maſter had conde-'ſcended in Matters of Religion, which was more 'than was capitulated in the late King of *Spain*'s 'Reign; and if that would give Content, to proceed 'to a Concluſion of the Marriage, without further 'Delay; if otherwiſe, that then without more Loſs 'of Time, the King his Maſter may diſpoſe of his 'Son, and the King of *Spain* of the Infanta, as they 'pleas'd.' But the *Spaniard* would not be ſpurr'd forward; and the Earl of *Briſtol* ſtill aſſur'd his

An. 1622. Master, *That the King of* Spain, *tho slow in his Proceedings, was real in his Intentions.* But tho the Articles were fully drawn up in Form, and agreed on both Sides, yet it is plain from the King of *Spain*'s Letter to *Olivarez* this Year, that the *Spaniard* never design'd the Match at all; for therein he positively tells him, 'That his Father had the same Design as 'well as himself, and so declar'd upon his Death-'bed; and therefore he would have him break it off 'as soon as conveniently he could.'

An. 1623. This was the Management in the Court of *Spain*, when the Marquess of *Buckingham* envying the Earl of *Bristol* for being solely entrusted with so great an Affair, propos'd to the Prince to make a Journey into *Spain*, that what had suffer'd so many Delays might be hasten'd by his Presence. The Prince readily consented to it, and with much Difficulty they at last obtain'd the King's Leave for this purpose. And accordingly on the 17th of *February*, the Prince and the Marquess of *Buckingham*, with *Cottington* and *Endymion Porter*, went privately from Court, embark'd at *Dover*, landed at *Boloign*, and rode Post to *Paris*, (where the Prince, under a Disguise, saw the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, afterwards his Consort) and from thence to *Spain*. The seventh of *March* they arriv'd at *Madrid*, and were secretly convey'd to the Earl of *Bristol*'s House; and the next Morning the Earl acquainted *Gondomar*, who was lately return'd into *Spain*, with the Arrival of the Marquess of *Buckingham*. In the Evening the Marquess and *Olivarez* met, and the Marquess was led by a back Way into the Palace, and had Audience of the King, who gave *Olivarez* Leave to go and kiss the Prince's Hand.

The Prince goes into *Spain*.

His Arrival there.

His noble Reception.

The King and Council consider'd how to give his Highness the most honourable Reception, and decreed, that in all Meetings he should have the Precedence of the King, and that he should make his Entry into the Palace Royal in that State which is used by the Kings of *Spain* on the Day of their Coronation; and one of the chief Quarters there was assign'd for his Lodgings, a hundred of the Guards to attend him, and the Council to obey him. The King took the Queen, Infanta, and his Brothers abroad, to give the Prince a full View of his Mistress, and afterwards

wards gave him ſeveral Viſits. A general Pardon was publiſh'd; hundreds of Offenders ſet at Liberty, and a late Proclamation againſt Exceſs in Apparel revok'd. 21 Jac. I

The Prince, the Day of his publick Entrance, was attended to St. *Jerom*'s Monaſtery, from whence the Kings of *Spain* proceed to their Coronation. There the Prince was feaſted, and after Dinner the King came thither to conduct his Highneſs thro *Madrid* to the Royal Palace; and putting the Prince on his right Hand, they rode in great Glory under a Canopy of State, attended by *Buckingham*, *Olivarez*, *Briſtol*, *Aſton*, with the Nobility, Grandees, Counſellors of State, *&c.* Being alighted at the Palace-Gate, the King carried the Prince to the Queen's Quarters. Three Seats were plac'd, the Queen ſat in the middle, the Prince on her right, and the King on her left Hand. Being retir'd to his Lodgings, (whither the King conducted him) the Queen, by her *Major-Domo*, preſented him with Perfumes and coſtly wearing Linen. The King ſent him two golden Keys, which would open his privy Lodgings and Bed-Chamber. He was conſtantly attended by Grandees and Titulado's, and entertain'd with Shows and Triumphs. And one Day running at the Ring in the Preſence of the Infanta his Miſtreſs, he was the only Perſon that bore the Ring away. Nor was any thing wanting to ſhew the Height of outward Glory. From the Court of *England* many Lords and Gentlemen follow'd the Prince; and the Marqueſs of *Buckingham* was made a Duke by a Patent from *England*. He makes a publick Entrance.

The common Voice there went, that the Prince was come to be a Chriſtian: And *Olivarez* at his firſt Viſit told him, that the Match ſhould be made preſently, and that the Kings of *Spain* and *England* ſhould divide the World between them; for he queſtion'd not but he came thither to be of their Religion: To which the Prince anſwered, That he came not thither for Religion, but for a Wife. Nor were Endeavours wanting to reconcile the Prince to the *Romiſh* Religion; to which End *Gregory* the fifteenth, then Pope, wrote Letters both to him and the Duke of *Buckingham*. In *Spain* alſo all Endeavours were us'd to allure the Prince to Popery, by Popiſh Books, Popiſh Pictures, and carrying him to Religious Houſes, Attempts to make him turn Papiſt.

An. 1623. and to Persons famous for pretended Miracles. They told him what a large Entrance he would gain by his Conversion into the Infanta's Affections; and if a Rebellion in *England* should follow, they offer'd an Army to subdue the Rebels. But the Prince remain'd stedfast, and expres's'd no Shew of Change; and notwithstanding his splendid Entertainment, was but meanly dealt with, and in his Addresses to the Infanta unworthily restrain'd and undervalu'd.

Dispensation comes from the Pope.

At length, after innumerable Impediments, the long expected Dispensation came from Pope *Gregory* to the Court of *Spain*, but so clog'd that it caus'd new Delays and Difficulties, which were at last surmounted by the King of *Spain*, who now seem'd to be seriously inclin'd to the Match, and caus'd it to be publickly declar'd at *Madrid*. After which, certain Articles were sign'd and sworn to by the King of *England*, the Prince, and Privy Council. Thus the great Business seem'd to have been accomplish'd; and 'tis said, King *James* was now so confident of the Match, that he openly said, *Now all the Devils in Hell cannot break it.* The Infanta was stiled Princess of *England*; a Chappel was building for her at St. *James's*; a Fleet was prepar'd for her Passage; and the greatest Enemies to this Alliance submitted to the King's Will: but in all these Capitulations not a Word of the Restitution of the *Palatinate*.

New Delays.

But after all, the *Spaniards* contriv'd new Delays, and the Pope would have the Marriage protracted till the Conditions were perform'd in *England*. Whereupon the Divines advis'd the Catholick King, that the Promises of Marriage be made presently, but the Consummation thereof, and the Delivery of the Infanta be deferr'd till *May* the Year following. But Pope *Gregory* dying, it was pretended, that there being no Contract, the Dispensation was suspended till ratified by the new Pope. These repeated Delays and Obstructions caus'd the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was highly disoblig'd at *Olivarez*, to send home such provoking Accounts of the *Spanish* Procrastinations, that King *James* writ to him in the most express Terms, *To bring his Son back with all speed, and if his Son's youthful Follies should tie him to a longer Expectation, he charg'd him upon his Allegiance to come away and leave him there.* The Duke im-

immediately ſhewed this Letter to the Prince, which ſo effectually wrought upon him, that he took up a ſudden Reſolution to return into *England*. The King and Council of *Spain* were ſtartled at this; but at length conſented to it, upon Oath given by his Catholick Majeſty and the Prince, to make the Marriage within ten Days after the Ratification came from *Rome*. 21 Jac. I.

The Prince had gain'd an univerſal Love and Eſteem, his grave Deportment ſuiting with the Genius of that Nation; and at his Farewel he ſhew'd unparallel'd Bounty, and left Gems of ineſtimable Value for the Infanta and the Grandees. At his Departure from *Madrid*, the Queen and Infanta, in great Magnificence, receiv'd his Farewel. The King brought him on his Way to the *Eſcurial*, and there feaſted him; and declar'd the Obligation the Prince had laid upon him by putting himſelf into his Hands. The Prince magnified the high Favours he had receiv'd, and requeſted the King *to continue him in the good Opinion of his moſt fair and moſt dear Miſtreſs*. A Train of *Spaniſh* Courtiers attended him to the *Engliſh* Navy, where he feaſted them aboard his own Ship; and in bringing them back to ſhore, met with a furious Tempeſt, from which he eſcap'd with much Difficulty; and the firſt Words he ſpoke when reimbark'd were, *That it was a great Weakneſs in the* Spaniards *to let him go, after they had us'd him ſo ill*. On the fifth of *October* he arriv'd at *Portſmouth*, for which there was expreſs'd an univerſal Joy.

Prince univerſally belov'd.

He leaves *Spain*.

Arrives in *England*.

The King was at *Royſton* when the Prince arriv'd at *London*; and preſently he and *Buckingham* rode poſt to him, and gave him a fair and plauſible Relation of all their Proceedings, laying the whole Weight of Odium upon the *Spaniſh* Delays, and the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Miſcarriages. And now King *James* being reſolv'd to affront the *Spaniard* for this Treatment, gave poſitive Inſtructions to *Briſtol* to demand the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* and the Electoral Dignity; having theſe Words in his Letter, *It would be very ſtrange in me to receive one Daughter in Joy, and leave another in Sighs and Tears*.

In the mean time, the *Spaniards* made very great Proviſion for the accompliſhing of the Maraiage: And as ſoon as the Diſpenſation came from the new Pope, in

Preparations for the Marriage in *Spain*.

An. 1623. in the beginning of *December*, Bonfires were made throughout all *Spain*, and the great Ordnance every where thunder'd out the general Joy. The ninth of the Month was appointed for the Marriage-Day, and all things were order'd in the higheſt State for ſuch an extraordinary Solemnity. Great Preſents were providing in the Court of *Spain* for King *James* and the Prince; the *Infanta*'s Family, deſign'd for *England*, was ſettled; ſhe had prepar'd the richeſt Suits for her Lord and Husband, had long practis'd the *Engliſh* Tongue to make it natural, and began to draw the Letters which ſhe deſign'd to have written the Day of her Eſpouſals to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-law. Her Journey into *England* was reſolv'd to be in the Beginning of *March*; and her Portion was fix'd at no leſs than two Millions of Money, which was four times as much as had been given with any Daughter of *Spain*. In this Forwardneſs was the Affair of the Marriage in *Spain*, when King *James*'s Commands at once ſpoil'd all theſe mighty Expectations: For *Briſtol* had now Orders to declare poſitively to the King of *Spain*, *That without the Reſtoration of the* Palatinate, *and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty ſhould proceed no further.* His Anſwer was, *That the* Palatinate *was none of his to give, and the* Electorate *was in the Power of another; but if the Emperor and the Duke of* Bavaria *would not yield to Reaſon, he would arm himſelf againſt them.* But this Anſwer was not ſatisfactory from one who had practis'd ſo many ſubtle Pretenſions, and had been a prime Inſtrument in the Ruin of the Count *Palatine*. Therefore, a Breach being apparent, the King of *Spain* ſent to the Earl of *Briſtol* to demand no more Audiences of him, to deliver no more Letters to the *Infanta*, and gave command that none hereafter ſhould call her Princeſs of *England*. And thus this famous ſeven Years Treaty came at laſt to nothing.

Match ſuddenly broke.

With the Breach of this *Spaniſh* Match, ended the Life of the famous Antiquary and Hiſtorian Mr. *William Cambden*, *Clarenceaux* King at Arms, in the ſeventy fourth Year of his Age, a Perſon highly eſteem'd by Foreigners as well as by thoſe of his own Country.

Death of Mr. *Cambden*.

The

22 Jac. I. An. 1624.

The Match being thus ſuddenly broke, it was neceſſary that the Treaty with *Spain* about it ſhould be diſſolv'd by Parliament. Therefore a Parliament was ſummon'd to meet the twelfth Day of *February*; but the King's Grief for the ſudden Death of the Duke of *Richmond*, caus'd it to be deferr'd to the nineteenth of the ſame Month: When the King, in a long and very obliging Speech, us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to ſweeten the Parliament into a good Opinion of all his Actions, and of his *ſincere Deſires* to comply with them in every thing, for the Good of the Kingdom, and his *utter Averſion* to the Infringement of their Liberties. And towards the latter end of it he declar'd, *He ſpoke as a Chriſtian King, that never any Traveller, in the burning, dry and ſandy Deſart, more thirſted for Water to quench his Thirſt, than he did for a happy Concluſion of this Parliament, and that it might atone for the Miſcarriages of the three former.* Within three or four Days, the Prince began to ſpeak of the *Spaniſh* Affairs in Parliament; and at a Conference between the two Houſes, the Duke of *Buckingham* gave a full Relation of their Journey into *Spain*, and of the *Spaniſh* Proceedings whilſt they were there. The Conference ended in a high Applauſe of the Prince's and Duke's Behaviour; and the Parliament having the Treaty of Marriage with *Spain* put into their Hands, cruſh'd that Serpent in the Head, by adviſing the King to break the Treaty, and proclaim open War againſt the King of *Spain*, proteſting to aſſiſt the King in the regaining the *Palatinate, with their Lives and Fortunes.* But the fearful King, apprehending that when the War was begun there would not be ſufficient Means to maintain it, thank'd the Parliament for their Advice, and anſwer'd, *That he would conſider better of it.* The Parliament finding the King begin to ſtagger and ſink, were reſolv'd to rouze and keep up his Spirits; and therefore they offer'd him an extraordinary Aid of three entire Subſidies, and three Fifteenths and Tenths, payable in the Compaſs of one Year; and ſo cloſely urg'd him to begin the War, that he had no more Room for an Evaſion, but was forc'd to declare both againſt the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, according to their Advice.

Fourth Parliament.

The

An. 1624. Parliament petition against Popery.

The Lords began now to consider how necessary it was that they should join with the Commons in petitioning the King to restrain the Growth of Popery. And after some Conferences between both Houses, the Petition was reduc'd to two Propositions, and presented to the King as two Petitions: The first was, 'That all the Laws might be put in execution against Jesuits, seminary Priests, and other Orders of the Church of *Rome*, and generally against all Popish Recusants.' The second was, 'That his Majesty would be pleas'd to secure the Hearts of his Subjects, by the Engagement of his Royal Word, That upon no future Occasion of Marriage or Treaty, or any Request of foreign Prince or State, he would remove or relax the Execution of his Laws against the foresaid *Roman* Catholicks.' To both these the King gave a particular Answer before the Lords and Commons; and as to the first, he protested before God, *That his Heart had bled when he heard of the Increase of Popery, and that the Grief of it had been as Thorns in his Eyes, and Pricks in his Sides; therefore he was ready by Proclamation to command all the Jesuits and Priests of the Nation to depart by a certain Day.* As to the second he declar'd, *That since it was against the Rule of Wisdom, that a King should suffer any Subject to transgress the Laws by the Intercession of other Princes, therefore he assured them, That he would be careful that no such Condition should be foisted in upon any other Treaty whatsoever.* From these Proceedings, many Papists were turn'd out of Places of Trust and Profit; which considerably crush'd their Party. And now the Parliament having sat above three Months, given three Subsidies, three Fifteenths and Tenths, pass'd an Act of general Pardon, and thirty three other Acts, upon the twenty ninth of *May*, was prorogued from time to time, till the King's Death dissolv'd it.

Soon after the Breach with *Spain*, King *James* sent over the Lord *Kensington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, privately to find out the Inclinations of the *French* King, in relation to a Match between the Prince and the Lady *Henrietta Maria*, younger Daughter to King *Henry* the Great. As soon as the Earl propos'd the Matter to the *French* King, he was so

ſo deſirous of the Match, that he told the Earl, *He had rather have the Prince of* England *for his Brother, than any other Man in the World*; and was ſo ready to comply, that he ſeem'd indifferent in making Terms for the Catholicks in *England*. But when he found King *James*, who dreaded a ſecond Diſappointment, exceſſively fond of this Alliance, he abated of his Forwardneſs, enlarg'd his Demands in favour of Papiſts, and forced the King to ſuch Conceſſions, as he had promis'd his Parliament he would never grant upon the Mediation of foreign Princes. This put ſome ſtop to the Negotiation; but Matters were ſoon agreed, and the main thing was to procure a Diſpenſation from the Pope: for which purpoſe, Father *Berullet* being ſent to *Rome*, us'd many Arguments with the Pope, and inſiſted on the numerous Advantages that would accrue to the Catholick Religion by this Marriage: ſo that at length the Pope conſented to a Diſpenſation, which in three Months time was compleated.

22 Jac. I.
Treaty of Marriage with *France*.

In the mean time, the Archbiſhop of *Embrun*, a Man of Cunning and Intrigue, was privately ſent over into *England*, by the Courts of *Rome* and *France*, *both to obtain good Terms for the Catholicks in* England, *upon the account of this Match with* France, *and likewiſe to ſound King* James *about his Thoughts of the* Romiſh *Religion*; for they had always entertain'd an Opinion that he was inclin'd that way. It ſeems the Duke of *Buckingham* was acquainted before-hand with the Archbiſhop's Coming; for he ſent as far as *Canterbury* to meet him, and conduct him to *London*. He was immediately upon his Arrival admitted to *Buckingham*, and by him brought to the King, into whoſe entire Confidence he ſo far wrought himſelf at his firſt Audience, that immediately thereupon all the Priſons in *England* were ſet open to the Prieſts and Miſſionaries, notwithſtanding King *James* had ſolemnly promis'd his Parliament to put the Laws in execution againſt them: And in a little time he gain'd ſuch an aſcendant over the King, that he took him one day by the Hand, and ſaid to him, *You are the Man ſent me from God, to whom I may freely open my mind*; and then told him, *He had always a good Opinion of the Church of* Rome, *and for it had ſuffer'd*

Secret Embaſſy of the ABp. of *Embrun*.

An. 1624. *fer'd great Misfortunes ever ſince his Birth.* Thereupon he open'd to the Archbiſhop a Project he had long in his Thoughts, of uniting all Proteſtants to the Pope; and ſaid, 'He was willing, in order to bring 'it about, to concert Meaſures with the *French* King, 'that there might be a meeting at *Dover* or *Bologn* 'of able Divines of both ſides; adding, That the 'Archbiſhop himſelf was the fitteſt Man in the World 'to negotiate ſuch an Affair with the *Roman* Catho-'licks abroad, while he was uſing his Credit and In-'tereſt with the Proteſtants to bring them to a Com-'pliance.' Withal, King *James* told him, 'He had 'ever a great Love and Eſteem for the preſent 'Pope, ſince the Time, when Cardinal, he had wrote 'a Copy of Verſes upon the Death of his Mother, 'which ſhew'd him to be a Man of Senſe and good 'Nature.' In concluſion, the Archbiſhop was ſo perfectly well ſatisfy'd with King *James*, and his Errand to *England*, that he wrote to the *French* King to aſſure him, *That by the frequent Converſation he had with him he queſtion'd not his Inclinations to reſtore the Catholick Religion in* England. Inſomuch that he tells us, That when the News came to *France* of King *James*'s Death, the *French* King ſaid to him, with the greateſt Concern, *Now all our Hopes of* England *are loſt.* This Account is given by *Monſieur D'Ageant* and the Archbiſhop himſelf; and as to the Truth of it, it is left to the impartial Reader to judge, when at the ſame time he conſiders the whole Thread of King *James*'s Actions.

The Match concluded.

In the mean time, the Treaty of Marriage with *France* ſucceeded, and took up fewer Months than that with *Spain* did Years. In *Auguſt* the Match was concluded, and in *November* the Articles were ſworn to by King *James*, Prince *Charles*, and the *French* King; tho they were not fully concluded till the *February* following, nor the Match conſummated till after the King's Death. The publick Articles concerning Religion were much the ſame with thoſe for the *Spaniſh* Match: And the Author of Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Life ſays, That the King and Prince took a particular Oath to releaſe all the Catholick Priſoners, as ſoon as the Marriage was conſummated, and to prohibit for the future their being ill-treated for their Religion: and further, That they both

both gave a Promiſe in Writing, by which they bound themſelves, by no way or means whatſoever, to oblige the Princeſs to change her Religion. The Author likewiſe highly reflects upon King *James*'s Conduct in this Marriage, and ſays, 'As this Match was againſt 'all the Maxims of good Policy, ſo it drew upon his 'Son King *Charles* thoſe Miſchiefs, which perhaps 'never befel any King ſucceeding to an hereditary 'Crown; and his Sons born of that Marriage, and 'ſeduc'd by their Mother's Perſuaſions, have been 'moſt unfortunate ſince his Death. And ſeveral were 'of opinion, that Cardinal *Richelieu*, who was then 'contriving a War againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſent 'this Princeſs into *England*, as a Ball of Diſſenſion, 'that would create ſo much trouble in that Nation, 'as would incapacitate them from diſturbing their 'Neighbours Affairs.' 23 Jac. I.

This Year Count *Mansfeldt* came into *England* about the Affair of the *Palatinate*: He was receiv'd with great Splendor, and made Commander of an Army of twelve thouſand *Engliſhmen*. Theſe Forces were deſign'd to paſs thro *France* into *Germany*, the *French* having promis'd a free Paſſage, as alſo an Addition of Strength: But notwithſtanding their Promiſe, and the Treaty of Marriage, they delay'd, tho not directly deny'd, their Paſſage: nevertheleſs the whole Army was ſhipp'd off, and put over to *Calais*; and after a tedious Stay, in hopes yet to land and paſs thro the Country, they were forc'd to ſet ſail for *Zealand*. Neither were they ſuffer'd to land there, coming ſo unexpectedly upon the States, and in a hard and ſcarce Time. Thus were they long confin'd to their narrow Veſſels, and ſuffer'd the Want of all Neceſſaries; by which means a Peſtilence broke out among them, and rag'd ſo extremely, that they were thrown into the Sea by Multitudes: Inſomuch, that ſcarce a third Part of the Men were landed, who alſo ſoon after decreas'd and diſpers'd, and ſo the whole Deſign came to nothing. Thus continually unfortunate was King *James* in the deplorable Caſe of his Children; and neither he nor his Son ſaw the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, which happen'd not till twenty three Years after, when the An. 1625.

Count *Mansfeldt* comes into *England*.

Mo-

An. 1625. Monarchy of *England* was under a fatal Eclipse, and its King brought to the Scaffold to lose his Head.

King's Sickness. Before King *James* could see the Misfortunes of Count *Mansfeldt*, he was seiz'd with a Tertian Ague that prov'd fatal to him. His great Indisposition meeting with a fat and unwieldy Body, and daily increasing, he retir'd to *Theobalds*; and the Lord-Keeper *Williams* having notice that they fear'd his Sickness was mortal, went and presented himself before him, endeavouring to divert him, and bring him to a chearful Discourse, but all in vain. Finding himself much declining, he call'd the Prince his Son to his Bed-side, and recommended several useful Precepts for his future Conduct; but one especially, *viz. to love his intended Wife, but not her Religion*; while the Keeper continually watch'd with his Royal Master, and never so much as put off his Clothes to go to bed, till after his Death. On the Friday his Majesty became sensibly weaker, so that now the Keeper stirr'd very little out of the Chamber, and that not only to comfort the departing King, but likewise to keep off some of the *Romish* Religion, who were watching about the Chamber-door, whom, as a Privy-Counsellor, he commanded to keep at a greater distance.

His Death. As his Majesty drew near to his end, the Prayer usually said at the Hour of Death being ended, having repeated these Words, *Veni Domine Jesu*, he expir'd without any Pangs, as are commonly seen in dying Persons; and the Keeper clos'd his Eyes with his own Hands. This was upon Sunday the twenty seventh of *March*, in the fifty ninth Year of his Age, he having reign'd in *England* twenty two Years and three Days. He died with such suspicious Circumstances, as gave occasion of Enquiry into the manner of his Death, in the two first Parliaments that were call'd by his Son; all which came to nothing, by reason of their sudden Dissolutions. His Body, for the greater State, was convey'd by Torch-Light from *Theobalds* to *Somerset-House*, where being depositied from the twenty third Day of *April* to the seventh of *May*, it was carried to *Westminster*, and there interr'd with great Solemnity.

This

This Prince, tho his Father and Mother were reckon'd the handſomeſt Couple of the Age they liv'd in, was himſelf but a homely Perſon, nor in any of his Features was to be found the leaſt Reſemblance of the beautiful *Mary Stuart*, or Lord *Darnly*. His Stature was of the middle ſize, his Body not ill compacted, but fat and unwieldy in his latter Days. He was of a ruddy Complexion; his Hair of a light Brown, in his full Perfection, but had at laſt a Tincture of White. His Beard was ſcattering on his Chin, and very thin; and in his Apparel he affected a majeſtick Careleſneſs, wearing his Clothes plain, large, and different from the common Mode. As to his Mind, he has been extoll'd for his Knowledge and Wiſdom, upon the account of which he was, by ſome of that time, compar'd to *Solomon*; theſe he really had in a very good degree, but ſtill with a remarkable Mixture of Alloy. No Prince had a more liberal Education; and it could not well be otherwiſe, having the celebrated *Buchanan* for his Tutor. He was acquainted with moſt Parts of Learning, but valu'd himſelf upon his Knowledge in Divinity above the reſt; in which he wrote ſome things that were much eſteem'd at that time. He wrote and ſpoke well, but in a Stile that border'd too much upon Pedantry; which was indeed the common Fault of that Age. His peaceful Temper, which made him take *Beati Pacifici* for his Motto, had too much of a timorous Diſpoſition, not to ſay Cowardice; which caus'd him not only to be often contemn'd by foreign Princes, but alſo at home to be govern'd, and ſometimes inſulted by his Favourites. 'Tis queſtionable whether his Wiſdom and Knowledge exceeded his Choler and Fear: but the two laſt were moſt violent, becauſe not acquir'd but natural, and extended ſometimes to as far as Profaneneſs if not Blaſphemy. He had excellent Notions in Conception, but could bring but few into Action, tho they tended to his own Preſervation: And this was one of his Maxims, of which he made no timely Uſe: *A Prince, who would avoid Conſpiracies ought to be rather jealous of ſuch, whom his Favours have advanced, than of thoſe whom his Frowns have diſcontented: For the latter want means, while the former have them at pleaſure to execute their Deſigns.*

23 Jac. I.

His Character.

An. 1625. Some parallel'd him to *Tiberius* for Diſſimulation, yet Peace was maintain'd by him as in the Time of *Auguſtus*: But this admir'd Calm was only the Fore-runner of a moſt dreadful Storm in his Son's Reign, to whom he left an unneceſſary and expenſive War, an incumbred Revenue, an exhauſted Treaſury, a diſcontented People, and a Crown of Troubles and Thorns.

The End of the Reign of King JAMES *the Firſt.*

BRITISH
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MUSEUM



KING CHARLES THE I.ST

THE REIGN OF King *CHARLES* I.

PRince *Charles*, the only ſurviving Son of King *James* the Firſt, came to the Crown under all the Diſadvantages that have been mention'd. He was now in the Vigour of his Youth, in the twenty fifth Year of his Age, of a grave Aſpect and comely Behaviour, and free from moſt of thoſe Vices and Exceſſes that Perſons of his Age and Fortune are commonly addicted to. An. 1625. 1 Car. I.

His Childhood.

This Prince, in his younger Years, was ſubject to many Infirmities of Conſtitution, which were accompanied with a ſeeming Obſtinacy in his Temper: For the Weakneſs of his Body at firſt inclining him to private Receſſes, and ſome Imperfections in his Speech rendring Diſcourſe and Converſation tedious and unpleaſant, he was ſuſpected to be ſomewhat perverſe in his Nature: But more Age and Strength fitting him for manlike Exerciſes, and the publick Hopes inviting him from his Retirements, he gradually freed the Nation from all ſuch Apprehenſions: So that after having made a good Proficiency in Learning,

His Youth and Exerciſes.

An. 1625. he proceeded to a more active Life, exerciſing himſelf in Vaulting, Riding the great Horſe, Running at the Ring, Shooting with Croſs-Bows, Muſkets, and ſometimes great Guns; till at length he was accounted the moſt celebrated Markſman, and the moſt perfect Manager of the great Horſe of any in the three Kingdoms.

He choſe rather to divert himſelf with theſe martial Exerciſes, than to be at the Head of any political Meaſures; he quietly enjoy'd his Privacies in the very Court, and left the Management of State Affairs entirely to his Father, and his Favourite Council: And, except his joining with the Duke of *Buckingham* in the laſt Parliament, he had never yet declar'd himſelf of any Party, or had ſcarce interpos'd in any publick Proceedings, tho ſome things had been tranſacted with great Detriment to his own preſent and future Fortunes.

Acceſſion to the Crown.

With ſuch a Diſpoſition and ſuch Qualifications this young Prince ſucceeded his Father upon the twenty ſeventh Day of *March*, in the Year 1625. King *James* being dead, the Privy Council immediately met, and drew up the Form of a Proclamation to proclaim the new King; which was publiſh'd at *Theobalds* (where the King died) that Evening, and the next Day at *Weſtminſter* and *London*, with the uſual Ceremonies and very hearty Acclamations. In the Evening of this Day the King came to the Palace of St. *James*'s. On the Day following, all the Privy Counſellors of the late King were ſworn into his preſent Majeſty's Council; by whoſe Advice a Commiſſion was granted to authorize the Great Seal, Privy Seal, and Signet, till new ones could be prepar'd: And other Commiſſions were iſſued out for continuing the Power of the Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and all other civil Officers, whoſe Truſt did by Law determine with the King's Death. A particular Proclamation was publiſh'd, in which the young King ſignify'd his Father's Death, together with his own undoubted Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of this Realm; declaring in the End, 'That as he, for his 'Part, ſhould, by God's Grace, ſhew himſelf a moſt 'benign and gracious Sovereign to all his good Sub'jects, in their lawful Suits and Cauſes; ſo he doubt'ed not but they, on their Parts, would ſhew them'ſelves

'ſelves to him, their natural Liege Lord, moſt loving, 1 Car. I.
'faithful, and obedient Subjects.'

His Wants.

The new King being thus enter'd upon his Throne, found his greateſt Concern was immediately to ſupply an exhauſted Treaſury, which was to furniſh out Money for three extraordinary and ſolemn Occaſions, *viz.* a Funeral, a Marriage, and a Coronation, beſides a new projected War, likely to be more expenſive than all the other joined together. Hereupon a Parliament was determin'd to be call'd, and Writs were immediately iſſu'd out for that Purpoſe.

The Council mov'd the King that his Father's Funeral might be ſolemniz'd, and his own Nuptials in *France* confirm'd, before the Sitting of the Parliament: To both which the King agreed. Accordingly on the twenty third of *April*, the Body of King *James* was conducted by the Nobility and great Officers of State, from *Theobalds* to *Somerſet-Houſe* in the *Strand*; from whence it was carried with a very pompous Solemnity, on the ſeventh of *May*, to the *Abbey* Church at *Weſtminſter*. The Herſe was follow'd by the King himſelf as chief Mourner, ſupported by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, with his Train born up by twelve Peers of the Realm. After an elegant Sermon preach'd by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Corps was interr'd in *Henry* the ſeventh's Chapel.

Funeral of K. *James*.

The King's next and chiefeſt Care was, to conclude his own Match with *Henrietta Maria*, a Daughter of *France*. The Articles of Marriage had been ſign'd by K. *James* on the 11th of *May* laſt Year, and by the *French* King on the 14th of *Auguſt* following; and in *March* the ſaid Articles were ſign'd at *Paris* by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, the Earls of *Carliſle* and *Holland*. So that after a needleſs Diſpenſation from *Rome*, nothing now remain'd but the Ceremony of Eſpouſals; for which the King ſent over his procuratorial Letters for the Duke of *Chevreux* to act in his Name: And on the eleventh of *May* the Solemnity was perform'd by Cardinal *Richelieu*, upon a Theatre erected for that Purpoſe before the Altar in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* in *Paris*, the Lady being given by her two Brothers, the King and Monſieur. The Duke of *Buckingham* was ſent over to conduct her Majeſty into *England*. He came to *Paris* on the twenty fourth of *May*, from whence he attended the

Preparation for the King's Marriage.

Ceremony perform'd at *Paris*.

An. 1625. Queen, on the second of *June*, towards *Amiens*, and forward to *Boloign*; where the Royal Navy lying ready for her, she embark'd on the twelfth of *June*, and was brought safe, tho a little sick, to *Dover*: Where the King met her in the Morning, and taking Coach the same Day for *Canterbury*, the Marriage was that Night consummated. On the sixteenth of *June* their Majesties entered *London*, where great Preparations had been made to receive them; but most of the Shew and Appearance was omitted, because the Plague was now encreased in the City and Suburbs. The Queen settled with her Family in *Denmark* or *Somerset-House*, which had been fitted up for her Reception, with a Chappel for Popish Service, according to the Articles of Marriage, and a Convent for *Capuchin* Friers, who were permitted to walk abroad in their religious Habits.

Queen conducted to *England*.

Match unfortunate.

However auspicious this Marriage appear'd to King *James*, and many others who promoted it, it prov'd one great Occasion of the future Calamities of the Nation, and was against the main Bent and Genius of the People: For almost all the Protestants took the Alarm, as if the Marriage had been only made to introduce Popery; King *James* having in effect condescended to so many Particulars in favour of the Queen's *French* Domesticks, and the *English* Papists, and taken so little Care for the Education of the Children to be born of this Marriage, in the Protestant Religion; that unless he was resolv'd to break his Word, the Articles of the Contract were to be judg'd a Design to strengthen the Romish Faction in *England*.

First Parliament.

On the 18th of *June* the Parliament, according to Summons, met at *Westminster*, where the King made a Speech to them, in which he declar'd, 'That the Busi-'ness to be treated of was no new thing, but was be-'gun by his Father, and he hop'd they would go on to 'maintain it as freely as they advis'd his Father to it; 'which just and glorious Work it was his Wisdom 'not to begin, until he found Means to maintain it: 'But when he saw himself abus'd, he took their Ad-'vice; for the Assistance of those in *Germany*, the 'Fleet ready for Action, and the other Preparations 'did sufficiently prove that his Father enter'd into 'this Action. He hop'd they remember'd that they 'employ'd him to break off the two Treaties then

'on

'on foot: And tho he came into this Buſineſs like a 1 Car. I.
'raſh young Man, yet it being begun by their Ad-
'vice, it would be a Diſhonour to him and them if
'it ſhould fail for want of their Aſſiſtance. Then he
'mov'd for Diſpatch, by reaſon of the infectious
'Seaſon, which by their long Continuance might
'endanger their Lives. Laſtly he ſolemnly de-
'clar'd his firm Adherence to the true eſtabliſh'd
'Religion, againſt all the Aſperſions of ſome malicious
'Men.' Then the Lord-Keeper declar'd, 'That
'the King's main Reaſon for calling them, was to
'mind them of his great Engagements for the Reco-
'very of the *Palatinate*: That all the Treaties, Al-
'liances, and Preparations do meet in one Centre, the
'*Palatinate*; and the Subſidies granted laſt Parlia-
'ment are ſpent therein: He recommended three
'things to them, firſt the timing of it; his Majeſty
'therefore deſir'd them to beſtow this meeting upon
'him, the next ſhould be theirs. Secondly, the Sup-
'ply, the laſt having been already expended. Third-
'ly, the Iſſue of this Action, which, being the firſt,
'highly concern'd his Majeſty's Reputation.' The
Houſe began with various Debates: Some inſiſted up-
on the Grievances not redreſs'd by King *James*; o-
thers were for an Account of the laſt Subſidies; o-
thers for putting the Laws in execution againſt Prieſts
and Jeſuits, and ſuch as reſorted to Ambaſſadors
Houſes: But others adviſ'd to preſerve a right Under-
ſtanding between the King and his Subjects, and to
expreſs their Duty to him by giving him a Supply,
and therewith to offer nothing but a Petition for the
Honour and Safety of Religion.

Subſidies granted.

After theſe Debates, the Commons unanimouſly
agreed to two Subſidies; which being confirm'd by
the Lords, were offer'd to his Majeſty, with the uſual
Deſire of his gracious Acceptance. The Lord *Con-
way*, Secretary of State, ſignified to the Lords and
Commons together, That his Majeſty did kindly ac-
cept the Bill for two Subſidies, but that the Neceſſi-
ties of the preſent Affairs were ſo urgent as to require
their further Advice and Aſſiſtance: That the late
King was provok'd beyond his Nature to undertake
a War; that the Charges thereof amount to ſeven
hundred thouſand Pounds a Year to ſupport the *Ne-
therlands*; and to prevent the Emperor's Deſigns in

An. 1625. *Germany*, he levied an Army under Count *Mansfeldt*, the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* another; and to uphold the *Netherlands*, the Charge of *Mansfeldt*'s and *Denmark*'s Armies muſt continue. Then the Lord Keeper deliver'd a ſhort Meſſage from the King to both Houſes, That as to the Petition of the Lords and Commons touching Religion, his Majeſty was pleas'd at firſt to give them a gracious Aſſurance, and had now ſent them a fuller Anſwer, to give them Satisfaction in every particular.

The Houſes were preparing ſeveral Acts; as againſt giving and taking of Bribes for Places of Judicature; to reſtrain the arbitrary preſſing of Soldiers; to grant the Tonnage and Poundage for one Year only; and ſome other Bills in Agitation: when by reaſon of the great Increaſe of the Plague, the two Houſes mov'd his Majeſty for a ſhort Receſs; and accordingly on *Monday* the eleventh of *July* they adjourn'd to *Oxford*, to re-aſſemble there on the firſt of *Auguſt*.

Parliament adjourn'd to *Oxford*.

In the mean time, there happen'd an Action at Sea that prov'd of very great Diſadvantage to the King, both with regard to the Affections of his People, and the Eſteem of foreign Proteſtants. King *James* had promiſed to lend ſome Ships to the *French* King upon reaſonable Conditions, ſuppoſing them to be employ'd only againſt the King of *Spain*, or his Allies, in *Italy*. To perform this Promiſe, Captain *John Pennington* was ſent in the *Vantguard*, a principal Man of War, with ſeven Merchant Ships of great Burden and Strength, to ride upon the Coaſt of *France* for the Service of that King; who, inſtead of employing them againſt a common Enemy, had now reſolv'd to make another Uſe of them againſt his own Proteſtant Subjects, to block up the Harbour of *Rochel*, and ſo reduce the Town to his abſolute Subjection. Captain *Pennington* was ſenſible of this black Deſign, and therefore ſent back a Memorial to the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord High-Admiral, to decline the Service, and to bring home the Ships in Safety and Honour: But he ſoon receiv'd Letters from the Duke, and a Warrant from Secretary *Conway*, in the King's Name, to command him to deliver up the Ships into the Hands of ſuch *Frenchmen* as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould appoint, but not to deſert his own Charge over them. Theſe Orders were deliver'd to him by

Ships lent to the *French*.

the

the hands of the *French* Ambaſſador, together with a Letter from the *French* King, requiring him to receive aboard a certain Number of *French* Soldiers, and his Admiral the Duke of *Montmorance*, and ſo to join againſt the *Rochellers*. *Pennington* very bravely refus'd; upon which a Diſpute ariſing, the *French* Ambaſſador's Secretary came two ſeveral times to the Captain's Ship, to proteſt againſt him as a Rebel to his King and Country: But at the making of the laſt Proteſt, enforc'd with Challenges and Threats, the Soldiers and Mariners grew into ſuch a Fury and Tumult, that they got up their Anchors and ſet ſail for *England*, ſaying, like true *Engliſh* Seamen, that *they would rather be hang'd at home than be Slaves to the* French, *and fight againſt the Proteſtant Religion.* When they came to anchor in the *Downs*, Captain *Pennington* ſent an Expreſs to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to inform him of what had happen'd; and to aſſure him, that all his Men would ſooner be hang'd than return again into *France*. But the King, upon the Queen's importunity, ſent an Expreſs and ſtrict Orders to *Pennington*, to put his former Inſtructions, without delay, in execution; to reſign his Ship, called the *Vantguard*, with all her Furniture, into the hands of the Marqueſs *D' Effiat*; and to require the ſeven Merchant Ships to put themſelves into the Service of the *French* King, under the utmoſt Penalty. Upon this *Pennington* ſail'd back to *Diep*, and put the *Vantguard* into the abſolute Power of the *French* King, and deliver'd up the other Ships for the ſame purpoſe; who were weighing Anchor, and making away, but upon a Shot from *Pennington* they came in again; only Sir *Ferdinando George* boldly brought off his Ship call'd the *Neptune*. The Companies in the reſt, unanimouſly declar'd againſt ſerving the *French*, and quitted their Ships all but one Man; and *Pennington* himſelf came away for *England*. This Expedition was fatal to the King's Intereſt, brought on a Jealouſy of the new Queen, and rais'd a general Odium againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*. 1 Car. I.

Second Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

On the firſt of *Auguſt*, the Parliament met at *Oxford*, and on the fourth both Houſes were order'd to attend his Majeſty in *Chriſt-Church-hall*, where in a Speech he reminded them 'of adviſing his Father 'to break the Treaties with *Spain*, and leading him

'into

An. 1625. ‘ into an expensive War; and earnestly urg'd them ‘ to give sufficient Supplies, which at present were ‘ very much wanting.’ His Speech was seconded by the two Secretaries, who urg'd new Reasons, and declar'd, ‘ the present State of Affairs with reference ‘ to *Germany*, *France*, the Low-Countries, *Den-* ‘ *mark*, *Sweden*, and *Italy*; and then laid open the ‘ present Condition and Necessities of the Fleets and ‘ Armies.’ After this, the Lord Treasurer declar'd, ‘ the Debts of King *James*, which amounted to ‘ above three hundred thousand Pounds; next the ‘ Debts and Expences of his present Majesty, a- ‘ mounting to near two hundred thousand Pounds; ‘ and besides, the *Navy* would require, for the de- ‘ sign'd Expedition, at least three hundred thousand ‘ Pounds.’

These great Occasions of Supply made some Members of the House of Commons take advantage of the King's Necessities, and improve the popular Discontents; which the King might easily have allay'd by soft Words, and Reformation of some few Abuses: But finding the King not much dispos'd to please them, they grew more uneasy, and complain'd, ‘ That ‘ the Treasury was misimploy'd; that evil Counsels ‘ guided the King's Designs; that the Nation's Ne- ‘ cessities were all owing to a wrong Management; ‘ that they ought to petition the King to chuse a ‘ more faithful Council; that it was not safe to grant ‘ more Mony, till Grievances were redress'd; that it ‘ should be declar'd, against what Enemy the Fleet ‘ and Army were intended; that Court-Offices were ‘ sold; that the King had not yet given a full An- ‘ swer to their Petition concerning Religion, nor a- ‘ bout the Imposition upon Wines; that all Miscar- ‘ riages were chiefly owing to the Potency of the ‘ Duke of *Buckingham*, upon whom they reflected ‘ with great Severity, that he had broke the Match ‘ with *Spain*, to make that with *France* upon much ‘ harder Terms; that Papists were openly encourag'd, ‘ and some Priests and Jesuits had obtain'd Warrants ‘ of Pardon, dispensing with express Statutes.’

Various Complaints.

A Conference was held between the Lords and Commons upon the Subject of these Debates, and more especially upon the establish'd Religion. When the Conference was over, both Houses were order'd to meet

meet at *Chriſt-Church*, to receive an Anſwer to their Petition concerning Religion, to every Clauſe whereof his Majeſty anſwer'd in a Parliamentary Way. The Petition ſhew'd, that the Jealouſies of Popery were then very high; and the Anſwer aſſured them, that the King would effectually ſuppreſs thoſe Fears and Jealouſies. At the time of reading the Petition and Anſwer, it was further intimated to the Commons, 'That as his Majeſty took well their minding him of 'the Care of Religion, ſo he would have done and 'granted the ſame things if they had not petition'd 'for them; and that what he had done in this par-'ticular, came from theſe two Fountains, Conſcience, 'and Duty to his Father, who in his laſt Speech re-'commended unto him the Perſon, but not the Re-'ligion, of his Queen.' 1 Car. I.

Next to the Dangers of Popery, the greateſt Grievance of the Commons was, to ſee the Duke of *Buckingham* ſo exceſſively in the King's Favour, the prime Miniſter, the higheſt Officer, and in effect the ſole Mover of the Court. Their Reſentment of this had been very loud in the preſent Seſſion; Speeches and Replies had been very ſevere: And therefore the Duke thought it proper to make ſome Apology and Defence for himſelf; and he took an Opportunity of doing this when both Houſes were together to receive his Majeſty's Anſwer. He began with acquainting the Lords and Commons, 'That by the King's 'Command he was to give an Account of the Fleet, 'and the Preparations thereof. He ſaid, that the firſt 'and the laſt time he had the Happineſs to ſpeak in 'that Auditory, it was of the *Spaniſh* Treaty; and 'then he was ſo happy as to be honour'd and ap-'plauded by both Houſes of Parliament; and he 'made no queſtion but ſpeaking now with the ſame 'heart, he ſhould be no leſs acceptable to them.' At laſt he proceeded to ſum up the Objections rais'd againſt him, and to give particular Anſwers to them. *Buckingham's* Power a Grievance.

The Duke's Diſcourſe produc'd variety of Opinions in the Houſe of Commons: Some were for giving the King a preſent Supply: Others were for repreſenting to him how his Deſigns might be better manag'd, the King of *Spain* infeſted at a leſs charge, and the Nation better ſecur'd from Papiſts at home, whoſe Eſtates ought to contribute; and that the great Sums

An. 1625. Sums given for Honours and Offices, would go far in ſetting forth the Fleet.

King's Meſſage to the Commons.

Next Day, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, 'Deſiring them to lay aſide all other Conſi-'derations, and give him a preſent Anſwer about 'a Supply, his Affairs requiring Diſpatch, and the 'time of the Year being far ſpent; telling them, 'that if the Plague ſhould happen among them, or 'in the Navy, the Action would be loſt; and if he 'can have no Supply, he will ſhift for himſelf. 'Then he offer'd that they ſhould meet again in 'Winter, and told them that this was his firſt Re-'queſt.'

Hereupon ſome urg'd the giving of two Subſidies, and two Fifteenths, inſiſting on the Neceſſity of it: Others ſaid, Neceſſity was an evil Counſellor, and that they who had brought ſuch a Neceſſity upon them, ought to anſwer for it. At length a Declaration was unanimouſly agreed to by the Houſe, and ſent to the King, in which they declar'd, 'They would con-'tinue loyal Subjects, and would be ready in conve-'nient Time, and in a Parliamentary Way, to diſ-'cover and reform Grievances, and to afford all ne-'ceſſary Supply to his Majeſty; beſeeching him to 'reſt aſſur'd of their true and hearty Affections, and 'to eſteem the ſame to be, as it really is, the greateſt 'Reputation and Security a juſt King can have, and 'to account all ſuch Slanderers and Enemies of the 'Commonwealth, who ſhall dare to ſay the con-'trary.'

Commons Declaration.

This Declaration was ſent to the King by ſuch Members of the Houſe as were of the Privy-Council: And if his Majeſty would have ſeem'd pleas'd with it, and would have commanded *Buckingham* to make his Peace with the Commons, and promis'd a Redreſs of civil Grievances as graciouſly as he had anſwer'd the Complaints about Religion, and have ſo comply'd with the Genius of the Nation; he might then have made himſelf ſafe at home and very conſiderable abroad: But, as it fell out, he thought the Duke was by no means to be laid aſide, and apprehended that the Grievances, of a ſix Months Reign ought not to be objected to him; and that nothing elſe ought to interrupt an immediate Supply: And upon theſe Thoughts, on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, he

he ſent a Commiſſion directed to ſeveral Lords for the Diſſolution of the Parliament. Whereupon the Uſher of the *Black Rod* was ſent to call up the Commons to the Lords Houſe: But they being reſolv'd into a Grand Committe, and apprehending the Deſign of the Meſſage, refus'd to admit the Meſſenger, or to let the Speaker take the Chair, till Mr. *Glanvil*, Chairman of the Committee, had made a Report in a kind of Proteſtation. Then the Houſe went up, and having heard his Majeſty's Commiſſion read, it was accordingly executed, and the Parliament diſſolv'd. 1 Car. I. Parliament diſſolv'd by Commiſſion.

This abrupt Diſſolution was a great Unhappineſs to the King and Kingdom: For it left a deep Impreſſion of Diſcontent upon the Minds of the People, and created a Diffidence and Jealouſy between the King and all ſucceeding Parliaments.

The King ſtill purſu'd his Deſigns of War, and order'd the Fleet to be ſpeedily put to Sea. He made a League with the *United Provinces* againſt the Emperor and *Spaniſh* King, for reſtoring the Liberties of *Germany*; and the Duke of *Buckingham* and Earl of *Holland* were ſent to the *Hague* to conclude it. A League with *Holland*.

To comply with the Deſires of the late Parliament, and to keep his Royal Word, the King iſſu'd out a Proclamation to command the Return of all *Engliſh* Youths bred up in foreign Schools and Seminaries: That no Biſhop, Prieſt, or other Perſon in Orders by Authority of the See of *Rome*, ſhould preſume to confer eccleſiaſtical Orders, or exerciſe his Function or Juriſdiction towards any of his natural Subjects: and that all Statutes in force againſt Jeſuits and Prieſts, be put in due execution.

The King not obtaining his deſir'd Supply from his Parliament, attempted ſome extraordinary Meaſures to raiſe Mony for carrying on the War: That of borrowing from the Subjects was firſt tried, as the moſt inoffenſive. To which purpoſe, the King directed his Letters to the Lords-Lieutenants in the ſeveral Counties, deſiring them to join with their Deputy-Lieutenants, and return the Names of all ſuch Gentlemen as were of Ability to lend, and the Sums they thought they might ſpare. Accordingly Privy-Seals were ſent to the ſeveral Perſons, obliging the Raiſing Mony by Loan.

Re-

An. 1625. Repayment of the Money in eighteen Months; and the Collectors were order'd to return the Names of ſuch as ſhew'd a Diſpoſition to delay or excuſe the lending of the Sums required of them. This Project did not ſo much anſwer the King's Occaſions, as it open'd the Mouths of the People, it being attended with many diſtaſtful Circumſtances and Marks of Compulſion.

Therefore to allay the popular Diſcontent that was rais'd on this account, the Privy-Council iſſu'd out Warrants for the diſarming of Popiſh Recuſants; and directed expreſs Letters to the principal Popiſh Lords, requiring them to render their Arms, to be remov'd into Places convenient, and to remain there during the King's Pleaſure.

The Fleet was now ready, and ten brave Regiments were deſign'd for this Expedition. The Duke Lord Admiral declin'd to go in Perſon, which rais'd a greater Prejudice againſt him. To ſupply his Place, Sir *Edward Cecil* was created Lord Viſcount *Wimbleton*; who came to this Service with the Reputation of a Land-Soldier, not of a Seaman: and his being a Stranger to the Navy was the worſe reſented, becauſe in the Choice of Officers, Sir *Robert Manſel*, a true old Sea-Commander, was paſs'd by.

Fleet ſails from *Plymouth.*

In the Beginning of *October*, the Fleet, conſiſting of eighty Ships, put forth from *Plymouth* for the Coaſts of *Spain*; and after four Days ſail met with a furious Storm, which ſo diſpers'd the Ships, that the greateſt Part of them were miſſing for ſeven Days: but they join'd again upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, where they found a Prize put into their Hands, the *Spaniſh* Shipping in the Bay of *Cadiz*, weak and eaſy to be taken; but thro Negligence and ill Conduct they ſuffer'd them to eſcape. To regain ſome Honour, the Forces landed, and Sir *John Boroughs* took a ſmall Fort: But the Soldiers finding good Store of rich Wines, took ſo much Liberty in them, that they had become an eaſy Prey to their Enemies, if they had not been commanded aboard again; when the General putting to Sea, intended to wait for the Plate-Fleet, which was daily expected from the *Weſt-Indies*: But the bad State of his Men, by reaſon of a general Infection, oblig'd him to return home with Diſhonour in *November* following.

This

This unfortunate Expedition encreas'd the Jealouſies of the People. Some little Enquiries were made into the Miſcarriage; but they threw the Blame upon one another, and only prov'd it to be among them a very ill-manag'd Deſign. 1 Car. I.

About this time, the King determin'd to call a new Parliament, to meet in *February* following: and to prepare for their more amicable Meeting, his Majeſty enjoin'd the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to proceed againſt Popiſh Recuſants by Excommunication and other Cenſures of the Church; and iſſu'd out a Proclamation, requiring all convicted Papiſts, according to the Laws of the Realm, to remain confin'd to their Dwelling-Places, or within five Miles thereof, unleſs upon ſpecial Licenſe firſt obtain'd in neceſſary Caſes. This was a very popular Method; but ſome other Meaſures were taken very diſagreeable. The Duke of *Buckingham* was allow'd to throw his Marks of Diſpleaſure upon thoſe Members who had oppos'd him in the laſt Parliament; of whom one of the Chief was the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Lord Keeper, whom the Duke had openly reprov'd at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, for ſiding againſt him; the Biſhop bravely anſwer'd, That he was indeed engag'd with *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, and other worthy Patriots, to endeavour the Redreſs of the People's Grievances, and in ſo good a Cauſe he was reſolv'd to ſtand upon his own Legs. *If that be your Reſolution* (ſaid the Duke) *look you ſtand faſt:* and ſo they parted never to be reconcil'd; for ſhortly after, the Biſhop was ſequeſtred from the Council-Table, from the Seal, and from the Preſence of the King; tho he retain'd the Name of Lord-Keeper, till upon the thirtieth of *October* the Seal was given to Sir *Thomas Coventry*. Other Tokens of Prejudice were ſhewn againſt ſome of the leading Members of the laſt Houſe of Commons, who were now made Sheriffs, that they might be incapable of being elected within their ſeveral Countries.

Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

The Plague now began to abate: It had rag'd near a Year, and thoſe who died of it within the City and Suburbs, were thirty five thouſand four hundred and ſeventeen.

The Plague abates.

The

An. 1625. The King had appointed *Candlemas-Day* for his Coronation; when his Majesty with a very pompous Attendance began his Procession from *Westminster-hall*, and enter'd the *Abby* a little before ten in the Morning. At the entring into the Church, Bishop *Laud* deliver'd into the King's Hands the Staff of King *Edward* the Confessor, with which the King walked up to the Throne. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* presented his Majesty to the Lords, and Commons, and People there present, East, West, North, and South, who gave their Assent and joyful Approbation. After Sermon, the King went to the Altar, and took the Coronation Oath.

King's Coronation.

The second Parliament.

On the sixth of *February*, the second Parliament began. If his Majesty had chose the later gracious Custom of speaking himself to the two Houses, it might have left the better Impressions of Duty and Affection. But it pleas'd him to refer them wholly to the Lord-Keeper; the Matter of whose Speech, and the Dressing of it, had a peculiar Air of Greatness, which would have somewhat better become the King himself than his Minister. In this Speech, no mention was made of Supplies.

Proceedings of the Commons.

The Commons began with very dutiful Respects, in thanking the King for his late gracious Answer to their late Petition for Religion. Then a Bill was brought in, to administer an Oath for rendring a true Account of all general and publick Taxes, Rates, and Collections: Another against scandalous Ministers. A Committee was appointed for Grievances, and another for secret Affairs, to sit upon particular Days. They complain'd of the Miscarriage of the Fleet at *Cadiz*, of evil Counsellors about the King, of the Misemployment of the publick Revenue, and other political Disorders. A Committee was likewise appointed for Religion, to restrain the Growth of Popery.

An. 1626. While these things were under Consideration, Mr. Secretary *Cook* deliver'd a Message from the King to the Commons, declaring his Majesty's Occasions for Supply. And the Necessity of this Supply was further urg'd by the Earl of *Pembroke* in a Conference between the two Houses. But the Commons, before they would enter upon the Consideration of Mony-Bills,

King's Message for a Supply.

call'd

call'd for a Report from the Committee of Grievances, who complain'd of ſeveral things, as, The Diminution of the Strength and Honour of the Kingdom, The Increaſe and Countenancing of Papiſts, The not guarding of the narrow Seas, Plurality of Offices in one Hand, Sales of Honour and Places of Judicature, Delivering up of Ships to the *French*, Miſemployment of three Subſidies and three Fifteenths, *&c.* And they order'd, that the Duke of *Buckingham* ſhould have notice given, that the Houſe intended ſuddenly to reſume the Debate of theſe Matters. The Lords ſeem'd more complying with the King's Deſires, and appointed a Committee to conſider of the common Safety and Defence. 2 Car. I. Several Grievances.

The King, learning that the Houſe of Commons was thus affected, ſent a warm Letter to the Speaker for a Supply; in which he declar'd, *That as he preſs'd for nothing beyond the preſent State and Condition of his Subjects, ſo he would accept no leſs than what was proportionable to the Greatneſs and Goodneſs of the Cauſe*; and promis'd *Redreſs of Grievances, if preſented in a dutiful and mannerly way.* This was further urg'd in a Meſſage from the King by Sir *Richard Weſton*, who after ſeveral Reaſons, propos'd *to know, without further delay of Time, what Supply they would give his Majeſty.* To this the Commons return'd an Anſwer, which ſeem'd to be very reſpectful and ſincere; and if his Majeſty could have taken it in that obliging Senſe, and have made a ſoft and eaſy Return of Confidence in them, the Seſſions might have been happy, and the Aid ſufficient. But his Majeſty was impatient of Delay, and either mov'd by his own Diſpoſition to be reſolute, or prevail'd upon by the Duke of *Buckingham* to ſkreen him from all Danger, he thought fit to ſend another ſharp Letter to the Commons; in which he told them, *He would be as willing to hear their Grievances as any of his Predeceſſors, if they would apply themſelves to redreſs Grievances, and not to enquire after them.* And further ſaid, *I will not allow any of my Servants to be queſtion'd amongſt you, much leſs ſuch as are of eminent Place. I ſee you eſpecially aim at the Duke of* Buckingham, *I admire what has ſo alter'd your Affections towards him.* Then he declar'd, *That the Duke's Service to the Publick had rather* King's Letter to the Speaker.

An. 1626. *impair'd than improv'd his Estate:* And concluded thus, *I desire you would hasten my Supply, or else it will be worse for your selves; for if any Evil happens, I think I shall be the last that shall feel it.*

Heats in the House. This did but exasperate the Commons the more: And now the Majority of the House fell directly on the Duke as the chief Cause of all publick Miscarriages: And Dr. *Turner*, a Physician, propos'd six Queries against him, as grounded upon common Fame. Whereupon the Question being mov'd, Whether an Accusation upon common Fame, by a Member of the House, be a Parliamentary Way, it was voted, *That common Fame is a good Ground of proceeding for the House of Commons.*

King's Message to the House. The King now sent a second Message to the House by Sir *Richard Weston*, in which he took notice of the *Seditious Speech* of Mr. *Coke*, who boldly said, *That it was better to die by an Enemy, than to suffer at home:* And likewise of Dr. *Turner*'s Queries against the Duke, *which*, he said, *in reality were against the Honour and Government of himself, and of his Father: That he cannot suffer an Inquiry on the meanest of his Servants, much less against one so near him. He desires the Justice of the House against the Delinquents, that he might not be constrain'd to use his Regal Authority to right himself against these two Persons.* Upon this Message Dr. *Turner* stood up and explain'd himself, and justified his Proceedings upon common Fame by the Imperial Laws, and Canons of the Church. And this Resentment of the King made them more hot against the Duke; so that Sir *William Walter* represented to the House, that the Cause of all Grievances was that which happen'd in the Court of *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, namely, *That all the King's Council rode upon one Horse:* And Sir *John Elliot* made a very warm Speech upon the Subject of the Duke's Mismanagements and the publick Grievances. But to qualify these Heats, with all Respect to his Majesty, and with a Deference to the Necessity of publick Affairs, the Commons voted three Subsidies, and three Fifteenths, to which they soon after added a fourth Subsidy; but the Act was not to be brought in, till the Grievances were presented to his Majesty, and answer'd by him. And now they proceeded to receive

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Informations againſt the Duke, and order'd that he ſhould have notice of it. 2 Car. I.

This ſo affected the King who was reſolv'd to defend the Duke, that he ſummon'd both Houſes to attend him at *White-hall*, where he declar'd to them, That he call'd them for ſeveral and diſtinct Reaſons; the Lords, to thank them for their Care of the Publick; the Commons, to ſhew them their Errors; And then he referred them to the Lord-Keeper, who made a long Speech, wherein he told the Commons 'That his Majeſty excepted againſt their not 'puniſhing Mr. *Coke* and Dr. *Turner*; and commended the Duke, concerning whom his Majeſty 'knew the ſincerity of his Proceedings, and muſt believe that their Aim at him is to wound the Honour 'and Judgment of himſelf and Father. That as to 'the Supply voted, it was dilatory and ſcanty; ſo far 'from making him ſafe at home and fear'd abroad, 'that it would expoſe him both to Danger and Diſeſteem; and the manner of granting it very diſhonourable and full of Diſtruſt. Therefore his Majeſty 'commands them to go together, and by Saturday next 'return their final Anſwer what they will give, and 'that without Condition.' When the Keeper had ended, the King ſpoke again; and after mentioning the Parliament's cauſing him to break with *Spain*, he proceeded thus: *Now that I am ſo far engag'd, that you think there is no Retreat, you begin to ſet the Dice, and make your own Game; but this is not the Way to deal with the King. Mr.* Coke *told you*, It was better to die by a foreign Enemy, than be deſtroy'd at home: *Indeed I think it more Honour for a King to be invaded, and almoſt deſtroy'd by a foreign Enemy, than to be deſpis'd by his own Subjects. Remember that Parliaments are altogether in my Power, for their Calling, Sitting, and Diſſolution; therefore as I find the Fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be.*

King ſends for both Houſes.

This was thought by moſt People ſuch a rough way of Speaking as had not been uſual from an *Engliſh* Prince to an *Engliſh* Parliament. The Houſe was incens'd at theſe Speeches, and upon their Return immediately reſolv'd themſelves into a grand Committee, order'd the Doors to be lock'd, and no Member to go forth, and all other Proceedings to ceaſe

An. 1626. till they ſhould come to a Reſolution in this Matter. The King being informed of this, commanded the Duke of *Buckingham* to give them Satisfaction at a Conference of both Houſes in the *Painted-Chamber*, held for that purpoſe on the twenty ninth of *March*. He in his Speech 'endeavour'd to excuſe the King's 'preſcribing a ſhort Day for their granting a Supply; 'and acquainted them, that the King's inſiſting upon 'a larger Aid than had been voted, was owing to the 'great Neceſſity of his Affairs, and the Benefit of 'being enabled to carry the War to the Enemy's 'Doors; and that his Majeſty did not intend to in-'terrupt their proceeding upon Grievances, but on-'ly hop'd they would not ſo much ſeek Faults as the 'Means to redreſs them.' But all this Apology could not divert the Commons from proceeding in their Enquiries into publick Grievances, and from drawing up a humble Remonſtrance to the King, 'In which 'they in a great meaſure deny the Words to have 'been ſpoken by Mr. *Coke*, they excuſe the Behaviour 'of Dr. *Turner*, and avow their Proceedings againſt 'the Duke, or any other Subject, to be according to 'the Rights of all Parliaments; and in Concluſion 'they pray his Majeſty not to give ear to officious 'Reports of private Perſons for their own Ends.' Upon Delivery of this Remonſtrance, the King, either conſcious of his own Integrity and the Fidelity of the Duke, or being reſolutely bent upon a War, and entirely averſe to all Meaſures that might ſeem to retard it, only told them, *That he could give no preſent Anſwer; but deſir'd the Houſe to adjourn for a Week, as the Lords had done:* And they adjourn'd accordingly.

Duke's mollifying Speech.

Remonſtrance of the Commons.

Houſe adjourn'd.

As to the Houſe of Lords, tho the King in his late Speech had diſtinguiſh'd them from the Commons by his particular Thanks and Approbation; yet ſome Occaſions of Offence did ſoon offer, that rais'd ſome unhappy Jealouſies amongſt them. But that which chiefly occaſion'd and continually improv'd the Diſcontents in that Houſe, was the Conteſt between the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Briſtol*. Their Emulation began in the Court of *Spain*, where the Duke had been moſt officious to pleaſe the Prince, but the Earl had thought himſelf more ſerviceable to the Honour of the Nation. The Earl at his Return,

Uneaſineſs in the Houſe of Lords.

Contention between the Duke and the Earl of *Briſtol*.

upon the Suggeſtions of the Duke, was debarr'd Acceſs to his Majeſty, and being examin'd by a Committee of Lords at the King's Appointment, was kept under Reſtraint, and denied his Writ to Parliament; and when upon Interceſſion of the Lords he had the uſual Summons, yet he receiv'd it with an Order not to make his perſonal Appearance: Upon which he ſent a Petition to the Houſe, ſetting forth the Wrong done to him; and deſiring to be heard in the Houſe, that he might there clear himſelf, and prefer his Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*. This ſo highly diſpleas'd the King, that he ſent a Meſſage by the Lord Keeper to the Houſe of Lords, 'That his Ma'jeſty had heard of a Petition preferr'd by the Earl 'of *Briſtol*, ſo void of Duty and Reſpect to his Ma'jeſty, that he had great Cauſe to puniſh him; and 'commanding that the Earl be ſent for as a Delin'quent, to anſwer in the Houſe his Offences commit'ted in his Negotiations before his Majeſty's being 'in *Spain*, and his Offences ſince his Majeſty's coming 'from *Spain*, and his ſcandalizing the Duke of *Buck'ingham* immediately, and his Majeſty by Reflection.'

2 Car. I.

Meſſage from the King.

Upon this Meſſage the Lords order'd that the Earl of *Briſtol* ſhould be brought to the Bar of their Houſe on the firſt of *May*; where the Attorney-General exhibited againſt him eleven Articles of High Treaſon and other Miſdemeanours, under three ſeveral Heads, *viz.* 1. *Offences committed before his Majeſty's going into* Spain, *when he was Prince.* 2. *Offences committed during the Time of the Prince's being in* Spain. 3. *Offences committed after the Prince's coming from* Spain. The Articles being read, and Mr. Attorney ask'd by the Earl who was his Accuſer, he ſaid that the King had commanded the Proſecution: To which the Earl reply'd, 'That he would not contend 'with his Sovereign; but it might be of dangerous 'Conſequence, if the King ſhould be Accuſer, Judge, 'Witneſs, and have the Confiſcation: Therefore he 'defir'd that their Lordſhips would firſt receive his 'Charge againſt the Duke, and not ſuffer his Teſtimo'ny to be invalidated by a contriv'd Impeachment.' So he render'd to the Houſe his Articles againſt the Duke, being twelve in Number, which were receiv'd, and ſhortly after read. After reading the ſeveral Articles, the Lords order'd, that the King's Charge

Briſtol brought to the Bar.

An. 1626. against the Earl of *Briſtol* ſhould be firſt heard, and then the Charge of the Earl againſt the Duke; yet ſo that the Earl's Teſtimony againſt the Duke ſhould not be prevented or prejudiced. This occaſion'd a new Meſſage from the King to this Effect: 'That the 'Articles exhibited againſt the Duke were ſuch, as 'the King of his own Knowledge could teſtify his 'ſincere Carriage in them; that they had been kept 'in the Earl's own Breaſt for two Years, contrary to 'his Duty, and were now vented by way of Recrimi-'nation; and that therefore they ſhould put a Diffe-'rence between his Majeſty's Charge againſt one that 'appears as a Delinquent, and the Recrimination of 'the ſame Perſon againſt his Majeſty's Witneſs.'

Another Meſſage from the King.

About a Fortnight after the delivering in of the Articles by the Attorney-General, the Earl gave in his Anſwer, and introduc'd it with an eloquent Speech; wherein he firſt aſſerted his conſtant and ſtrict Adherence to the Proteſtant Religion; and then inſiſted upon his Honour and Integrity in his Negotiations in *Spain*. He then exhibited his full Anſwer to the ſeveral Articles preferr'd againſt him; and concluded with another Speech, wherein 'He hop'd their Lord-'ſhips would not only find him far from Blame, but 'a faithful Servant to his late and preſent Majeſty; 'and that therefore their Lordſhips would take ſuch 'Courſes as they, in their Wiſdom, ſhould think fit, 'not only for ſupporting the Honour of a Peer of this 'Realm, but likewiſe for becoming humble Suitors 'to his Majeſty, that he may be reſtor'd to his Fa-'vour, which above all worldly things he moſt deſir'd.'

Commons Impeach-ment of the Duke.

But the Proceeding of the Lords in this Caſe was now interrupted by an Impeachment of the Duke, pre-par'd in the Houſe of Commons; which upon the eighth of *May* was deliver'd at a Conference of both Houſes. It was manag'd by ſix of the greateſt Law-yers of the Houſe, namely, *Glanvile*, *Herbert*, *Selden*, *Pym*, *Wansford*, and *Sherland*. The Articles of the Impeachment were thirteen in Number, introduc'd by Sir *Dudley Diggs*, with a lofty and pompous Oration. Theſe Articles were all laid open, and enlarg'd with all the proper and neceſſary Circumſtances that the Rhetorick of the ſix Lawyers could ſuggeſt. And for a Concluſion, Sir *John Elliot* made a very ſharp Speech, which he concluded with a particular Com-

Compariſon of the Duke to one of the worſt of Miniſters in the Reign of King *Richard* the firſt. For which he was afterwards ſent to the Tower, as was alſo Sir *Dudley Diggs*, who made the Prologue to this Impeachment. 2 Car. I.

King vindicates him.

On the eleventh of *May* the King went to the Houſe of Lords, where in a ſhort Speech he vindicated the Duke, and ſaid, *That he could clear him of every one of the Matters whereof he was accuſed.* But the Commons by a Meſſage to the Lords deſir'd that the Duke might be committed; and the Duke in the Lord's Houſe deſir'd that his Trial might be haſten'd. The quick Reſentment of the King, and the ſeeming Defiance of the Duke, did but irritate the Commons to a more importunate Proſecution; and being incenſed at the Commitment of their Members, they turned themſelves into a grand Committee, lock'd up the Doors, and would not proceed in any other Buſineſs till they were righted in their Liberties; in which Committee Sir *Dudley Carlton* made a very reconciling Speech.

Duke's Defence.

On the eighth of *June* the Duke made his Defence before the Houſe of Lords, and with an ingenious Speech uſher'd in his Anſwer to the Impeachment of the Commons, whom he handſomly courted, yet juſtify'd himſelf, alledging, *That his Accuſer, common Fame, was too ſubtle, and the Houſe of Commons too great for him to contend withal; but he doubted not but in Time it would appear that common Fame had abus'd both them and him.* Then he gave in diſtinct Anſwers to the thirteen Articles againſt him; moſt of which had a fair and plauſible Aſpect; and concluded his Defence with acknowledging, *How eaſy it was for him in his younger Years to fall into thouſands of Errors; but hoped he had been preſerved from running into any high and heinous Crimes: But in what he had unwillingly offended, he claimed the Benefit of his late and preſent Majeſty's Pardon.*

King's Letter to the Speaker.

The Day after the Duke's Defence, the King reſolving to try the Commons once more, ſent a Letter to the Speaker, to quicken them about the Subſidy; in which he told them, *That now he gave them his laſt and final Admonition; and that he would account all further Delays and Excuſes to be expreſs Denials.*

An. 1626. Upon this they desir'd to attend his Majesty, where by their Speaker, and in Writing, they profes's'd their Affection and Loyalty to the King; but withal desir'd that his Majesty would not permit the Duke to have any more Access to him. But not receiving a favourable Answer, they agreed to prepare a formal Remonstrance against the Duke, and against the taking of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*; which after some high Contest, was allowed by the House to precede the Bill of Subsidy. Upon which the King was so very much incens'd, that he resolv'd upon an immediate Dissolution; which being made known to the Commons, they order'd every Member to have a Copy of their Remonstrance: But the Lords proceeded more calmly, and petition'd his Majesty not to dissolve the Parliament at present. But he declar'd his Resolution to receive no such Petition: and so by Commission he dissolv'd the Parliament upon the fifteenth of *June*.

Parliament dissolv'd.

King's Declaration thereupon.

To take off, if possible, the Discontents and Murmurs of the People on this Occasion, his Majesty publish'd *a Declaration of the Causes of dissolving the two last Parliaments*: Which was seconded by a Royal *Proclamation*, taking notice of a *Remonstrance* drawn up by a late Committee of the Commons, and commanding all Persons who had any Copies of it, to burn the same, that the Memory of it may be entirely abolish'd.

Information against the Duke in the *Star-Chamber*.

Soon after an Information was preferr'd by the King's special Command, in the *Star-Chamber*, against the Duke of *Buckingham*, for high Offences and Misdemeanours. The Duke put in his Answer, and divers Witnesses were examined: But it came to no judicial Hearing, and was therefore suspected to be an Evasion of Justice rather than a Prosecution of it.

Projects for raising Money.

The King having depriv'd himself of the Prospect of all Parliamentary Aids, and yet resolving to prosecute the War, he thought it necessary to project all possible Ways and Means of raising Money; which put him and his Ministry upon several Inventions that were liable to very just Exceptions. Among other Methods for this Purpose, that of a *General Loan* from the Subject, according as every one was assess's'd in the Rolls of the last Subsidy, was fallen upon; which

General Loan.

which met with great Difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. This Loan being to go thro the whole Nation, various Endeavours were us'd to render it effectual: For beſides the private and ſtrict Inſtructions given to the Commiſſioners, divers Lords of the Council were order'd to repair to their ſeveral Counties for the Advancement of the Cauſe. Biſhop *Laud* was alſo appointed to reduce into Form ſome Inſtructions, partly Political, partly Eccleſiaſtical, to ſhew the Urgency of the King's Occaſions; which were ſent to the two Archbiſhops, to be diſpers'd among the inferior Clergy, and to be publiſhed in all the Pariſhes of the Realm. On this Occaſion one *Sibthorp*, an obſcure Parſon, in a Sermon preach'd at the Aſſizes at *Northampton*, would make his Court by aſſerting not only the Lawfulneſs of this Way of impoſing Money by Loan, but that it was the indiſpenſable Duty of the Subject to comply with it. At the ſame time Dr. *Manwaring*, another Divine, preach'd two Sermons before the King at *Whitehall*, in which he advanc'd theſe Doctrines, *viz. That the King is not bound to obſerve the Laws of the Realm concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties; but that his Royal Word and Command in impoſing Loans and Taxes without Conſent of Parliament, does oblige the Subjects Conſcience upon Pain of eternal Damnation: That thoſe who refuſed to pay this Loan, did offend againſt the Law of God, and became guilty of Impiety, Diſloyalty, and Rebellion: And that the Authority of Parliaments is not neceſſary for raiſing of Aids and Subſidies.*

2 Car. I.

Promoted by Dr. *Sibthorp*.

And Dr. *Manwaring*.

But neither theſe Doctrines, nor the King's urgent Neceſſities, did ſo far prevail upon the People, but that the Commiſſioners for the Loan met with greater Oppoſition than they expected. Many, who had been Members in the two late Parliaments, oppoſed it with their utmoſt Power, and drew a conſiderable Number of others into the like Refuſal. The Benchers of *Lincolns-Inn*, demurring upon it, as not in due Form of Law, receiv'd a Letter of Reproof from the Lords of the Council, with a Command to return the Names of the Refractory: The common Sort of *London*, who deny'd the Rates requir'd of them, were, by the Council's Warrant directed to the Commiſſioners of the Navy, impreſt to ſerve in the Ships ready

Oppoſitions againſt it.

An. 1626. ready for his Majesty's Service; and others of them made to appear before the Lieutenant of the Tower, to be enroll'd among the Land-Forces; with this Reason declar'd, *That they who refus'd to assist with their Purses, should serve in their Persons, for the common Defence.* The Gentry in several Counties, refusing to subscribe, were bound over by Recognizance to appear at the Council-Table; and upon refusing to comply, were many of them committed to Prison, without Benefit of their *Habeas-Corpus*; and were generally confin'd to distant Counties from their own. These things, and many other ways of proceeding in relation to this Affair, very much encreas'd the popular Discontents.

An. 1627. War with *France.* What made the King's Necessities more pressing, and put him on this Course in particular, was his engaging in an unseasonable War with *France.* This Difference between the two Crowns was begun by the *French* King's misemploying the seven *English* Ships against the Protestants of *Rochel*, when by solemn Treaty they were lent only to assist upon the Coasts of *Italy*; but was compleated by the King of *England*'s dismissing for weighty Reasons all his Queen's *French* Domesticks, and the *French* King's seizing thereupon a hundred and twenty *English* Ships that then were in his Ports and Havens: upon which, the King of *England* publish'd a Declaration of War against *France.*

Buckingham made Commander. The Subjects of *England* were the more indifferent in this War, because it was left wholly to the Management of the Duke of *Buckingham*; who was made Commander in Chief over the Fleets and Armies, to conduct and employ them according to the private Instructions he should receive from the King, and to advance to the Order of Knighthood such Persons as he in his Discretion should think fit.

He comes before *Rochel.* With these full Powers the Duke set sail from *Portsmouth* upon the twenty seventh Day of *June*, with a Fleet consisting of a hundred Sail of Ships, Men of War and others, and six or seven thousand Land-Soldiers. Towards the End of the next Month he appear'd with great show before the Town of *Rochel*, and sent a Message to the Inhabitants to have them join with him in the Relief of the oppressed

preſſed Proteſtants in *France*. It was debated upon which of the two Iſlands the Duke ſhould land his Men, *Oleron*, or *Rhee*; and was determin'd for the former, as the moſt feaſible: but however he alter'd his Reſolution, directed his Courſe to the Iſle of *Rhee*, and upon the thirtieth of *July* ſtood near the Shore. *Thoiras*, Governour of the Iſle, highly alarm'd, march'd out from the Citadel of St. *Martin*, with his whole Power, to prevent the *Engliſh* from landing; but under the Cover of their own Canon, the braveſt of the *Engliſh* Officers, Sir *John Boroughs*, Sir *Alexander Bret*, Sir *Charles Rich*, with Monſieur St. *Blanchard*, went firſt on ſhore, follow'd and ſupported by twelve hundred Men. The Enemy having a thouſand Horſe and Foot, beſides Volunteers, immediately advanc'd towards the *Engliſh*; and there began a warm Encounter, in which all that fell on both ſides were reckon'd at about nine hundred, of which the Enemy bore the greateſt ſhare. 3 Car. I.

He lands on the Iſle of *Rhee*.

By ſeveral Advances at length the *Engliſh* forc'd the Enemy to retreat, and gain'd room for their whole Army to land. The Governor retir'd with his wounded Men to the Citadel of St. *Martin*; and if the *Engliſh* had immediately purſu'd, in all probability they had been ſoon Maſters of the Place, and the whole Iſle: But five Days being unaccountably ſpent, before the *Engliſh* Army mov'd, *Thoiras* had opportunity both to fortify the Citadel, and to ſend to the *French* Court for Supplies. The Duke of *Buckingham* having debark'd all his Land-Forces, ſent the Duke of *Sobiez* and Sir *William Beecher* to *Rochel* to ſolicit for Recruits, who being ſoon return'd with five hundred Foot, the Duke advanc'd with his Army before St. *Martin*'s: upon whoſe formidable Approach, the *French* quitted the Town, and retir'd into the Citadel, which the Duke cloſely inveſted; and continu'd the Siege for about three Months together, when it's believ'd he might have ſtarv'd it in leſs time, if he had ſtop'd up a Well within his Trenches, from which the Enemy had their ſecret Draught of Water, during the whole Siege.

He beſieges the Citadel of St. *Martin*'s.

This Siege proving ſo tedious and ineffectual, occaſion'd many Cenſures and Clamours in *England*; but under theſe Perplexities the King reſolv'd to ſend a Squadron of Ships with Recruits of Men, Ammunition

An. 1627. nition and Provisions, to the Army at *Rhee*; and appointed the Earl of *Holland* to take them into his Charge, transport and conduct them to the Island, and deliver them to the Duke of *Buckingham*. The fresh Recruits of the *English* extremely disheartned the Governor *Thoiras*, who was in great pain how to send Intelligence to the *French* Court. At last one *Sandgrine* ventur'd out, and escaping the Guard, got safe to the King; and for fear of his Miscarriage, *Thoiras* prevail'd with three of his Garison to swim over to the main Continent; of whom one got safe to land, and deliver'd his Message of the low Condition of the Garison. The *French* King, at this Alarm, drew down his Army toward *Rochel*, forming a sort of Blockade, as if he design'd to take that Town; when his present Intention was by that means to land Forces in *Rhee*, and throw in Provisions into the Citadel of St. *Martin*.

By this time, the *French* had obtain'd a great Supply of Shipping from the *Spaniards*, which with their own, amounted to above a hundred Sail: Yet still they declin'd engaging with the *English*, and only propos'd to throw sufficient Provisions into the Citadel, and tire out the Besiegers. To carry on the Design, *Thoiras* seem'd to enter into a Treaty of Surrender upon honourable Terms; and prevail'd with the Duke for safe Conduct for a Messenger to be sent to the *French* King, for leave to retire with Honour. The Duke consented, upon condition that an *English* Gentleman should accompany the Messenger, and be allow'd to pass thro *France* into *England*: but arriving at the Court, in open Breach of Faith, the *English* Gentleman was secur'd, while the Agent of *Thoiras* perform'd his Message effectually. *Thoiras* manag'd this Sham-Treaty, and protracted Time, till he gain'd his point of receiving a considerable Relief of Men and Provisions; and then broke off the Treaty in Derision, ordering his Men upon the Walls to advance their Pikes with Mutton and Fowl upon the Heads of them, to reproach the Besiegers with their unexpected Plenty.

Which offers to capitulate.

Under these and other discouraging Circumstances, in the middle of *October* the Duke call'd a Council of War, and thought it convenient to decamp and reimbark for *England*; and communicated his Reasons for

for ſo doing, to the Duke of *Sobiez*: But upon his Perſuaſions he continu'd the Siege, and ſhortly after reſolv'd to ſtorm the Citadel and Outworks. Accordingly on the ſixth of *November*, for a laſt Effort, a general Aſſault was made; but after the Loſs of many Men, the Place was found to be inacceſſible. This Repulſe, with the News of more *French* Forces continually pour'd into the Iſland, made the Duke reſolve to raiſe the Siege, and return home. So on the eighth of the ſame Month, he was conſtrain'd to break up the Siege, to his great Diſreputation; and ſome *French* Writers ſay, that he had three Months beſieg'd a Fort, which before a well-commanded Army would not have held out eight Days. 3 Car. I.

Duke raiſes the Siege.

The Duke ſuffer'd great Loſs in his Retreat; and having put his Army on board, he ſent a civil Promiſe to the *Rochellers*, that he would come again to their Relief; and immediately ſet ſail for *England*, where he met the Earl of *Holland* juſt coming out of *Plymouth*, who excuſed his Delay with many Allegations. But the Duke himſelf had moſt need of Apologies, who had gone out a hated Favourite, and return'd an unfortunate General. However the King receiv'd him with full Favour, and only told him, *He was glad to find the Loſs not ſo great as Sir* Sackvil Crow *had repreſented in a Letter to him.* But the King's Indulgence increas'd the popular Reſentments, ſo that all Tongues and Pens were ſharpned againſt this inglorious Expedition. And indeed the Loſs and Diſhonour produc'd ſuch a general Conſternation over the Face of the Nation, as if all the Armies of *France* and *Spain* were united together and had cover'd the Land.

And returns home.

During the time of this unhappy Expedition, ſeveral unpopular things were tranſacted at home, which added to the general Diſcontent. Many Gentlemen ſtood committed for refuſing to comply with the Loan; and being brought before the Council, were remanded to ſeveral Priſons: In particular, Sir *John Elliot*, a Priſoner in the *Gate-Houſe*, had his Petition for Diſcharge rejected. Sir *Peter Hayman*, for refuſing Compliance to the Loan, was commanded by the Council to go upon his Majeſty's Service in the *Palatinate*, which he accordingly did.

Several unpopular Proceedings.

The

An. 1627. Disgrace of ABp. *Abbot.*

The popular Disgusts were likewise very much increas'd at this time by the Disgrace of the Archbishop *Abbot*. That an Advantage might be taken against him, it being known he was averse to some new Doctrines, *Sibthorp*'s Sermon before mention'd, with a Dedication to the King, was sent him by order of his Majesty to license. The Archbishop refus'd to do it, and gave his Reasons in Writing; which Bishop *Laud* answered, and with his own Hand licens'd both *Sibthorp*'s and *Manwaring*'s Sermons. Upon this, Archbishop *Abbot* was confin'd to his Country-House, and shortly after suspended from his Function, the Administration of which was committed to Bishop *Laud*, and some others of his Recommendation.

Distress of the *Rochellers.*

What further augmented the Troubles of the Nation and the Perplexity of the King, was the deplorable Condition of the *Rochellers*, who after the Departure of the *English*, were soon reduc'd to great Distress both by Sea and Land; and made piteous Complaints, and sent moving Petitions for present Relief. In this Necessity of Affairs, Sir *Robert Cotton*, the famous Antiquary, was call'd before the King and Council, to deliver his Opinion in point of History and Law, upon the present Juncture; which he did in a very honest and judicious Speech, concluding with the Necessity of calling a Parliament: Whereupon it was resolv'd in Council for a Parliament to meet on the seventh of *March*. And to prepare the way, Warrants were sent into all Counties to release the imprison'd Gentry for the Business of the Loan: And among other softning Arts, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who had lain under peculiar Hardships, had by express Direction their Writs sent them to sit in the House of Peers this ensuing Parliament.

Parliament resolv'd on.

But yet some unhappy Measures were taken, that serv'd to renew the Peoples Fears and Jealousies: For just after the Parliament Writs were sent out, a Privy-Seal was granted to *Burlemach*, a *Dutch* Merchant, to receive thirty thousand Pounds from the Treasury, to be return'd in the *Netherlands* to Sir *William Balfour* and *John Dalbier*, for the raising of a thousand *German* Horse, with Arms, to be sent into *England* within

within a Month; which was ſuſpected by the People as a Deſign of a ſtanding Army: and the rather, becauſe the King, about the ſame time, granted a Commiſſion to twenty three Lords and others, to raiſe Mony by Impoſitions in the nature of Exciſe. And the levying of *Ship-Mony* upon the ſeveral Counties was then under Debate in the Council; as if Methods were concerted to ſubſiſt without Parliaments, if the next ſhould riſe without granting Supplies. 3 Car. I.

On Monday the ſeventeenth Day of *March*, the Parliament, according to the Writ of Summons, met at *Weſtminſter*. Biſhop *Laud* preach'd the Sermon upon *Unity*; and his Majeſty, in his Speech to both Houſes, told them, 'That theſe Times were for *Action*, therefore he hop'd their Reſolutions would be 'ſpeedy: That Supply was the chief End of this 'Parliament; and if the true Religion, Laws and 'Liberties of the State, and the juſt Defence of true 'Friends and Allies, be not ſufficient to perſuade, 'then no Eloquence of Men or Angels will prevail. 'He judg'd a Parliament to be the antient, ſpeedieſt 'and beſt Way in time of common Danger to give 'Supply; and if they would not do their Duties, he 'muſt uſe thoſe *other Means* which God had put into his Hands. He deſired them not to take this as 'a *Threatning*, for he ſcorn'd to threaten any but 'his Equals; but as an *Admonition* from him who 'had moſt care of their Preſervations: and hop'd 'their Demeanour wou'd be ſuch as ſhou'd oblige 'him in Thankfulneſs to meet often with them.' This Speech was ſeconded by a longer from the Lord-Keeper *Coventry*, who chiefly labour'd to lay before them, 'the formidable Power of the Houſe of '*Auſtria*, the mighty Preparations made by the 'King of *Spain*, the Diſtractions at the preſent in 'the Low-Countries, the Dangers threatned by the '*French* King to the Proteſtants in his Dominions, 'and the Neceſſity that lay upon his Majeſty to provide for the Support of them, as well as for the 'Peace and Preſervation of his own Nation; concluding with ſeveral Reaſons to invite them to aſſiſt 'their Sovereign with a bountiful and ſpeedy Supply, 'according to the Neceſſity of his Affairs.'

Third Parliament.

King's Speech.

The Lord Keeper's Speech.

The Commons choſe Sir *John Finch* for their Speaker; and on the twentieth of *March* they ſettled their

Sir *John Finch* Speaker.

An. 1627. their grand Committees for Religion, Grievances, Courts of Justice and Trade; and also drew up a Petition for a solemn Fast, to which the Lords consented.

Grievances debated. Shortly after, they enter'd upon the publick Grievances, such as Billetting of Soldiers, Loans by Benevolence and Privy-Seals, Imprisonment of those who refus'd to lend, and Denial of Release upon a *Habeas-Corpus*. These Grievances were warmly debated; and the House inclin'd not to supply his Majesty till they were redress'd; to which purpose, many Speeches were deliver'd by Sir *Francis Seymour*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Philips*, and others. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* spoke as a Moderator between King and People; and the chief Advocate for the Prerogative was Sir *John Cook*, Secretary of State.

A few Days after, the Secretary presented to the House some Propositions from the King concerning the Supply; and inform'd them, *That as to Aid and Grievances, his Majesty wou'd not stand on Precedence in point of Honour; but the same Committee might consider both in what Order they pleas'd.* Upon which the House resolv'd themselves into a Committee, and made Sir *Edward Littleton* the Chairman. They debated the Grievances relating to the Person of the Subject, under six Heads; and after many learned Speeches, unanimously resolv'd, 'I. That 'no Free-man ought to be imprison'd, without Cause 'shewn, either by the King or Council. 2. That a '*Habeas Corpus*, in that Case, ought not to be de-'ny'd. 3. That if no Cause of Commitment be re-'turn'd, the Party is to be bailed.' Then as to the Property of the Subject, they made this grand Resolve, *That no Tax, of what Kind soever, ought to be levy'd upon the Subject without an Act of Parliament.*

Resolves of the Commons.

An. 1628. Upon the second of *April*, the King's Propositions for Supply were debated; after which, the House proceeded again to Grievances, and took into Consideration two other Heads of the Liberty of the Subject in his Person, namely, *Confinement*, and *Designation to foreign Employment*; and Resolv'd, *That no Freeman ought to be confin'd by the King, Council, or others,*

others, but by Act of Parliament, or due Course of Law. 4 Car. I.

Soon after, Mr. Secretary *Cook* deliver'd a Meſſage from his Majeſty, to aſſure them of all their Rights and Liberties: And after ſome Debate the Houſe came to this unanimous Reſolve, *That five Subſidies be given to the King*, and Mr. Secretary was appointed to acquaint his Majeſty with this Reſolution. This caus'd great Joy and Satisfaction in the Court, and the Duke of *Buckingham* made a magnificent Speech on this occaſion, owning, *That now the Commons ought to be the Favourites, and He no longer.* And this again was very pleaſing and acceptable to the Commons; ſo great a Harmony did there ſeem now to be between the King and them.

A Meſſage from the King.

Five Subſidies voted.

The Commons then prepar'd to tranſmit their Reſolves to the Lords for their Concurrence; and ſeveral Members were appointed to manage a Conference about the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. After this, a new Diſpute aroſe in the Houſe of Commons concerning their Right of Adjournments, occaſion'd by his Majeſty's deſiring them to make no Receſs in the *Eaſter* Holy-Days. Secretary *Cook* mov'd for Expedition in the Vote of Subſidies, and to turn it into an Act: Sir *Dudley Diggs* ſeconded the Motion; but Sir *Thomas Wentworth* propos'd a middle Way, which paſs'd into a Reſolution of the Houſe, *That Grievances and Supply go hand in hand.*

The next Day, Mr. Secretary *Cook* deliver'd another Meſſage from his Majeſty to haſten the Supply; in which this Paſſage more eſpecially gave Offence, *I muſt with ſome Grief tell you, that notice is taken as if this Houſe preſs'd not upon the Abuſes of Power only, but upon Power it ſelf: This touches the King and Us, who are ſupported by that Power.* About two Days after, he again quickned the Buſineſs of the Supply; and on *Eaſter-Monday*, the Commons being admitted to the King's Preſence, the Speaker endeavour'd to ſatisfy his Majeſty in the manner of their Proceedings: 'That whereas, according to antient 'Cuſtom, Parliaments took into Conſideration the 'common Grievances of the Nation, before they en-'ter'd upon the Buſineſs of Supply; yet for a full 'Expreſſion of their Zeal and Affection, this Aſſem-'bly, contrary to ordinary Proceedings, had given

Another Meſſage.

Speaker's Repreſentation.

An. 1628. ‘ Precedency to the Supply before the preſent Grie-
‘ vances; only joining it with thoſe fundamental and
‘ vital Liberties of the Kingdom, which give Sub-
‘ ſiſtence and Ability to the Subject.’ Towards the End of his Speech he introduc'd the Petition of the Commons concerning the Billetting of Soldiers. To the Speech and Petition his Majeſty reply'd, *That they ſhould go on ſpeedily with their Buſineſs, without more Apologies: And to what concern'd their Petition, he would give Anſwer in convenient Time.*

The King's Anſwer.

Debates towards a *Petition of Right.*

From this Day to Friday the twenty fifth of *April*, the Houſe in a grand Committee ſpent moſt of their time in debating about Martial Law, and in holding two Conferences with the Lords concerning ſome Reſolves in order to a new Law call'd *a Petition of Right*, tranſmitted from the lower Houſe to the upper. Shortly after, another Meſſage was deliver'd from his Majeſty, ‘ That publick Affairs would not
‘ endure long Debate or Delay; ſo that this Seſſion
‘ muſt continue no longer than ten Days: But upon
‘ Diſpatch and good Correſpondence, there ſhou'd be
‘ another Seſſion at *Michaelmas* next, for the per-
‘ fecting ſuch things as could not be now done.’ Upon this, after a new Debate, the Commons agreed upon an Anſwer to all preceding Meſſages, to be preſented to the King by their Speaker; who *humbly beg'd his Majeſty's Leave to lay hold of his gracious Offers, which gave them Aſſurance, That if they thought fit to ſecure themſelves in their Rights and Liberties by way of Bill, he would be graciouſly pleas'd to give way to it.* His Majeſty's Reply was deliver'd by the Lord-Keeper, *That he expected an Anſwer by their Actions, and not Delay by Diſcourſes. He was content that a Bill be drawn for a Confirmation of* Magna Charta, *and the other Statutes that concern the Liberty of the Subject, ſo as it be without Additions, Paraphraſes, or Explanations.*

A Meſſage from the King.

Commons Anſwer.

King's Reply.

Bill finiſh'd.

Within a few Days, the Bill for *Petition of Right* was finiſh'd, and a Clauſe about Martial Law added to it, which was deliver'd in a Conference to the Lords for their Concurrence: Who being more intereſted in the Prerogative, propos'd an additional Clauſe to be added to the End of the Bill, which was, *Not to infringe the Sovereign Power.* This was chiefly brought in by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*; but was totally

diſliked by the Commons, who were againſt any *Saving* in the Bill, and in a high Debate declar'd, 'That *Sovereign Power* was no Parliamentary Word, 'and that there could be no ſuch thing diſtinct from 'the Power of the Law, or a legal Prerogative.' After this, ſeveral Conferences were held in relation to this Amendment; and upon the twenty ſixth of *May*, the Lords at another Conference agreed with the Commons in the *Petition of Right*, with ſome ſmall Amendments; which being agreed to by the Commons, the Bill was ingroſs'd, read a third time, and order'd to be preſented to the King: And both Houſes agreed, That no Addition or Preface be us'd to the King, but that upon the preſenting of the *Petition*, his Majeſty be deſir'd, for the Satisfaction of his People, to give his gracious Anſwer in full Parliament. 4 Car. I.

Accordingly, upon Monday the third of *June* the King came to the Parliament; and after he had made a ſhort Speech to both Houſes, the Lord-Keeper, recommending the King's Favour to them, deſir'd them to hear their own *Petition* read; the greateſt Part of which conſiſted of Complaints of great Hardſhips, and References to *Magna Charta*, and ſeveral former Acts of Parliament: But the petitioning Part, which was to continue for ever as a Law, runs in theſe Words, *That no Man hereafter be compell'd to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or ſuch like Charge, without common Conſent by Act of Parliament; and that none elſe be call'd to make Anſwer, or take ſuch Oath, or to give Attendance, or be confin'd, or otherwiſe moleſted or diſquieted concerning the ſame, or for Refuſal thereof. And that no Free-man, in any ſuch manner as is before mention'd, be impriſon'd or detain'd. And that your Majeſty will be pleas'd to remove the ſaid Soldiers and Mariners, and that your People may not be ſo burdened in time to come. And that all Commiſſions for proceeding by Martial Law, may be revok'd and annull'd; and that hereafter no Commiſſions of like nature may iſſue forth to any Perſons whatſoever, to be executed as aforeſaid, leſt by Colour of them, any of your Majeſty's Subjects be deſtroy'd or put to death contrary to the Laws and Franchiſes of the Land.* The whole being read, the King's Anſwer was de- The *Petition of Right.*

An. 1628. liver'd in these Words: *The King willeth, That Right be done according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm; and that the Statutes be put in due execution, that his Subjects may have no Cause to complain of any Wrong or Oppression, contrary to their just Rights and Liberties; to the Preservation whereof he holds himself in Conscience as well oblig'd, as of his Prerogative.*

The King's Answer to it.

The Commons not satisfy'd therewith.

On the next Day, the King's Answer being read in the House of Commons, occasion'd many Speeches of Complaint, and a Resolution of the House, *That an humble Remonstrance be presented to his Majesty, touching the Dangers and Means of Safety of King and Kingdom.* Soon after, his Majesty sent two Messages to the House of Commons, 'prefixing 'the eleventh of this Month as the end of the Session, 'and requiring them not to enter upon any new Busi- 'ness, which may spend Time, or lay any Aspersion 'upon the Government or Ministry.' This seem'd but to increase their Fears and Jealousies: And they were put into a new and greater Ferment in their Debates, when Sir *John Elliot* coming to that part of the Message which imply'd their laying Aspersions upon some Ministers of State, the Speaker rose from his Chair, and thinking Sir *John* was aiming at the Duke, thus enjoin'd him Silence; *There is a Command laid upon me, that I must command you not to proceed.* Upon which Sir *John* sat down, and Sir *Dudley Diggs*, in great Concern, said, *Must we not proceed? Let us sit in Silence: we are miserable, and know not what to do.* And there was a profound Silence in the House for a while; till Sir *Nathaniel Rich* said, *We must now speak, or for ever hold our Peace.* Shortly after, the House agreed upon several Heads for a Remonstrance; but while they were putting the Question, *Whether the Duke of* Buckingham *shou'd not be declar'd the principal Cause of all the present Evils*, the Speaker, who had leave to retire, brought this Message from the King, *That his Majesty commands, for the present, they adjourn the House till to-morrow Morning; and that all Committees cease in the mean time.* And the House was accordingly adjourn'd, and the House of Lords also obey'd the like Command.

Short Adjournment.

The

The next Day, after ſome Debate, the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, 'That they wou'd join 'in an humble Requeſt, That a clear and ſatisfactory 'Anſwer be given by his Majeſty, in full Parliament, 'to the *Petition of Right*.' The Lords agreed to it; and the King coming the next Day, it was read: To which his Majeſty reply'd, *The Anſwer I already gave, was made with ſo good Deliberation, and approv'd by ſo many wiſe Men, that I concluded it wou'd have given you full Satisfaction: But to avoid all ambiguous Interpretations, and to ſhew there is no Doubleneſs in my Meaning, I am willing to pleaſure you as well in Words as Subſtance. Read your Petition, and you ſhall have an Anſwer that I am ſure will pleaſe you.* Then the Petition or Bill was read, and Anſwer was given, *Soit droit fait comme il eſt deſire*; i. e. Let Right be done as is deſired. 4 Car. I. King paſſes the Petition of Right.

Thus, after many Difficulties, was obtain'd that famous Law, call'd *The Petition of Right*, which is eſteem'd next to *Magna Charta*. Upon the paſſing of it, the Houſe teſtify'd their Joy with a mighty Shout; and immediately the Bells rung, and Bonefires were lighted all the City over; every one partaking of the general Satisfaction. General Joy.

If the Commons at this Juncture could have withdrawn their intended *Remonſtrance*, or the King could have look'd upon it as no diminution of his Honour, then the Accommodation in all likelihood had been perfect and laſting; but the Commons thought their Rights and Liberties not ſufficiently aſſerted, without complaining of the ſeveral Inſtances wherein they apprehended a manifeſt Breach and Violation of them. So they proceeded to draw up the Particulars of greateſt moment; and concluded thus, 'Of all which Evils 'and Dangers, the principal Cauſe is the Duke of '*Buckingham*'s exceſſive Power, and Abuſe of that 'Power: And therefore they humbly ſubmit it to 'his Majeſty's Wiſdom, Whether it can be ſafe for 'himſelf, or his Kingdom, that ſo great Power both 'by Sea and Land, as reſts in him, ſhou'd be truſted 'in the hands of any one Subject whatſoever.' The King was highly diſoblig'd at this Remonſtrance, and having heard it out with ſome Indignation, told the Commons, 'That he little expected ſuch a Remon'ſtrance, after he had paſſed the *Petition of Right*; Commons proceed with their Remonſtrance. King diſpleaſed.

An. 1628. 'however, as for their Grievances, he wou'd consider 'of them as they shou'd deserve.' After this, the Commons proceeded to prepare a Bill for *Tonnage* and *Poundage*; and another Remonstrance, in which they declared these two main Things: 'First, That there 'ought to be no Imposition laid upon the Goods of 'Merchants, without common Consent by Act of Par-'liament. Secondly, That the receiving of *Tonnage* 'and *Poundage*, and other Impositions, not granted in 'Parliament, is contrary to the late *Petition of Right*.' When the King was inform'd of this second Remonstrance, he was resolv'd to prevent the Delivery of it; therefore on the twenty sixth of *June*, before the Lords could put on their Robes, while the Remonstrance was reading in the Lower House, he sent for the Speaker and the Commons, and in a Speech shew'd his Resentment: Then passing the Bill of five Subsidies, with many others publick and private, the Lord-Keeper declar'd this Session to be ended, and that the Parliament be prorogu'd till the twentieth Day of *October*.

Second Remonstrance.

Parliament prorogu'd.

Thus broke up that Parliament, wherein were some of the greatest mutual Obligations between King and People, and yet unhappily no Satisfaction on either side. The King had yielded to the largest Petition of Rights and Liberties, and yet left the People jealous: the People had granted a Supply beyond Example, and yet left the King uneasy.

During this remarkable Session of Parliament, the poor *Rochellers* were more and more straitned, and almost block'd up by the *French* King. They had still a dependance upon the Word of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and an Expectance from the *English* King and Council, to whom they had made very moving Applications. Upon this occasion a Fleet of about fifty Sail was early fitted out, under the Command of the Earl of *Denbigh*; but unhappily return'd without Success. This other inglorious Expedition struck an exceeding Damp on the distressed *Rochellers*, and increas'd the popular Fears and Jealousies of a Popish Interest at home; so that many concluded the whole Design to be a Feint, and meant rather by the Court Party to reduce *Rochel*, than to relieve it. A *French* Captain of the *English* Fleet, call'd *La Brun*, gave in Depositions before the Mayor of *Plymouth*, which argu'd

Fleet sent to *Rochel*.

argu'd Treachery, or apparent Cowardiſe, in the Ma- 4 Car. I.
nagement of the Expedition: Which Account was certify'd by the Mayor to the Burgeſſes of that Town in Parliament, by whom it was communicated to the Council-Table; from whence a Letter was directed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Lord High Admiral, 'to ſignify his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that the Earl of 'Denbigh ſhou'd return back to relieve the Town of 'Rochel with the Fleet under his Command, with 'other Ships prepar'd at *Portſmouth* and *Plymouth*.' But notwithſtanding this Order of Council, we find no ſuch Return made, nor any Enquiry into the Obſtruction of it. Some of the *French* Writers are very open and free in charging this, and ſome other Miſcarriages, upon the Duke of *Buckingham*; and all upon the account of his extraordinary Amour with *Anne* of *Auſtria*, the then Queen of *France*. However, King *Charles* ſeem'd moſt earneſt in behalf of the *Rochellers*; and in one of his Letters to the Inhabitants he has theſe Words, *Aſſure your ſelves, that I ſhall never abandon you; and that I ſhall employ the whole Power of my Kingdom for your Deliverance, until God aſſiſt me to obtain for you an aſſured Peace.*

About this time, one Dr. *Lamb*, a ſuppos'd Crea- Dr. *Lamb* killed.
ture of the Duke's, was barbarouſly ſet upon in the Streets of *London* by the Rabble, and ſo roughly beaten, that he died of his Bruiſes the next Day: and ſome of them were heard to ſay, *That were his Maſter the Duke there, they would give him as much.* This riotous Murder was the unhappy Cauſe of a wider Breach between the Court and City: for ſoon after, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen were conven'd and examin'd before the Council, and threaten'd with the Loſs of their Charter, if they did not diſcover and deliver up the principal Criminals; and at length had a Fine of Six thouſand Pounds impos'd upon them. This made the Duke more apprehenſive of the popular Rage againſt him, and turn'd that into an *Omen*, which had poſſibly been otherwiſe accounted an *Accident*, *viz.* The falling down of his Picture in the High Commiſſion Chamber at *Lambeth*, on the ſame Day that *Lamb* was ſo aſſaulted.

An. 1648.

Removals and Advancements.

About a Month after this, the Earl of *Marlborough* was remov'd from the Treasury, as a Man too cautious in advancing the King's Revenue, and Sir *Richard Weston*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, put in his room, as a Minister acute and active, and fit for the Necessities of raising Money. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, a Leader of the Country Party in the House of Commons, was near the same time honour'd with a Barony, and brought over to the Court: And Bishop *Laud* was translated to the See of *London*.

Third Fleet for *Rochel*.

A third Fleet was in the mean time preparing for the Relief of *Rochel*, that by a close Siege was now reduc'd to the last Extremities. The Duke of *Buckingham* chose to command in Person, and to that end came to *Portsmouth*; where on the twenty third of *August*, having been at Breakfast with *Sobiez* and the General Officers, *John Felton*, late Lieutenant in a Regiment of Foot under Sir *John Ramsey*, plac'd himself in an Entry thro which the Duke was to pass; who walking along with Sir *Thomas Frier*, and inclining his Ear to him in the posture of Attention, *Felton*, with a back Blow, stabb'd him on the left Side into the very Heart, leaving the Knife in his Body; which the Duke pulled out himself, with these words, *The Villain hath killed me*; and the same moment expir'd with a stream of Blood upon the Floor. *Felton* slipt away, and might possibly have gone off undiscover'd: But while the general Rumour was, that the Murderer must be a *Frenchman*, and some began to suspect *Sobiez* as a Party in it, *Felton* stept out and said, *I am the Man who did the Deed; let no Man suffer who is innocent.* Upon which he was apprehended and sent Prisoner to *London*. Being examined before the Privy Council, he clear'd all Persons but himself; whereupon Bishop *Laud* told him, He must go to the Rack. He reply'd, *He knew not whether Torture might make him accuse his Lordship, or which of their Lordships.* And the Question being put to the Judges, they declar'd it to be no Legal Way. He made no other Confession than what he had, before the Commission of the Fact, wrote in a Paper stitch'd in the Lining of his Hat; wherein he declar'd, 'the only Motive to be the late Remon-'strance of the Commons against the Duke; and 'that he could not sacrifice his Life in a nobler

The Duke stabb'd by *Felton*.

'Cause;

'Cauſe, than by delivering his Country from ſo great 4 Car. I.
'an Enemy.'

When the News was brought to the King, who was now within four Miles of *Portſmouth*, with great Evenneſs of Mind he only commanded that the Murderer ſhould be ſecur'd; and immediately gave Order that the Fleet ſhould haſten out. But to ſhew his Affection to the Duke's Memory, he gave Command for a magnificent Funeral, till the thrifty Treaſurer diverted the Project, by telling his Majeſty, *Such Pomp would prove but an Hour's Show; and it would be more for his Glory to erect him a ſtately Monument that might be done for half the Coſt.* Upon which his Body was privately interr'd on *September* the twenty fifth. And when the King afterwards talk'd of a coſtly Monument, the Treaſurer is ſaid to have us'd this other Evaſion: *Sir, I am loth to tell your Majeſty what the World will ſay both here and abroad, if you ſhould raiſe a Monument for the Duke before you erect one for your Father.*

The News brought to the King.

Thus fell the Duke of *Buckingham* at the Age of Perfection, being but thirty ſix Years old; a Gentleman born and built for a Courtier; of an Air and Mien great and ſweet, with all the Nature and Art of Addreſs; of Parts ſufficient to cover the Want of Learning, and of a Seriouſneſs that ſerv'd much to diſguiſe his Neglect of Religion.

The Duke's Character.

As for *Felton*, on the twenty ſeventh of *November* he was brought to the *King's Bench* Bar, in order to his Trial; and pleading *Guilty*, the Court paſſed Sentence of Death upon him. Whereupon he deſir'd his Hand might be firſt cut off that did the Fact; but the Requeſt was determin'd to be illegal. He was executed at *Tyburn*, and his Body remov'd to *Portſmouth*, and there hung up in Chains. He is ſaid to have been a Man of that ſtout and violent Spirit, that upon receiving an Injury from a Gentleman, he cut off a Piece of his little Finger and ſent it to him with a Challenge, to let him know that he valu'd not his whole Body ſo he might but obtain his Revenge.

Felton's Trial.

The Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, ſail'd from *Portſmouth* on the eighth of *September*, but very defective in their Stores of Victuals and Tackle, as Information was afterwards given to the King and Council. When they came before *Ro-*

chel,

An. 1628. *chel*, they found no *French* Navy to oppose them, only the immense Barricado cross the Entry of the Port was now compleatly finish'd. Many brave Attempts were made to break thro, but all in vain: So that the *Rochellers*, in Distress and Despair, implor'd the King's Mercy, and surrender'd on the eighteenth of *October*; and the *English* Fleet looking on, were now at Liberty to return.

Rochel surrender'd.

Calamities of the *French* Protestants.

After the Loss of this Town, the *French* Protestants in all other Parts were so severely treated, that they could not but resolve upon some last Efforts of Self-preservation; and sent again to the King of *England*, to implore Assistance, with this pathetical Expression, *That what they now wrote was with their Tears, and with their Blood.* But there was a Peace depending, and soon after concluded between the two Crowns; and the *French* Protestants were glad to submit to any Terms that gave them their Freedom in Religion.

The Parliament, that was prorogu'd to the twentieth of *October*, was by Proclamation further prorogu'd to the twentieth of *January* following. In the mean time the Merchants and Traders were in great Disturbance about the Payment of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Upon the late Declaration of the Commons, and concurrent Opinion of the Lawyers, many had declin'd, and even refus'd to pay the Impositions. For this Contempt they were summon'd before the Council-Table, and committed to the *Fleet* and *Marshalsea*, and not set at Liberty without entring into Bond for Payment. This was the Case of Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Vassal*, Mr. *Rolls*, and some other Merchants, to the great Discouragement of Trade, and the general Grievance of the City of *London*.

Disturbance about Tonnage and Poundage.

And yet, to soften the Minds of the Subjects before the Meeting of the Parliament, some popular things were done. As to the Horse levied in *Germany*, which People suspected was for a standing Force in *England*, the Privy-Council wrote to *Dalbier* to dispose them into the Service of the King of *Sweden* and the Duke of *Savoy*, his Majesty's Allies. Archbishop *Abbot*, the more popular for being in Disgrace at Court, was sent for to *Whitehall*, and from his Barge receiv'd by the Archbishop of *York* and Earl of *Dorset*, and by them solemnly introduc'd to the King, who gave him his Hand with a particular Countenance of Fa-

Several pleasing Steps.

Favour, and bid him not fail the Council-Table twice a Week. *Mountague*'s Book was call'd in by Proclamation, and other pleaſing Orders given againſt *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*. 4 Car. I.

On *Tueſday* the twentieth of *January*, the Parliament met according to Prorogation; and the firſt Debate of the Commons was on the *Petition of Right*, which had been printed with ſome Additions and Comments, and the Copies firſt printed without ſuch Additions had been by Order of the King ſuppreſt. They ſent for *Norton*, the King's Printer, who own'd the Thing done by ſpecial Warrant. They fell next upon the Violation of the Subjects Liberty and Property ſince the End of the laſt Seſſion, by the Levies of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. This Affair was referr'd to a Committee; but while the Debate was warm upon it, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe, *willing them to deſiſt till the next Day in the Afternoon, at which Time he would ſpeak with them in the Banqueting-Houſe at* Whitehall: Where in a full Aſſembly of Lords and Commons, he plainly told them, Second Seſſion of the third Parliament. King's Speech.

'That the particular Occaſion of his calling 'them together at that Time, was a Complaint made 'in the lower Houſe for ſtaying Mens Goods who 'deny'd *Tonnage* and *Poundage*; which might re- 'ceive an eaſy and ſhort Concluſion, if he was rightly 'underſtood. For by paſſing the Bill as his Anceſtors 'had it, his former Actions would be included, and 'his future Proceedings authoriz'd. That he took 'not thoſe Duties as appertaining to his hereditary 'Prerogative; for his Meaning was ever to enjoy 'them by the Gift of his People, not challenging it as 'of Right, but *de bene eſſe*, for the *Neceſſity*, not for 'the *Right* he had to take it; as he ſhew'd them by 'his laſt Speech, being aſſur'd they then wanted '*Time*, not *Will* to give it him. He therefore expect- 'ed, that without Loſs of Time, they by paſſing the 'Bill would put an End to all theſe Queſtions; and 'was glad that by their Actions he found them Com- 'plainers, not ſeeking Complaints, as there was ſome 'Reaſon to ſuſpect from the largely penning their 'Order on *Wedneſday* laſt. Laſtly, he aſſur'd them, '*That the Houſe's Reſolutions, not particular Mens Speeches, ſhould make him judge well or ill*; not

'doubt-

An. 1628. ‘ doubting but this Seſſion, beginning with Confi-
‘ dence, might end in perfect good Underſtanding.’

This Speech was by many thought very affectionate and healing, and the main Propoſal likely to be embrac'd; but by reaſon of former Jealouſies, and preſent Diſguſts, it had not that Effect. For three Days after, when Mr. Secretary *Cook* brought a Meſſage from the King, urging, ‘ That the Bill for *Ton-*
‘ *nage* and *Poundage* might be ſpeedily taken into
‘ Conſideration, and that no Time might be loſt; ’ a popular Notion aroſe, That the Bill muſt not be impos'd upon them, but muſt naturally proceed from the Motions of their own Houſe: For which reaſon they judg'd it moſt proper to ſuſpend the Bill for ſome Time, while they proceeded upon other Grievances; and in the firſt Place upon thoſe relating to Religion, particularly the Danger of *Arminianiſm*; which Mr. *Rous*, in a warm Speech, call'd *An Error that made the Grace of God lackey it after the Will of Man, that made the Sheep to keep the Shepherd, and a mortal Seed of an immortal God; and that an* Arminian *was the Spawn of a* Papiſt, *ready to open the Gate to* Romiſh *Tyranny and* Spaniſh *Monarchy*, &c. And Sir *Robert Philips* ſaid, *Two Sects are damnably crept in to undermine King and Kingdom; the one antient* Popery, *the other new* Arminianiſm. Upon this Occaſion alſo Sir *John Elliot* deliver'd himſelf in as warm a Speech, in which he had theſe Words: *As to* Popery *and* Arminianiſm, *our Faith and Religion is in Danger by the King's late Declaration; for theſe, like an Inundation, break in at once upon us. It is there ſaid, if there be any Difference of Opinion concerning the ſeaſonable Interpretation of the thirty nine Articles, the Biſhops and the Clergy in Convocation have Power to diſpute it, and to order which way they pleaſe: And then, for ought I know,* Popery *and* Arminianiſm *may be introduc'd by them. We ſee ſome among our Biſhops who are not orthodox, nor ſound in Religion, as they ſhould be; witneſs the two Biſhops complain'd of the laſt Meeting of the Parliament.* Hereupon the Houſe enter'd into this ſolemn Proteſtation: ‘ We the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, do
‘ claim, proteſt, and avow for Truth, the Senſe of the
‘ Articles of Religion, which were eſtabliſh'd by Par-
‘ liament in the thirteenth Year of our late Queen
‘ *Eli-*

'*Elizabeth*, which by the publick Act of the Church 4 Car. I.
'of *England*, and by the general and current Expo-
'ſitions of the Writers of our Church, hath been de-
'liver'd unto us. And we reject the Senſe of the *Je-*
'*ſuits* and *Arminians*, and all others wherein they
'differ from us.'

A Member ſerv'd with a *Subpœna*.

Upon the tenth Day of *February*, amidſt the Debates upon Religion, the Ware-houſe of Mr. *Rolls*, a Merchant and a ſitting Member, was lock'd up by a Purſuivant, and he himſelf call'd forth and ſerv'd with a *Subpœna*. This very much inflam'd the Houſe: However, the Matter was referr'd till two Days after the Houſe was in a Committee upon *Tonnage* and *Poundage*; when they admitted the Complaints of ſeveral Merchants, That their Goods were ſeiz'd, and Informations preferr'd againſt them in the *Star-Chamber*. Upon which Occaſion Mr. *Noy* freely ſaid, *We cannot ſafely give, unleſs we be in Poſſeſſion; for it will not be a Gift, but a Confirmation: Neither will I give, without a Declaration in the Bill,* 'That the 'King hath no Right, but by our free Gift:' *If it will not be accepted as it is fit for us to give it, we cannot help it; if it be the King's already, we do not give it.* Upon which the Houſe order'd a Meſſage to be ſent to the Barons of the *Exchequer*, to vacate their Injunctions and Orders about the ſtopping of Merchant-Goods. To which the Lord-Treaſurer and Barons return'd an Anſwer, 'That in their ſaid Or-'ders and Injunctions they did not determine, nor any 'ways touch upon the Right of *Tonnage* and *Poun-'dage*.' But this Anſwer was ill reſented by the Houſe, and was taken as a Juſtification of the Proceedings in the *Exchequer*; into which they reſolv'd to make a further Enquiry.

King's Meſſage.

A few Days after, ſeveral Officers of the Cuſtoms were examin'd, and charg'd with Breach of Privilege, in ſeizing the Goods of Mr. *Rolls*. But while the Houſe was debating of Reparation and Puniſhment, on *Monday* the twenty third of *February* the King ſent a Meſſage, declaring, 'That what the Cuſtom-'Officers did, was by his own direct Order and 'Command at the Council-Board,' Upon which a Committee reſolv'd, 'That Mr. *Rolls* ought to have 'had Privilege of Perſon and Goods; but the Com-'mand of the King was ſo great, that they left it to the 'Houſe.'

An. 1628. 'House.' Upon which follow'd many severe Speeches and long Debates: Some took occasion to say, *That these Interruptions proceeded from some Prelates, and others, Abettors of the Popish Party, who fear to be discover'd, and would provoke to a Breach.* Sir *Humphrey May* said, *We all agree a Wound is given: We have Wine and Oil before us; if we go to punish Delinquency, there is Vinegar in the Wound; therefore think on some Course to have Restitution.* And because the House was willing to make a Distinction between the Interest of the Farmers and the Commandment of the King, his Majesty sent a Message to thank them for the Respect they had shewn to his Person, tho he could not in Honour disavow his own Orders. Which Message was no sooner deliver'd, but they in some heat cry'd out, *Adjourn, adjourn!* And thereupon they adjourn'd till *Wednesday* following. At which Time the House being met, his Majesty immediately adjourn'd it to *Monday* the second of *March*: When the Speaker deliver'd a Message from the King to command them to adjourn the House till *Tuesday* come sevennight following. Upon which the House, in a great Flame, insisted, 'That it was not 'the Office of the Speaker to deliver any such Com-'mand to them, for the Adjournment of the House 'did properly belong to themselves: And after they 'had settled some things, they would satisfy the King.'

House abruptly adjourn'd.

Another Message from the King.

House in a Ferment.

Sir *John Elliot* proceeded to offer a Remonstrance against *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which was refus'd to be read either by the Speaker or the Clerk, and return'd to him again; upon which Sir *Miles Hobart* ran and lock'd the Door of the House, and kept the Key himself. And Mr. *Strode* cry'd out that the Remonstrance might be read, *That we may not be turn'd off like scatter'd Sheep, and sent home as we were last Sessions, with a Scorn put upon us in Print.* Whereupon Sir *John Elliot* read out the Remonstrance himself, and it was offer'd to be put to the Question; but the Speaker said, *He was otherways commanded by the King.* Then said Mr. *Selden*, *Dare not you put the Question, when we command you? If you will not put it, we must sit still, and be able to do nothing. We sit here by Command from the King, under the Great Seal; and you before both Houses are appointed for our Speaker; and do you now refuse to perform your*

your Office? Upon this the Speaker declar'd, *He had an expreſs Command from his Majeſty, to riſe as ſoon as he had deliver'd his Meſſage*; and accordingly he roſe and left the Chair: But Mr. *Denzil Holles*, and Mr. *Valentine*, with ſome others, immediately drew him back, and held him in the Chair by Force, till certain Articles were read, as the Proteſtations of the Houſe, which as they were read, were jointly allow'd with a loud Voice by the Houſe. They were theſe following. I. 'Whoever ſhall bring in Innovation in 'Religion, or by Favour ſeek to extend or introduce '*Popery* or *Arminianiſm*, or other Opinions diſagree-'ing from the true and orthodox Church, ſhall be 'reputed a capital Enemy to the Kingdom and Com-'mon-Wealth. II. Whoever ſhall counſel or adviſe 'the taking and levying the Subſidies of *Tonnage* and '*Poundage*, not being granted by Parliament, or ſhall 'be an Actor or Inſtrument therein, ſhall be reputed 'an Innovator in the Government, and a capital Ene-'my to this Kingdom and Common-Wealth. III. If 'any Merchant, or Perſon whatſoever, ſhall voluntа-'rily yield or pay the Subſidies of *Tonnage* and *Poun-'dage*, not being granted by Parliament, he ſhall like-'wiſe be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of *Eng-'land*, and an Enemy to the ſame.'

4 Car. I.

Speaker leaves the Chair.

Proteſtations of the Houſe.

The King hearing of this, immediately ſent a Meſſenger for the Serjeant with his Mace, which being taken from the Table, would ſtop all Proceedings; but the Door being lock'd, he could not attend his Majeſty. Then he ſent the Gentleman-Uſher of the Lords Houſe, who was refus'd Admittance till the Votes were read; and then the Houſe adjourn'd till *March* the tenth. But the King by Proclamation, dated *March* the ſecond, but not publiſh'd till *March* the tenth, declar'd the Parliament diſſolv'd.

The next Day after theſe Stirs, the Council commanded *Denzil Holles* Eſq; Sir *Miles Hobart*, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, *John Selden* Eſq; *William Coriton*, *Walter Long*, *William Strode* and *Benjamin Valentine*, to appear before them on the Morrow. And Mr. *Holles*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Coriton*, and Mr. *Valentine*, appearing, and refuſing to anſwer out of Parliament what was ſaid and done in Parliament, they were committed to the *Tower*; and

Several Members queſtion'd.

War-

An. 1628. Warrants issu'd for sealing up the Studies of Mr. *Holles*, Mr. *Selden* and Sir *John Elliot*; and a Proclamation for apprehending Mr. *Long* and Mr. *Strode*.

To put an end to the Parliament, on the tenth of *March*, his Majesty in his Throne, with Crown and Robes, and the Lords in their Robes, the Commons not sent for, tho several appearing below the Bar; the King spoke to this effect: 'That he chose to 'come himself to dissolve the Parliament, that he 'might declare to them and all the World, that it 'was the seditious Carriage in the lower House that 'hath caus'd this Dissolution. As for the Lords, he 'took great Comfort in their dutiful Demeanour; 'and there were in the lower House as dutiful Sub'jects as any in the World, it being only some few 'Vipers that cast a Mist over most of their Eyes; 'who must look for Punishment, as the Lords may 'justly expect his Favour and Protection.' Then he bid the Lord-Keeper do as he commanded him; and the Lord-Keeper declar'd the Parliament dissolv'd.

King's last Speech.

Parliament dissolv'd.

Thus unhappily ended the third Parliament in this Reign; after which, the Nation was left without Parliaments for near twelve Years together. The Discontents of the People were heightned by this Dissolution; and two threatning Libels against Bishop *Laud*, and Lord-Treasurer *Weston*, were found some few Days after. But the King, thinking to quiet the Minds of his Subjects, not long after publish'd a *Declaration of the Causes that mov'd him to dissolve the last Parliament*.

An. 1629. Soon after this, an unhappy Step was made, and a Proclamation issu'd out, in which it was declar'd, 'That since for several ill Ends the calling again of 'a Parliament was divulg'd, however his Majesty had 'shew'd, by his frequent meeting with his People, 'his Love to the Use of Parliaments, yet the late 'Abuse having for the present driven his Majesty un'willingly out of that Course, he shall account it Pre'sumption for any to prescribe any time to his Ma'jesty for Parliaments.' Which last Words were generally interpreted, as if no more Parliaments were to be expected, and that all Men were prohibited to speak of those Assemblies.

Proclamation concerning Parliaments.

Some

Some new Projects began now to be ſet on foot for raiſing Mony: The Payment of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* was ſtrictly requir'd, to preſerve the narrow Seas; and a Corporation of *Starch-makers* was ſettled, in order to bring in a yearly Revenue to the Crown. His Majeſty made a particular Declaration concerning Religion: and likewiſe the Laws were order'd to be put in execution againſt Popiſh Recuſants. But the main Buſineſs at preſent was to bring about a Peace with *France* and *Spain*; the former of which was compleated in a ſhort time, and publiſh'd in *England* upon the tenth Day of *May*. 5 Car. I. New Projects. Peace with *France*.

Shortly after, the Queen was deliver'd of a Son, before her Time; and the *Romiſh* Prieſts were ſo daring in the Bed-Chamber, that they wou'd have immediately baptiz'd the Child in their Way, if the King had not ſtept in and expreſly aſſign'd that Office to his Chaplain, Dr. *Webb*, who baptiz'd him by the Name of *Charles*: He dy'd about an Hour after, and was interr'd at *Weſtminſter* by the Biſhop of *London*. Queen deliver'd of a Son.

The Court now proceeded to proſecute the impriſon'd Members, and it was firſt reſolv'd to proceed againſt them in the *Star-Chamber*; but that Method not anſwering, it was agreed to proſecute them by Common-Law at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, where an Information was exhibited by the Attorney-General, to which they put in a Plea againſt the Juriſdiction of the Court in the preſent Caſe; and refuſing to put in any other Plea, Judgment was given againſt them upon a *Nihil dicit*, namely, 'That every Defendant 'ſhould be impriſon'd during the King's Pleaſure, 'and none to be releas'd, till he gave ſecurity in this 'Court for his good Behaviour, and made Submiſſion 'and Acknowledgment of his Offence: That Sir '*John Elliot*, as the greateſt Offender, ſhould pay a 'Fine to the King of two thouſand Pounds, Mr. '*Holles* a thouſand Marks, and Mr. *Valentine* five hun-'dred Pounds.' Proceedings againſt the impriſon'd Members.

They all refus'd to ſubmit to any thing but the Neceſſity of a long Impriſonment, where ſome of them died in Cuſtody, and others gain'd a Reputation of Confeſſors for the Privilege of Parliament; and when the Times turn'd, were highly congratulatad for the ſame. Sir *John Elliot* was diſtinguiſh'd

An. 1629. from the reſt of the Offenders by being impriſon'd in the *Tower*, where in this or the next Year he died.

An. 1630. About the Beginning of this Year, the Earl of *Pembroke* died of an Apoplexy. He was Lord Warden of the *Stannaries*, Governor of *Portſmouth*, Knight of the Garter, Lord High-Steward of the Houſhold, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*; and was a Man univerſally belov'd and eſteem'd. Having no Heir of his own, his Honour deſcended to his Brother *Philip*, Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*: And the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made by Biſhop *Williams*'s Intereſt, was by a great Majority conferr'd upon Dr. *Laud* Biſhop of *London*.

Death of the Earl of *Pembroke*.

Projects for Money.

More Projects for Money were now ſet on foot; particularly, the Lords of the Council adviſ'd the King to put forth a Proclamation, declaring his Pleaſure to confirm to his Subjects their defective Titles in their Eſtates, as well by Colour of former Grants, as without any Grant from the Crown. Another Project was reaſſum'd, and principally aſſign'd to the Lord *Wentworth*'s Management, which was for raiſing Money upon the long omitted Aid due at the King's Coronation for Knighthood; which in *Edward* the Second's Time was payable by every Man, that had fifteen Pounds *per Annum*.

Great Riot in *London*.

About this time, upon Occaſion of an Arreſt made by the Sheriffs Officers in *Fleet-Street*, a very tumultuous Riot was made; and the Lord-Mayor, and Sheriffs, and Train'd-Bands coming down to diſperſe the Multitude, did for a while meet with open and violent Oppoſition. Among the Ring-leaders one *John Stamford* was apprehended, and convicted of Murder, who, tho he had been much in favour with the Duke of *Buckingham*, was accordingly condemn'd and executed.

Caſe of Dr. *Leighton*.

About the ſame time, an Information was exhibited in the *Star-Chamber*, againſt Dr. *Alexander Leighton*, a *Scotch* Divine, for publiſhing a Book, entitled, *An Appeal to the Parliament, or a Plea againſt Prelacy*. In concluſion, his Sentence was, To be impriſon'd during the King's Pleaſure, and to pay a Fine of ten thouſand Pounds; to be degraded in the

the Eccleſiaſtical Court; to be then twice pilloried and whipp'd, to have both his Ears cut off, his Noſe ſlit, and his Face ſtigmatiz'd; all which was executed upon him with the utmoſt Severity. 6 Car. I.

On the twenty ninth of *May*, a little before One in the Afternoon, the Queen was deliver'd of a Son, baptiz'd *Charles* by the Biſhop of *London*, who had the Honour to ſee him before he was an Hour old. The King rode publickly to St. *Pauls*, to give thanks to God on this Occaſion; when a Star appear'd in a clear Sky, ſeen and atteſted by very many Spectators. Birth of K. *Charles* II.

About this time, the famous *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, reſolv'd upon a vaſt Attempt of delivering *Germany* from the Yoke of Tyranny, which was beginning to be laid upon their Neck: In which the King of *England* was nearly concern'd, both in Honour and Tenderneſs, to take this Opportunity to relieve his Siſter, and reſtore the *Palatinate* to her Husband. In order to which, the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* was commiſſion'd to tranſport an Army of ſix thouſand Men for the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Sweden*, to be employ'd againſt the *Imperialiſts*, or any other Enemies, *for reſtoring our oppreſſed Friends in* Germany. Articles of Agreement, between the King of *Sweden* and the Marqueſs, were ſign'd in form; and ſhortly after, that warlike Prince croſs'd the *Baltick* Sea, and landed with an Army upon the Coaſts of *Pomerania*, cauſing great Wonder and Expectation throughout all *Europe*. Expedition of the K. of *Sweden*.

At this time, a Dyet was held at *Ratiſbon*, to which an Ambaſſador was ſent from King *Charles*, and another from his Brother-in-law, to move for the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*. They met with nothing more than Compliments; for the Emperor propos'd to the Dyet to paſs an Act, That the Prince *Palatine* ſhould continue a baniſhed Man, and that no Offers of Return ſhould be made to him: And many other of the Proteſtant Princes had their Lands confiſcated, and other great Hardſhips impos'd on them. Upon which the Dyet broke up in *November*, leaving the *Palatinate* and the whole Proteſtant Intereſt in a more deſperate Condition than ever. This excited the reformed Princes to enter into a Conſultation for their own Safety; and by a Letter from the Endeavours for the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*.

An. 1630. Duke of *Saxony* to the Emperor, they obtain'd leave to hold a Dyet for themſelves at *Leipſick*, where they laid open their Grievances to his Imperial Majeſty; and upon Denial of their Requeſts, they enter'd into a League to redreſs themſelves. The Emperor iſſu'd out his Imperial *Ban* againſt them; but they ſupported their Cauſe and Courage by the powerful Advances of the King of *Sweden*.

Peace with *Spain*.

In the mean time, the King of *Spain* promiſing that he would uſe his utmoſt Intereſt with the Emperor towards the Reſtoration of the *Palatinate*, Articles of Peace were publiſh'd *December* the fifth, between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*. So that now the King was deliver'd from two very expenſive and very ineffectual Wars, that had only ſhewn him to be poor and weak both abroad and at home.

An. 1631. The Beginning of this Year became noted for the remarkable Tryal of *Mervin* Lord *Audley*, Earl of *Caſtlehaven* in *Ireland*, who had three Indictments found againſt him at *Salisbury* Aſſizes, for aſſiſting in a Rape upon his own Lady, and for Sodomy with ſeveral Perſons. For all which, he was ſolemnly try'd by his Peers in *Weſtminſter-hall* on *April* the twenty fifth; and being found guilty of thoſe deteſtable Crimes, with all the moſt ſcandalous Circumſtances, he receiv'd Sentence of Death. His Majeſty had ſo great an Abhorrence for Vices ſo unnatural, that he would grant no Pardon, but only the favour of being beheaded, which was executed *May* the fourteenth on *Tower-hill*. Shortly after, two of his Aſſociates, Mr. *Broad-way* and *Fitz-Patrick*, ſuffer'd at *Tyburn* for the ſame Crime.

Earl of *Caſtlehaven* condemn'd.

Birth of the Princeſs of *Orange*.

On the fourth Day of *November* this Year, the Queen was deliver'd of her eldeſt Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, who was afterwards marry'd to the Prince of *Orange*. Before this, there dy'd two learned Judges, Chief Baron *Walter*, and Sir *Nicholas Hide*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*. This Year alſo died that worthy and famous Antiquary, Sir *Robert Cotton*, a Man who had no Superior, or ſcarce any Equal in his Skill that way, and one whom the World is infinitely oblig'd to for his noble Collections preſerv'd in his Library at *Weſtminſter*: He was of that great and pub-

Death of Sir *Robert Cotton*.

lick Spirit, that his uſual ſaying was, *He had the leaſt ſhare in himſelf*, his Country and his Friends having always the greateſt Intereſt in him. 7 Car. I.

In *September*, Sir *Henry Vane* was ſent Ambaſſador extraordinary to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and other Princes and States of *Germany*; and in *January* he had Audience of the King of *Sweden* at *Frankfort*, where he earneſtly preſs'd that victorious Prince, That he would undertake the Reſtitution of the Elector *Palatine* to his Eſtates and Dignity. The King anſwer'd, 'That he could not bring this about, 'without having a War with *France* and *Bavaria*; 'which he could not undertake, unleſs the King of '*England* wou'd enter into an Alliance with him a-'gainſt *Spain*.' However, it was concerted, That upon the Prince *Palatine*'s Arrival at the *Swediſh* Camp, where he was ſpeedily expected, the Chancellor of the *Swedes*, and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, ſhould enter into a Treaty about this difficult Affair. Sir *Henry Vane*'s Embaſſy.

The King of *Sweden* ſtill purſu'd his Victories with a moſt rapid Courſe, into the very Bowels of the *German* Empire, raiſing Terror and Wonder in all Places. And being Maſter of the Field even in the *Palatinate*, the Prince Elector, about the middle of *July*, had his laſt Audience; when the King offer'd Propoſals to him, more like a Conqueror than a Friend. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador knew, that his Maſter, and the Prince, and all Mankind would think thoſe Terms diſhonourable; and therefore he expoſtulated with the King of *Sweden*, in ſo much Freedom of Speech, that they both parted in a Paſſion, and the Treaty broke off. The King of *England* perceiving his Forces not likely to be employ'd for the Service of the *Palatinate*, as he deſign'd them, wrote to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* to make an Excuſe and return home. He ſent Letters alſo to the King of *Sweden*, charging him with obſtructing a League between them; and ſo recalling his Ambaſſador, Inſtructions were left with his Secretary Mr. *Curtius*, who ſtaid behind as his Majeſty's Agent with the King of *Sweden*. An. 1632.

When the Elector *Palatine* was again put in hopes of his Reſtoration by the Advances and kinder Offers of the King of *Sweden*, the great Heroe was ſtop'd in the full Career of all his Triumphs, by a Death natural Death of the King of *Sweden*.

An. 1632. tural to his Profeſſion. This hapned at the memorable Battel of *Lutzen*, on the ſixth of *November*; where the brave King being too adventurouſly engag'd in the thickeſt of his Troops, was ſlain by an unknown Hand: Yet his Death prov'd ſo ſmall a Diſcouragement to the Army, that it inſpir'd them with a new Spirit of Revenge, and redoubling their martial Fury, they gain'd a bloody Victory. Such was the End of the moſt renowned Warrior that *Europe* had known for many Ages; who in two Years time won and gain'd two hundred and ninety ſix Cities, Forts and walled Towns. He died before he was thirty eight Years of Age. The Majeſtick Gracefulneſs of his Preſence, and the Heroick Magnanimity of his Spirit, had made ſo powerful an Impreſſion upon all ſorts of Men, that after his Death, his very Pictures were almoſt idoliz'd, as his Perſon had been before.

Elector *Palatine's* Death.

The King's Death was ſoon after ſucceeded by that of the unfortunate Prince *Palatine*, King of *Bohemia*, who was carried off by an Infection he got at *Mentz*, on the twenty ninth of the ſame Month. Shortly after his Death, the Earl of *Arundel* was ſent over by King *Charles* to his Siſter at the *Hague*, to condole the great Loſs of her Husband, and to invite her and her Children into *England*: But ſhe ſent an Excuſe for the preſent, as being extremely immers'd in Sorrow and not yet able to undertake the Journey.

Lord *Wentworth* ſent into *Ireland*.

This Year, his *Britiſh* Majeſty had great occaſion to turn his Thoughts towards his Kingdom of *Ireland*, which being under the Government of Lords Juſtices, was now labouring under great Inconveniencies, owing chiefly to the powerful Increaſe of the Papiſts, eſpecially the Clergy, who openly erected an Univerſity in *Dublin*, in Emulation or rather Defiance of the King's College there. To reduce the troubleſome Affairs of that Kingdom into better Peace and Order, the King ſent over the Lord Viſcount *Wentworth*, under the Title of Lord-Deputy, upon good Experience of that vigorous Spirit of Diſcipline and Conduct he had exercis'd as Preſident of the *North*. When he came to his new Government, he found all things in great Diſorder, and the Revenue ſo low that *Ireland* was a Burden to the Crown of *England*; which by degrees he not only remov'd, but ſo improv'd the Trade of the Nation, and the

Revenue

Revenue of the Crown, that that Kingdom was not only able to ſupport it ſelf, but to lend Supplies to *England*. 8 Car. I.

The famous Judge *Whitlock* died this Year, a Perſon not only excellent in what related to his own Profeſſion, but alſo in many others; by whoſe Deceaſe the King loſt as good a Subject, his Country as good a Patriot, and the People as juſt a Judge as ever liv'd. Death of Judge *Whitlock*.

The King now reſolv'd to make a Progreſs into the *North*, and to be ſolemnly crown'd in his antient and native Kingdom of *Scotland*, which he had never ſeen ſince the Time of his Infancy. This prov'd a great Step towards the future Commotions, and his own Misfortunes; but he had many Motives to undertake this publick Solemnity. His Preſence and Coronation had been expected in *Scotland* almoſt ever ſince the Death of his Father, and his long Delay had been unkindly interpreted in that Kingdom; ſo that ſome Murmurs were given out, *That if the King did not think the Crown of* Scotland *worth his Journey thither, there might be ſome other Way of diſpoſing of it.* An. 1633. King reſolved to be crown'd in *Scotland*.

To perform this Progreſs with the greater Pomp and Regularity, in the Beginning of *May*, his Majeſty by Proclamation ordered, 'That competent Proviſions 'ſhould be made for his Royal Perſon and Attendants, in the ſeveral Parts of this Realm thro which 'he was to paſs; and that the Prices of them ſhould 'be rated by the Clerk of the Market of the King's 'Houſhold.' And the next Day another Proclamation was publiſh'd, 'For the better ordering his Majeſty's Court and Train in his Journey to *Scotland*, 'and his Return from thence.'

On *May* the thirteenth his Majeſty ſet out from *London* with a glorious Retinue of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, and *Holland*; the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, the Biſhop of *London*, and many other Perſons of Quality, who were all to go at their own Expences. The whole Progreſs was perform'd with all imaginable Grandeur and Magnificence. The King accepted of many noble Entertainments by the Way; and the greateſt Exceſs of feaſting was then introduc'd, or at leaſt feaſting was then carried on to a height it never had attain'd before, from whence in this Reign it hardly His Progreſs thither.

An. 1633. ever declin'd, to the great Damage of the Estates and Manners of the Nation.

On the twelfth Day of *June* the King enter'd *Scotland*, when immediately all his *English* Officers and Servants yielded up their Attendance to those of that Nation, who were admitted to the same Titles and Duties. His Majesty was met by great Throngs of all sorts of People, which daily encreased as he drew nearer to *Edinburgh*; which he enter'd on the fifteenth with wonderful Pomp and Magnificence, where he was receiv'd with loud Acclamations and great Rejoicings. Three Days after began the Solemnities of the Coronation, when his Majesty descended from the Castle, and pass'd with a glorious Parade of all his great Officers and Nobility to the *Abbey-Church*; where the Sermon was preach'd by Dr. *Lindsey*, Bishop of *Brechin*, upon these Words, *And all the People said, God save King* Solomon; and the chief Ceremonies were perform'd by Dr. *Spotswood*, Archbishop of St. *Andrews*. His Majesty was highly pleased with his Reception, which equall'd any thing he could expect in *England*: But the Debts contracted at that Time by the Nobility and Gentry, occasion'd by the present Luxury and vast Expence, with the Wants and Temptations that succeeded, very much contributed to the kindling that Fire which not long after broke out into so terrible a Flame.

He enters *Edinburgh*.

His Coronation.

Holds a Parliament.

The Parliament met on the twentieth instant; Archbishop *Spotswood* preached the Sermon, and the King made a gracious Speech. Within eight Days Time thirty one publick Acts were pass'd, two of which were of the Nature of Aids and Subsidies, which met with no Difficulty. But at the passing of two others, several great Men were very much disturb'd, and shew'd their Opposition; one was entitled *An Act concerning his Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and Apparel of Kirk-men*; the other, *An Act of Ratification of the Acts touching Religion*. The King finding this, took out a List of the whole Assembly, and said, *Gentlemen, I have all your Names here, and I'll know who will do me Service, and who will not this Day.* However, thirteen Noblemen, and as many Barons and Burgesses declar'd their Dissent. Upon the passing all these Acts the Parliament was dissolv'd, after a short Session of eight Days.

Dissolved.

The

The paſſing the Act concerning Eccleſiaſtical Habits, by which the *Surplice* was thought to be intended, did much perplex the diſſenting Lords and others of the Kirk Party; who were taught to be upon their Guard by the Biſhop of *London*'s waiting upon the King; and they look'd with a worſe Eye upon him, when they heard him preach in the Royal Chappel at *Edinburgh*, chiefly on the Benefit of Conformity, and the Reverence due to the Ceremonies of the Church: They were made more uneaſy when the King, during his Stay, had erected and endow'd an Epiſcopal See at *Edinburgh*, and had promoted ſome of the Biſhops to be principal Officers of State, and likewiſe committed the framing and compoſing of a Liturgy for the Church of *Scotland* to a ſelect Number of their Biſhops. Theſe, with ſeveral other Steps, concurred to open a Way for thoſe Troubles and Commotions that not long after followed. 9 Car. I. Several Diſcontents.

The King, after he had ſtaid about five Weeks in *Scotland*, return'd, and arriv'd at *Berwick* upon the ſixteenth of *July*; from whence he went Poſt in four Days to his Queen at *Greenwich*, who then kept her Court there. King returns.

Soon after his Majeſty's Return, Dr. *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* died, after he had continu'd twenty one Years in that high Station. He was a Perſon of wonderful Temper and Moderation, and in all his Conduct ſhew'd an Unwillingneſs to ſtretch the Act of Uniformity beyond what was abſolutely neceſſary for the Peace of the Church, or the Prerogative of the Crown, or any further than conduc'd to the Good of the State. Hence he has by ſome been charg'd with Remiſneſs in managing the Affairs of the Church, and look'd upon as unfit for the Station he was advanced to. He was of conſiderable Learning and a genteel Education, but not well turn'd for a Court. He had been Maſter of *Univerſity* College in *Oxford*, and Dean of *Wincheſter*, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and after that ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *London*; and all without ever being a Curate, Vicar, or Rector of any Pariſh. He was a celebrated Preacher both in *England* and *Scotland*, and of a grave and voluble Eloquence; he was painful, ſtout, ſevere againſt bad Manners, very hoſpitable, zealous againſt the *Roman* Church, and no leſs againſt thoſe call'd *Arminians*, Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Death and Character.

An. 1633. *ans*, which latter gave him great Disquiet. He had sent what Succour he could spare to the Queen of *Bohemia*, and was an active Counsellor for the Defence of the *Palatinate*. He was generally acceptable to the Nobility and Gentry, and highly in Favour with King *James*'s Queen *Anne*, and by her Interest became a great Instrument in the Rise of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Bishop *Laud* succeeds him.

King *Charles* took very little Time to consider who should succeed in the Archiepiscopal Dignity; but the very next Time Dr. *Laud*, Bishop of *London*, came to wait on him, he cheerfully receiv'd him with this Compellation, *My Lord's Grace of* Canterbury, *you are very welcome!* And gave order the same Day for the Dispatch of all necessary Forms for his Translation; which were all compleated in a little above a Month's Time, at *Lambeth*, where he kept a most solemn and magnificent Feast.

Book of Sports reviv'd.

This Year King *James*'s Declaration *concerning lawful Sports to be us'd upon* Sundays, *after Evening Prayers ended*, otherwise call'd *The Book of Sports*, was renew'd; which in the Year 1618. had been ordered to be publish'd from the Bishop of each Diocese, thro all the Parish-Churches. The King and Council thought fit to revive and confirm the said Declaration, with some additional Orders to Magistrates, 'To permit the Use, and prevent the Abuse of these Pastimes; which, in the first Place, were to be no Impediment to the Duty of the Day; next, no Recusants should be capable of the Benefit of them, nor any others who were not diligently present at Divine Service, and did not keep themselves to their own Parishes.' The Publication of this gave great Offence to many devout Persons; and the more, because tho there was nothing express in the Declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be obliged to the publishing of it, yet some Ministers, for refusing to read it, were suspended *ab officio & beneficio*, some depriv'd, and more molested in the *High-Commission* Court. This one thing gave as much Cause of Complaint against the King and Archbishop *Laud*, as any other Part of the publick Administration, it having too great an Appearance of Irreligion and Profaneness.

About

About this Time Mr. *William Pryn* was proſecuted in the *Star-Chamber*, for compiling and printing a Book entitled *Hiſtriomaſtix*, againſt Plays, Maſques, Dancings, *&c.* and being convicted of many *ſlanderous Reflections* in it, he was ſentenc'd to have his Book burnt in the moſt publick Manner, to be himſelf put from the Bar, and made for ever uncapable of his Profeſſion; to be excluded the Society of *Lincolns-Inn*, and degraded at *Oxford*, and ſtand in the Pillory in *Weſtminſter* and *Cheapſide*, and loſe both his Ears, one in each Place, with a Paper on his Head, declaring his Offence to be *an infamous Libel againſt both their Majeſties, the State, and the Government*; and to pay a Fine of five thouſand Pounds, and to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment. Such Proſecutions and Penalties in the *Star-Chamber* were thought to exceed the Proportion of the Crimes; and this Terror ſerv'd but to increaſe the Averſion againſt that Court, and the principal Aſſeſſors of it. 9 Car. I. Proſecution of *William Pryn*.

On the fourteenth Day of *October* this Year, the Queen was deliver'd of her third Son, but the ſecond now living, who was immediately proclaim'd Duke of *York* at the Court Gates, and upon his Account ſeveral Medals of Silver were caſt abroad. On *Sunday* the twenty fourth of the ſame Month, he was baptized by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by the Name of *James*. K. *James* the ſecond born.

To congratulate this Birth, and to welcome his Majeſty from *Scotland*, and likewiſe to ſhew a publick Diſapprobation of *Prynn*'s *Hiſtriomaſtix*, the whole Body of the Gentlemen of the four *Inns of Court*, by ſome of their principal Members, offer'd a moſt ſplendid Maſque to be perform'd at *Whitehall* by their Societies jointly, as a ſingular Expreſſion of their Love and Duty to their Majeſties. The Offer was graciouſly accepted, and upon Conſult and Order of the Benchers, was very nobly perform'd at *Whitehall* on *Shrove-Tueſday*, and again at *Merchant-Taylors* Hall, where the King, Queen, and Court, were magnificently entertain'd by the City. Maſque by the Inns of Court.

Great Diſtractions began to be compos'd in *Ireland* by the vigilant and active Lord Deputy *Thomas* Viſcount *Wentworth*, who wrote a Letter to his Majeſty, wherein he adviſes the calling of a Parliament, and ſuggeſts the Ways and Means of a Parliamentary Sup- Affairs of *Ireland*.

ply

An. 1633. ply to make up the Revenue, which, within a Year, wou'd fall short Twenty thousand Pounds sterling, and to discharge a Debt upon the Crown of Fourscore thousand Pounds, and to support the Army; with *Propositions* for the Peace and Interest of his Majesty's Affairs, and *Considerations* for the better government of the Church and Clergy in that Kingdom.

The King being at Peace with all Princes and States, there was nothing remarkable transacted in relation to foreign Affairs: And the Thoughts of restoring the *Palatinate* seem'd, at present, to die with the Prince Elector; but to countenance his Son and Heir, the young Prince, his Majesty bestow'd on him the Honour of a Garter, and he was by Proxy install'd on the 6th of *November*.

An. 1634. Rise of Ship-Money. The narrow Seas being at this time very much infested with Pirates of all the neighbouring Nations, gave rise to an extraordinary Project, which prov'd very hurtful to the King and Kingdom, it being the most exceptionable Expedient, and thought the most irreconcilable to the Constitution of any practis'd at this time. This was commonly call'd by the Name of *Ship-Money*; and the Project was fram'd by degrees out of many antient Records, by the Attorney-General Mr. *Noy*, *viz.* to impose upon every Sea-Port and Place of Merchandise, the Obligation of finding such a Number of Ships and Men, in proportion to their Wealth and Trade. The first Writ for this Tax was directed to the City of *London*, 'commanding the 'Citizens at their Charge to provide seven Ships of 'War, furnish'd with Men and warlike Provisions, to 'be at *Portsmouth* by the first Day of *March*, and 'to continue from thence twenty six Weeks in his 'Majesty's Service, for the Defence of the Seas, *&c.*' The Writ being read in the Common-Council at *Guild-Hall*, it gave a general Disgust, and caus'd a formal Petition to the King, in which they represented, 'That by antient Privileges, Grants, and Acts of 'Parliaments, they were exempt, and were to be 'freed from that Charge.' But this Petition seem'd to have had no other effect, than only to express a Dissent, when there must follow a Compliance; and the Example of Submission, however extorted from

from the City of *London*, wou'd have its ſure and certain Influence upon all inferior Places. 10 Car. I.

Great Offence taken at it.

This Project by degrees created a univerſal Offence and Odium. The Nobility and Gentry had juſt reaſon to be jealous of any Methods of raiſing Money out of Parliament: The Merchants and Traders had the Grievance of thinking the whole Burden caſt upon them: the Clergy could not at firſt obtain an Exemption from their conſiderable ſhare: and the Country Farmers thought it little leſs than ſeizing their Corn and Cattle to be ſent on Ship-board.

Mr. *Noy*'s Death.

Mr. *Noy* the Projector died on the ninth of *Auguſt*, juſt at the time when the Writs were compleated; and ſo great was the Averſion of the People to theſe Proceedings, that they look'd upon his Death to be a Judgment ſent upon his Head. This Perſon had been extoll'd for a great Patriot in the three laſt Parliaments; but by means of the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, he was by the lure of his Place brought over to the Court. Upon his Death, Sir *John Banks* was made Attorney-General: and Sir *Robert Heath* being unexpectedly remov'd from the Honour of Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, Sir *John Finch* was advanc'd to that Station. This ſudden Change occaſion'd various Diſcourſes; but within four Days after the Writs for *Ship-Money*, it was reported that he was to be inſtrumental in promoting that invidious Affair. This Gentleman had been Speaker in the laſt Parliament, and having a good ſtock of Wit and natural Parts, and no great Fortune, or Skill in the Profeſſion he took to, he was willing to uſe thoſe Weapons he beſt underſtood, and took up *Ship-Money* where Mr. *Noy* left it.

Sir *Edward Coke*'s Death.

Shortly after, Sir *Edward Coke*, the Oracle of the *Engliſh* Law, died in the 83d Year of his Age. He had been Attorney-General to Queen *Elizabeth*, and Lord Chief Juſtice of *England* under King *James*; which Advancement he loſt the ſame way he got it, namely, by his Tongue. His Receſs was far from being inglorious; and he was ſo good at improving a Diſgrace, that King *James* us'd to compare him to a Cat, that whatever hapned, wou'd always light upon her Feet. Finding a Cloud at Court, he met with fair Weather in the Country, where he ſo eſpouſed the Cauſe of the People, that in ſucceeding Parliaments

An. 1634. ments the Prerogative felt him as its most able and active Opposer.

This Summer the King and Queen made a Progress towards the *North*; and having pass'd the *Trent*, they were nobly entertain'd at *Bolsover-Castle* in *Derbyshire* by the Earl of *Newcastle*, who invited all the Nobility and Gentry of the Counties of *Nottingham* and *Derby* to wait upon their Majesties.

Projects of Archbishop *Laud*.

In the mean time, Archbishop *Laud* enter'd upon some new and strange Projects. The first was, to bring the *French* and *Dutch* Churches to a perfect Conformity with the Church of *England*. This met with great Opposition; yet at last this Injunction was put in force, 'That the Foreigners of the first Descent might 'continue in their former Ways; but all of the second 'Descent, born here in *England*, should resort to 'their several Parish Churches.' This was so vigorously pursu'd in the Diocese of *Norwich*, by Bishop *Wren*, that it frighted thousands of Families out of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* into *New-England*, to the great Damage of the Woollen Manufacture. Another Design of the Archbishop's, in which he was very active, was to settle a regular Uniformity of Worship in all the *English* Factories beyond the Seas. He had considerable Success in this Design, but not so great in a third, which was to augment the Revenues of the Parochial Ministers of *London*.

Parliament in *Ireland*.

This Year *Ireland* had a Parliament call'd, to consider of Ways and Means to maintain the Army, and to discharge a Debt of Eighty thousand Pounds, there contracted by the Crown. By the Management of the Lord-Deputy, these Ends were obtain'd, and three Subsidies were granted. Also a great Alteration was made as to Ecclesiastical Affairs: For in a Convocation held at the same time, there was a Canon pass'd, 'fixing the Agreement of the Church of *England* 'and *Ireland* in the Profession of the same *Christian* 'Faith, by receivingthe *Book of Articles of Religion*, 'agreed by the *English* Convocation held at *London*, 'in the Year 1562.'

An. 1635. To make the Aid of *Ship-Money* more ample, it was found expedient to enlarge the Extent of it; and whereas in the preceding Year, the Writs were directed

Ship-Money enlarg'd.

rected only to maritime Towns, it was now resolv'd to bring in all Counties of the Kingdom to some proportionable Share, as being Partakers of the general Benefit. Accordingly *Instructions* and *Directions* were prepar'd by the Lords of the Council, to be sent with the Writs to the respective Sheriffs. To promote the Execution of these Writs, the Lord-Keeper *Coventry* deliver'd a Charge in his Majesty's Name to all the Judges of *England*, in the *Star-Chamber*, concluding with the Affair of the Navy, ordering them, 'That 'in their Charges at the Assizes, they should let the 'People know, how just it was that his Majesty should 'require this Aid for their Defence, and with what 'Chearfulness they ought, and how much they were 'bound in Duty, to contribute towards it.' These Charges at the several Assizes began much to alarm the Country, and to make them feel the Burden before it touch'd them; and what was before thought a private Provision to be made by particular Parts for their own Safety, was now found to be intended for a national Tax, and therefore the more odious, for want of the Authority of Parliament. 11 Car. I.

This Year a Restraint was laid upon the too great Increase, and other Inconveniencies arising from the Hackney Coaches in the Streets of *London*. In the first Year of this Reign, no Hackney Coaches stood in the Streets, but in their Stables, to be us'd only as Persons had occasion to send for them; and there were not at that time above twenty in number to be hired in and about *London*.

In *November*, *Charles* the new Prince *Palatine* came over to sollicit his Uncle to promote his Restoration; and in a Month after, came his younger Brother Prince *Rupert*; who were receiv'd in a very honourable manner. Prince *Palatine's* Arrival.

On the twenty eighth of *December*, the Queen was delivered of a second Daughter, nam'd *Elizabeth*: And to congratulate the present Accession of Happiness to the Court, the States of *Holland* sent over a solemn Embassy, with a noble Present of Ambergrease, *China* Basons, a Clock made by *Rodolphus* the Emperor, and some exquisite Pieces of Painting by *Titian*, and other great Masters. Birth of the Princess *Elizabeth*.

This Year died *Thomas Parr* a *Shropshire* Man, being an Hundred and fifty two Years old. He was brought Old *Thomas Parr*.

An. 1635. brought to *London* in good Health by the Earl of *Arundel*, as a great Rarity; and 'tis believ'd he might have continu'd some Years longer, had not the Fatigue of his Journey, and the Change of his Diet shorten'd his Days. He was born in the last Year of King *Edward* the Fourth, and in effect had seen the Reigns of eight Kings and Queens of *England*.

An. 1636. About this time, Archbishop *Laud* recommended his Successor, Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London*, for the Office of Treasurer. He brought him in without any Opposition, to the great Surprize of the Court, which had not seen any of that Profession so exalted since the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh. This Promotion inflam'd more Men than were angry before, and not only increas'd the Aversion against the Archbishop, but caus'd many to think ill of the Church it self, which they look'd upon as the Gulph ready to swallow all the great Offices of State.

Bishop *Juxon* made Treasurer.

Royal Sovereign built. This Year the King order'd a Ship to be built, call'd the *Royal Sovereign*, a Vessel the largest in Bulk, the richest in Price, the finest in Workmanship, and, in short, the most wonderful floating Castle then known in the World. The Fame of it, when building, drew vast Multitudes from all Parts to see it, which sufficiently shew'd both the Taste of the King, and the Skill of the Projectors and Builders. And further to give Countenance to these Naval Improvements, his Majesty took into consideration Mr. *Selden*'s famous Book, entitled *Mare Clausum*, which by his Order he had written with extraordinary Pains and Reputation; and requir'd one of the said Books to be kept in the *Council Chest*, another in the Court of *Exchequer*, and a third in the Court of *Admiralty*, as a full and faithful Evidence of the Right of the Crown of *England* to the Dominion of the *British* Seas.

Proclamation. Further to promote the Naval Power, the King, by Proclamation, renew'd an Order of King *James*, 'Restraining all Foreigners whatsoever from Fishing 'upon any of the Coasts and Seas of *Great-Britain* 'and *Ireland*, and the adjacent Isles, without Licence 'first obtain'd: Declaring also his Resolution to keep 'such a competent Strength of Shipping upon his 'Seas, as may be sufficient both to hinder such fur-'ther Encroachments upon his Regalities, and pro-'tect

'tect all his good Friends and Allies.' Accordingly he this Year put out a Fleet, much greater than any ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, under the Command and Conduct of *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*. 12 Car. I.

Yet all this prudent Application of the *Ship-Money*, and the ſeeming good Effects of it, cou'd not reconcile the People of *England* to a new Tax levy'd without an Act of Parliament: For great Murmurs, and a general ſenſe of Oppreſſion, ran throughout the Kingdom. In *London*, one Mr. *Chambers* a Merchant had peremptorily refuſed to pay; for which he had been committed to Priſon by Sir *Edward Bromfield* Lord-Mayor, againſt whom he commenc'd a Suit for Treſpaſs and falſe Impriſonment: Which Caſe, when it came to be heard before Sir *Robert Berkley* one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, he wou'd not ſuffer the Point of the Legality of *Ship-Money* to be argu'd by *Chambers*'s Council; but declar'd in open Court, *That there was a* Rule of Law, *and a* Rule of Government; *and that many things which might not be done by the Rule of Law, might be done by the Rule of Government.* But this Diſtinction was thought very dangerous: And this way of ſilencing a Cauſe, occaſion'd the People more to ſuſpect it. Diſcontents about Ship-Money.

The King himſelf thought fit to take a more ſoft and plauſible Method, and order'd the Legality of this Tax to be formally decided by his twelve Judges, putting the grand Queſtion to them in Writing. After a Conſideration of every Judge by himſelf, and a Conſultation of all of them together, as they expreſs it, they return'd their Anſwer for the Legality of it: Which gave a new Alarm to the Kingdom, and cauſed this new Tax to be thought a greater Grievance than ever it was before.

Archbiſhop *Laud*, now in the height of his Proſperity and Grandeur, drew a new Load of Envy upon himſelf by his claiming the Right of Viſiting the two Univerſities, *Jure Metropolitico*. For both theſe learned Bodies deny'd his Claim, and pleaded, that as they were founded by Kings, they were only ſubject to Royal Viſitations. The Cauſe was brought to a Hearing before the King and Council at *Hampton-Court*, where Sir *John Banks* Attorney-General argu'd for the Archbiſhop's Right againſt the Royal *Laud* claims the Right of viſiting the Univerſities.

An. 1636. Prerogative, and Mr. *Gardiner* Recorder of *London* pleaded their Subjection only to Royal Power, in behalf of the University of *Cambridge*, as Serjeant *Thinne* did in behalf of that of *Oxford*. The King himself argu'd for the Archbishop, and at last gave Judgment for him, that is, as many believ'd, against his own Crown and Dignity. Not long after, the Archbishop invited the King and Queen, the Prince Elector and his Brother, with the whole Court, to an Academical Entertainment at *Oxford*.

Endeavours for the Restitution of the *Palatinate*.

The King was shortly after engag'd again in foreign Affairs, occasion'd by the Death of the Emperor of *Germany*, and the Succession of his Son, *Ferdinand* the third. Upon the notice of this, his Majesty sent over the Earl of *Arundel*, Earl Marshal of *England*, his Ambassador, with a most splendid Equipage, to the new Emperor, to represent the unhappy Condition of the Elector *Palatine*, now in the *English* Court, and to sollicit the Restitution of his Patrimony. The Emperor return'd a civil Answer, 'That in time his Restitution might be consider'd as 'to the *Lower Palatinate*; but for the *Upper Pala-* 'tinate, it concern'd the Duke of *Bavaria*, with 'whom Consultation must be had in that Affair.' But upon a fresh Consultation, *Bavaria* answer'd like a Soldier, *That what he had won by the Sword, he would maintain by the same Power*. Upon which, the *English* Ambassador so far resented the Slights and Indignities put upon him, that he came away without taking Leave; and made such a Report to the King, that he shew'd his particular Displeasure to the Imperial Agent: all which further obstructed the King's Endeavours of restoring his Nephew.

Plague at *London*.

In the Beginning of this Year the Plague broke out at *London*, and continu'd in some measure the whole Summer and Autumn: It decreas'd in the latter end of the Year, when a new Joy was added to the Court by the Birth of the Queen's third Daughter, baptiz'd by the Name of *Anne*, who dy'd before she was four Years of Age.

An. 1637. This Year several Persons, who had met with severe Censures in the Ecclesiastical Courts, began to think of taking Refuge in foreign Plantations, where they might unmolested follow the Dictates of their Con-

Several remove to the *West Indies*.

Conſcience; till at length the Number of the Families, thus tranſported, began to raiſe the Jealouſy of the State, as fearing thoſe Parts of *America*, where they propos'd to ſettle, might prove ſuch a Receptacle of diſaffected People, as would be of very bad conſequence both to the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power at home. Wherefore a Proclamation was iſſu'd out to reſtrain the diſorderly tranſporting his Majeſty's Subjects to the Plantations in *America*, without a Royal Licence. After which an Order was made in Council, 'That ſpeedy and effectual Courſe ſhould be taken 'for ſtopping of eight Ships then in the *Thames*, 'prepar'd for *New England*; and Order be given for 'the putting on land all the Paſſengers and Proviſion intended for that Voyage. 13 Car. I.

In *Trinity* Term came on the remarkable Cauſe in the *Star-Chamber*, upon Information of the King's Attorney-General, againſt *John Baſtwick* Doctor of Phyſick, *Henry Burton* Batchelor of Divinity, and *William Prynne* Bariſter at Law; for writing and publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and libellous Books againſt the Hierarchy of the Church, and to the ſcandal of the Government. The Defendants prepar'd their Anſwers; but their Council refuſing to ſign them, the Court would not receive them, but order'd that each Perſon ſhould be proceeded againſt *pro confeſſo*. It need not be much wonder'd at that their Council ſhould decline ſigning thoſe Anſwers which the Parties had drawn up with their own hands, if we conſider the Temper of the Men. The Sentence of the Court was a Fine of five thouſand Pounds upon each Delinquent to the King, with Pillory and Loſs of Ears, and *Prynne* to loſe the very Remainder of his Ears: After which Suffering, they were committed cloſe Priſoners, one to the Caſtle of *Launceſton* in *Cornwal*, another to the Caſtle of *Lancaſter*, and a third to *Carnarvan* Caſtle in *Wales*; from whence they were afterwards remov'd to remote Iſlands, and had no Acceſs of Friends allow'd to them. And here, tho the Boldneſs of theſe Men was very great, their Puniſhment was thought much too ſevere. Some moderate Penalties might have left them under the Neglect of being daring Writers: But theſe terrible Blows upon them rais'd them in the Eyes of the People into the Repu- *Caſe of Baſtwick, Burton and Prynne.*

An. 1637. tation of Sufferers and Confessors for the best of Causes, Religion, Liberty, and Property.

Bishop *Williams's* Case.

About this time, came on the famous Cause in the *Star-Chamber*, against Dr. *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*. Information had been given in that Court by Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp*, 'That the said Bishop did 'give them great Discouragement in their Proceed-'ings in the Ecclesiastical Courts against the Puritans; 'and that the Bishop asked Sir *John Lamb*, what 'kind of People those Puritans were of whom he 'complain'd, and whether they did not pay the Loan-'Money: To which Sir *John* answer'd, that they 'did indeed conform in that point, but nevertheless 'they were Puritans, not conformable to the Church. 'To which the Bishop replied, If they pay their 'Money so readily to the King, the Puritans are the 'King's best Subjects; and I am sure the Puritans 'will carry all at last.' But as to this Information, either the matter was thought too frivolous, or even such a poor Story wanted sufficient Testimony to support it: And therefore the Attorney-General let fall this first Bill, and preferr'd a second against him for *Tampering with the King's Witnesses*; and upon that Issue the Cause came to a Hearing, and held nine Days Debate, with a great Concourse of People, who pitied the Bishop, as a Man mark'd out for a Sacrifice to the Court; and had a greater Respect for him, when they found the Penalty so much exceeding the Offence, as ten thousand Pounds Fine to the King, and a thousand Marks to Sir *John Mounson*, Suspension from all Office and Benefice, and Imprisonment in the Tower during the King's Pleasure. All which was executed without any Mitigation, till at last he was releas'd and restor'd, to please the People in the Times of Danger. But neither the People, nor he himself, could forget, or heartily forgive, the Severities us'd against him.

Hampden's Case of the Ship-Mony.

Another Person who became more popular by his Sufferings, was *John Hampden* Esq; of the County of *Bucks*; who refusing to pay the *Quota* of *Ship-Money* assess'd upon him, had a *Scire Facias* brought against him in the *Exchequer* in the middle of *May*; and the Case was argued in the *Exchequer*-Chamber from *November* the sixth to *December* the eighteenth, by *Oliver St. John* Esq; and *Robert Holborn* Esq; of *Lin-*

Lincolns-Inn, for the Defendant; and on the King's side by Sir *John Banks* Attorney-General, and Sir *Edward Littleton* Sollicitor-General. In concluſion, Judgment was given againſt Mr. *Hampden*; but it being reaſonably thought the Prepoſſeſſion of the Judges more than the Reſult of the Arguments, it prov'd of more Advantage and Credit to the Gentleman condemn'd, than to the King's Service. 13 Car. I.

Beginning of the *Scotch* Troubles.

The *Scotch* Troubles came on apace this Year. The People of that Nation had been long uneaſy upon a civil Account, having in effect no Court, no Money, no Trade, and therefore no poſſible Content: But the Advances toward the Conſtitution of the Church of *England* in the former Reign, was their greateſt Grievance, and had made them more and more averſe to the Church and Court of *England*. Under theſe popular Fears and Jealouſies, the King being in *Scotland* in the Year 1633, had committed it to the Care of ſome of the Biſhops there, to provide a Book of Canons and a Liturgy for that Kingdom, to be tranſmitted to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and ſome other *Engliſh* Biſhops, and after their Approbation, to be confirmed and enjoined by the King. The Book of *Canons*, which ſhould have follow'd the Liturgy, came prepoſterouſly out before it in the Year 1635, and had many diſtaſteful things in it, ſuch as a Declaration of the unlimited Power, and full perſonal Supremacy, of their Kings; that all Biſhops and Clergymen ſhould bequeath ſomewhat to the Church; that no Presbyter ſhould reveal any thing receiv'd in Confeſſion; and other Proviſo's very new and odious to the People. This Diſpoſition of Things and Perſons made it an ill Time for the reception of the Liturgy, that was to be now ſent among them; after it had been compiled in *Scotland*, and peruſ'd and amended by three Biſhops in *England*, and confirmed by the King, and now publiſhed with his Majeſty's Reaſons for enjoining it, and with Inſtructions to the Biſhops of that Kingdom to proceed with Moderation and Patience in obtaining the good Effects of it. *Eaſter-day* in this Year had been appointed for the firſt reading of this Service: but either upon better Conſideration of the *Engliſh* Court, or rather a ſecret Deſign of the *Scotch* Miniſtry, it was deferr'd to the 23*d* of *July*; on which day, it was begun to

First reading of the Liturgy.

An. 1637. be read in the chief Church of St. *Giles* in *Edinburgh*. But immediately the People fell into Clamours and Confuſion, crying out, *A Pape, a Pape, Antichriſt, Antichriſt, ſtane him, ſtane him*; meaning the Dean of *Edinburgh*, then reading in the Deſk, with a Surplice on.

Great Diſturbance thereupon.

The Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, who was to preach that Day, ſtept into the Pulpit, and attempted to ſtill the Tumult; but preſently an old Woman threw a Stool at his Head, which was diverted by the Hand of one preſent. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and other Lords, cou'd have no Influence on the Mob, till the Provoſt, Bailiffs, and City Magiſtrates, did with ſome difficulty thruſt out of the Church the chief of the Mutineers, and ſhut the Church Doors againſt them. After which, the Dean read the Service, tho very much diſturb'd by the Rabble, who ſtood knocking at the Doors, and threw Stones in at the Windows, and ſhew'd all the Fury of an enrag'd Multitude. The Lords of the Council complain'd to the King of this Diſorder, and ſpared not to lay the Blame of it upon the Biſhops, whoſe late Advances in Power and Revenue, with their Zeal to purſue all Directions from the *Engliſh* Court, had help'd to make them the more odious to the Commonality, and indeed the more envy'd and fear'd by the Nobility and Gentry.

Theſe Commotions, tho inhibited by ſeveral Proclamations, and reſtrain'd as far as poſſible by the Civil Power, frequently returned with greater Noiſe and Numbers; ſo that in *January* his Majeſty ſent the Earl of *Roxburgh*, Lord Privy-Seal, to *Scotland*, with certain Inſtructions to the Council, who were to meet at *Dalkeith*, to conſider of the diſorder'd Affairs of that Kingdom. The Council were ſo oppreſs'd with Crouds of People, and the daily Inſults of them, that at *Sterling*, on the nineteenth of *February*, they iſſu'd a Proclamation for diſperſing the dangerous Tumults there aſſembled, and to aſſure the King's Subjects of his Majeſty's Sincerity toward the Religion eſtabliſh'd in that Kingdom. But on the publication of it, ſeveral of the Noblemen, Barons, Miniſters and Burghers, ſet out a Proteſtation againſt it, and inſiſted, 'I. That they might have immediate 'Recourſe to their ſacred Sovereign, to preſent their 'Grievances. 2. That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops,

Earl of *Roxburgh* ſent into *Scotland*.

'Parties

'Parties complain'd againſt, ſhould not be reputed 13 Car. I.
'or eſteem'd lawful Judges to ſit in any Judicatory
'upon any of the Supplicants. 3. That no Act or Pro-
'clamation paſs'd in preſence of the Archbiſhops and
'Biſhops ſhould be any ways prejudicial to them.
'4. That neither they nor their Adherents ſhould
'incur any Danger in Life or Lands, nor any other
'Pains, for not obſerving Acts, Books, Canons, *&c.*
'introduc'd without General Aſſemblies or Acts of
'Parliament. 5. That the Inconveniencies falling
'out upon preſſing the Innovations, ſhould not be im-
'puted to them, who ſought only for Reformation.
'6. That their Requeſts proceeding from Conſcience
'and a due Reſpect to his Majeſty's Honour, call'd
'only for Redreſs of their preſſing Grievances.'

Scotch Tables.

After this, they ſet up a great number of *Tables* in *Edinburgh*; four principal ones for the four Orders of the State, namely, the Noblemen, Barons, Burgeſſes, and Miniſters; with ſubordinate *Tables* of the Gentry, according to their ſeveral Shires. Theſe diſtinct Tables or Committees did conſult of what they thought fit to be propounded at a General Table, which conſiſted of ſeveral Commiſſioners choſen from the four principal Tables. By this means, after ſome Debates, they form'd and finiſh'd their famous *Covenant*, under this Title, 'The *Confeſſion of* 'Faith of the Kirk of Scotland, ſubſcrib'd at firſt 'by the King's Majeſty and his Houſhold, in the 'Year 1580; thereafter by Perſons of all Ranks in 'the Year 1581, by Ordinance of the Lords of the 'ſecret Council, and Acts of the General Aſſembly: 'Subſcrib'd again by all ſorts of Perſons in the Year '1590, by a new Ordinance of Council, at the De-'ſire of the General Aſſembly: *With a General* 'Band for maintenance of the true Religion and the 'King's Perſon; and now ſubſcrib'd in the Year 1638, 'by us Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, 'Miniſters, and Commons, under ſubſcribing: *To-*'gether with our Reſolutions and Promiſes, for the 'Cauſes after ſpecified, to maintain the ſaid true Re-'ligion and the King's Majeſty, according to the Con-'feſſion aforeſaid, and Acts of Parliament, *&c.*'

Solemn League and Covenant.

This Teſt grew ſo popular, that it was ſworn to by Multitudes at *Edinburgh* in *February*, and ſent away thro all the Country to be ſubſcrib'd, according to

An. 1637. that Example. It was ſoon impos'd upon all ſorts of Perſons; and one of the Miniſters, in his Sermon at *Glaſcow*, told the People *He was ſent to them with a Commiſſion from Chriſt, to bid them ſubſcribe, it being Chriſt's Contract: That he would not depart, till he had got the Names of all Refuſers, of whom he would complain to his Maſter.* Beſides this, to induce Men to ſubſcribe, great Menaces were us'd in many Places, beſides expoſing Perſons to a thouſand Inconveniencies at *Edinburgh*, St. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, *Glaſcow*, *Lanerick*, and many other Places. Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, fearing Violence, immediately fled to *London*, as did the reſt of the Biſhops, excepting four, of whom three ſav'd themſelves from Sufferings by recanting: Theſe were *Ramſey* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *Graham* of *Orkney*, and *Fairly* of *Argyle*: But *Guthry* Biſhop of *Murray* wou'd neither fly nor recant, but patiently endur'd Excommunication, Impriſonment, and other Sufferings, ſtill juſtifying Epiſcopal Government to the Day of his Death. Likewiſe all thoſe Profeſſors in Colleges, and Miniſters, who did neither perſuade others, nor could be perſuaded themſelves to take this *Covenant*, were put out of their Places; and all things began to appear with a black and threatning Aſpect.

The Council, alarm'd at theſe Heats of the People, appointed a ſolemn Meeting on *March* the firſt at *Sterling*; but when the Day came, the Lord-Chancellor ſent his Excuſe. However, the Lords of the Council agreed upon Inſtructions to Sir *John Hamilton*, to go to the King, and acquaint him with Proceedings, and to declare their Opinion, *That the Cauſes of the general Combuſtions in that Country, were the Fears apprehended of Innovation by occaſion of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High-Commiſſion: And therefore his Majeſty may pleaſe to declare, that he will take trial of his Subjects Grievances, and in the mean time not preſs or urge them therewith.* Theſe Inſtructions given by the whole Council, were ſeconded by a private Letter to the King, ſign'd by *Traquair* and *Roxburgh*, ſignifying, *That the general Combuſtion was come to ſuch a height, that they ſaw no probability of Force or Power to repreſs the Fury, except his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleas'd, by*

by ſome Act of his own, to ſecure them from that which they ſeem'd ſo much to apprehend by the In-bringing of the Books of Common-Prayer *and* Canons. 14 Car. I.

An. 1638. Marqueſs *Hamilton* ſent High-Commiſſioner into *Scotland.*

Upon Sir *John Hamilton*'s coming to *Whitehall*, and communicating his Buſineſs, his Majeſty conſulted with a ſelect Council, and reſolved to ſend the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* as High Commiſſioner to *Scotland*, for quieting the Rage of the People. Accordingly the Marqueſs having receiv'd his Inſtructions and Commiſſion, began his Journey on the twenty ſixth of *May*. And coming to *Berwick June* the third, the Earl of *Roxburgh* met him, and told him the People would not be pacified without the *Covenant* being allowed to them, Articles of *Perth* annull'd, Service-Book and Canons aboliſh'd, and Epiſcopacy limited, all to be done in a General Aſſembly; and a Parliament to be ſuddenly call'd. The Marqueſs could not think it honourable to come ſo ſoon to any Terms; ſo with very ſmall Attendance he came firſt to *Dalkeith*, and thence, upon Supplication of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, to the King's Palace at *Hally-Rood-Houſe*; where he offer'd to the Covenanters theſe two Propoſitions: 1. *What they ſhould expect to hear in the King's Name for accommodating their Grievances.* 2. *What might be expected from them for returning to their former Obedience, eſpecially in renouncing and delivering up their late* Covenant. To which they would give no other Anſwer, but that the only Method of Satisfaction muſt be a General Aſſembly and Parliament. And thereupon they put themſelves into ſuch a Poſture of Defence, that the High Commiſſioner, to avoid Impriſonment in his Palace, was glad to retire to *Dalkeith*, and to ſend to the King for new Inſtructions. Upon which his Majeſty order'd him to publiſh his Royal Declaration, *That he would neither now, nor hereafter preſs the Practice of the Service-Book, or Canons, or any thing of that Nature, but in ſuch a fair and legal way as ſhould ſatisfy all his loving Subjects. And for the High Commiſſion, he would ſo rectify it, that it ſhould never impugn the Laws, nor be any Grievance.* Theſe Promiſes could give no Satisfaction, but on *June* the twenty eighth they anſwer'd them with a very bold Proteſtation, That they expected a more gra-

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by ſome Act of his own, to ſecure them from that which they ſeem'd ſo much to apprehend by the In-bringing of the Books of Common-Prayer *and* Canons. 14 Car. I.

An. 1638. Marqueſs *Hamilton* ſent High-Commiſſioner into *Scotland.*

Upon Sir *John Hamilton*'s coming to *Whitehall*, and communicating his Buſineſs, his Majeſty conſulted with a ſelect Council, and reſolved to ſend the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* as High Commiſſioner to *Scotland*, for quieting the Rage of the People. Accordingly the Marqueſs having receiv'd his Inſtructions and Commiſſion, began his Journey on the twenty ſixth of *May*. And coming to *Berwick June* the third, the Earl of *Roxburgh* met him, and told him the People would not be pacified without the *Covenant* being allowed to them, Articles of *Perth* annull'd, Service-Book and Canons aboliſh'd, and Epiſcopacy limited, all to be done in a General Aſſembly; and a Parliament to be ſuddenly call'd. The Marqueſs could not think it honourable to come ſo ſoon to any Terms; ſo with very ſmall Attendance he came firſt to *Dalkeith*, and thence, upon Supplication of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, to the King's Palace at *Hally-Rood-Houſe*; where he offer'd to the Covenanters theſe two Propoſitions: 1. *What they ſhould expect to hear in the King's Name for accommodating their Grievances.* 2. *What might be expected from them for returning to their former Obedience, eſpecially in renouncing and delivering up their late* Covenant. To which they would give no other Anſwer, but that the only Method of Satisfaction muſt be a General Aſſembly and Parliament. And thereupon they put themſelves into ſuch a Poſture of Defence, that the High Commiſſioner, to avoid Impriſonment in his Palace, was glad to retire to *Dalkeith*, and to ſend to the King for new Inſtructions. Upon which his Majeſty order'd him to publiſh his Royal Declaration, *That he would neither now, nor hereafter preſs the Practice of the Service-Book, or Canons, or any thing of that Nature, but in ſuch a fair and legal way as ſhould ſatisfy all his loving Subjects. And for the High Commiſſion, he would ſo rectify it, that it ſhould never impugn the Laws, nor be any Grievance.* Theſe Promiſes could give no Satisfaction, but on *June* the twenty eighth they anſwer'd them with a very bold Proteſtation, That they expected a more gra-

An. 1638. gracious and satisfactory Answer, and would in the mean time adhere to their Confession of Faith and solemn Covenant. The Marques finding little hopes of Accommodation, proposed to go into *England*, and fetch more immediate Instructions from the King. He began his Journey on the sixth of *July*, and coming directly to Court, he gave a full Account of the Condition of the *Scotch* Nation, and of the Power and Fury of the Covenanters, and of the Fears and Inconstancy of many of the secret Council: And therefore, under these Difficulties, he advised the King to renew the Confession of Faith ratified in Parliament in 1567, and to enlarge his Instructions for the indicting a free General Assembly, and for discharging the Use of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and the Practice of the High-Commission. With these Powers, and with Letters and Declarations of the King, the Marques came back to *Edinburgh* on the tenth of *August*; when he found things in a worse Posture than he had left them: For the Covenanters had come to publick Resolutions, 'That they 'would have a General Assembly, that the Bishops 'should have no Vote in it, that Episcopacy should 'be abolished, the Articles of *Perth* condemn'd, and 'all Persons, under Pain of Excommunication, should 'take the *Covenant*.' The Marques endeavour'd to convince them, that the Royal Answer which he had brought was full of Grace and Goodness; and to assure them, that immediately upon their Return to Obedience, he would indict an Assembly and Parliament. But notwithstanding, he found them so refractory, and so pressing upon him, that on *August* the twentieth he desir'd twenty Days Time to go again to Court, and bring a fuller Answer from his Majesty: And on the twenty fifth instant he went toward *London*, carrying with him Articles of Advice offer'd to the King by three Lords, on whose Fidelity he most depended, *Traquair*, *Roxburgh*, and *Southesk*, who proposed to discharge the Service-Book, Canons, and High-Commission, to forbear pressing the five Articles of *Perth*, to revive the Confession of Faith with a Covenant as sign'd by King *James*, and so upon the Word of a King to pardon what was past. The Marques at Court urged the King to this Compliance,

pliance, and obtain'd new Inſtructions to impower him to do all that was ſo adviſed. 14 Car. I.

On the ſeventeenth of *September* the Marqueſs came back to *Hally-Rood-Houſe*; and being attended by the Heads of the Covenanters, he told them, 'The King had granted them all they deſir'd, and 'more alſo, a free Aſſembly and Parliament, which 'ſhould be immediately indicted.' Upon this gracious Condeſcenſion, they could not but ſeem to be ſatisfy'd, and yet they reſolv'd to carry on the Quarrel; therefore they preſs'd the Marqueſs to deſiſt from renewing the Confeſſion of Faith, pretending this would diſſatisfy a great many of their Party. But the Marqueſs calling a Council, found it carried by Vote, that the Confeſſion of Faith ſhould be preſently ſign'd, the Proclamation of Grace publiſhed, and a General Aſſembly to meet at *Glaſcow November* the twenty firſt, and a Parliament at *Edinburgh May* the fifteenth following. The Epiſcopal Party foreſaw they ſhould be run down in the General Aſſembly, and therefore preſſed the Marqueſs to prorogue it, who referr'd the Matter to his Majeſty. The King ſaid his Reputation was concern'd in keeping the Day, and he would by no means alter it. The Covenanters being thus aſſured of their Time, boldly mov'd the High-Commiſſioner for a Warrant to cite the Biſhops to appear before the Aſſembly. The Marqueſs declining this, they addreſs'd themſelves to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, who gave Warrant for a Summons to cite the Biſhops as guilty of Hereſy, Simony, Perjury, Inceſt, Adultery, Fornication, Breach of Sabbath, *&c.*

The Marqueſs went toward *Glaſcow* on the ſixteenth of *November*, and required the King's Advocate to prepare himſelf there to defend Epiſcopacy to be according to the Laws of *Scotland:* But his Anſwer was, *That it went againſt his Conſcience ſo to do:* And therefore he was prevail'd with not to go.

General Aſſembly at *Glaſcow.*

On the twenty firſt Day of *November* the General Aſſembly began at *Glaſcow*, which prov'd a further Occaſion of the Calamities which afterwards embroil'd the *Scotch* Nation. Never was known a greater Confluence in the Kingdom of all ſorts of People; and the Aſſembly conſiſted of about two hundred and ſixty Commiſſioners, and many Lay-Elders and Aſſeſſors.

Af-

An. 1638. After the King's Commiſſion was read, the Marqueſs in a Speech exhorted them to a peaceable and moderate Carriage, giving ſome hints of the Diſorders that had paſs'd: To which Anſwer being made, by a Nobleman and Lay-Elder, *That they had given his Grace Satisfaction for all their Proceedings*, they went to the Choice of a Moderator, without the Approbation and Conſent of the High-Commiſſioner, and reſolv'd upon Mr. *Henderſon* as their ſureſt Friend. But the Marqueſs had yet a deeper Reſentment of their Carriage in another Caſe; for the King having nominated ſix Lords of the Privy Council to be Aſſeſſors to him, they abſolutely refus'd to admit them, or allow their Suffrages, declaring, *That if the King himſelf were preſent, he ſhould have but one Voice, and that no negative one neither.* Several Proteſtations were made on the other Side againſt their new Lay-Elders, but to no Effect; and as their Elections were generally undue, ſo were their Actions in the Aſſembly; all being carried by Fury and Faction, as well as ſecret Contrivances, as appear'd from their own private Papers of Inſtructions; neither was there any Freedom of Debate, but what tended to the Advancement of their own particular Deſigns.

Is diſſolv'd. The Aſſembly had ſat but eight Days, when the Marqueſs finding their inſolent Demeanour, declar'd to the Lords of the Council his Reſolution to diſſolve it; and accordingly on the ſame Day, after a long Speech againſt the Illegality and Nullity of their Proceedings, he concluded with diſſolving the Aſſembly in his Majeſty's Name, and diſcharging their further Proceedings upon Pain of Treaſon. The Moderator and Earl of *Rothes* made Anſwer, *They were ſorry he left them, but their Conſcience bore them Witneſs, they had done nothing amiſs, and therefore they would not deſert the Work of the Lord.* Accordingly they form'd a ſolemn Proteſtation, wherein they declar'd for a *Freedom of uninterrupted Sitting*, and for his Majeſty to *contramand*, was *to prejudge the Prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Liberties of the Kirk.* And at the ſame inſtant the Lord *Ereskyn*, and three other mean Perſons, came and begg'd *to be admitted into their bleſſed Covenant:* Which Offer, tho purpoſely contriv'd, was made ſo good uſe of by the Moderator, that

that he desir'd *it might be admir'd as God's Approbation and sealing of their Proceedings.* Accordingly they resolv'd to sit on without Interruption: And what added much to their Strength, was the coming in of the Lord *Lorn*, now Earl of *Argyle*, who went the same Day into the Assembly, notwithstanding he had just before acted as one of his Majesty's six Assessors. This Earl's Example, together with the yielding Deportment of the Commissioner himself, so wrought upon the Lords of the Council, and other *Anti-covenanting Noblemen*, that many of them, during this illegal Session, and others shortly after, join'd wholly with the *Covenanters.* 14 Car. I.

Upon the Dissolution of the Assembly, the Lord-Commissioner retir'd; but still the Assembly continu'd by its own Authority, and sat above twenty Days. During which Time, among other Acts, they declar'd six General Assemblies to be null and void; of which two were then in Force by several Acts of Parliament, and Part of the other confirm'd by Parliament. They condemn'd the *Service-Book*, the Book of *Canons*, the Book of *Ordination*, the High-Commission, and the five Articles of *Perth*, together with that *Covenant* which had been allow'd in the Year 1580 by King *James*, and declar'd their own to be substantially one. They also condemn'd Episcopacy as *Antichristian*; and the Bishops themselves were all deposed, and most of them excommunicated. All *Arminian* Tenets were condemn'd, and many Ministers deposed; and it was ordain'd, that Mr. *Henderson* should be translated from *Lenchars* to *Edinburgh*. They concluded that a Letter should be drawn up and sent to the King, for obtaining his Royal Assent to all things they had enacted: So upon the twentieth of *December* the Assembly arose in Triumph. The Marquess finding the Tumults increasing at *Edinburgh*, and other Places, obtain'd leave of his Majesty to return into *England*; and after a fruitless Negotiation, at the End of *December* he return'd to the Court, leaving all in an Uproar and Confusion.

Thus the long Calm in *England* began to be interrupted by a threatning Storm from the *North*, which for a time was thought inconsiderable and of no Moment; but by degrees every one saw the dark Clouds ari-

An. 1638. arising, and the Storm approaching, which prov'd more dangerous, as it met with a divided Nation, already labouring under too many Discontents. For in *England* the *Ship-Money*, just now determin'd for the King, the Prosecutions in the *Star-Chamber*, and other Severities, were look'd upon as dangerous Grievances: Many Persons were strictly prosecuted upon the Account of Church Ceremonies, and several of the Gentry were fin'd and imprison'd; and in short all manner of Persons, disoblig'd by the Court or Church, now began to please themselves with the remote Prospects of Revenge, and blew up those Coals they saw kindling in the *North*. The famous Cardinal *Richlieu*, by his Agents, did very much contribute towards this Flame, the better to make his Advantages upon *Spain* and *Flanders*. The Popish Emissaries had a busy Hand in this Work, upon a religious Account; for finding the King and Archbishop *Laud* as much their Adversaries, as the opposite Party charg'd them to be their Friends, they had no Hopes but in some new Revolution. Bitter Invectives were likewise publish'd against both by the *Covenanters*, which they were not contented to send into *England* only, but also sent them to the Reform'd Churches abroad; by which they rais'd so great a Prejudice, that many of them believ'd, the King had a real Design to change Religion and introduce Popery.

Queen Mother's Arrival in *England*.

The approaching Storm was thought to be hasten'd and increas'd by the Arrival of *Mary de Medicis*, the Queen Mother of *France*, who by the Invitation of the Queen her Daughter came this Year into *England* for Pleasure and Protection. This happened upon the nineteenth of *October*, in such extreme wet and windy Weather, that the Watermen distinguish'd it by the Name of *Queen Mother Weather*. She was with great State convey'd thro the Streets of *London* to St. *James*'s; and many and great were the Apprehensions upon this Business. For indeed the *English* Nation hated her, or suspected her, for her own, for her Church's, for her Country's, and for her Daughter's Sake; and having shifted her Residence in other Courts, upon Calamities and Troubles which still pursu'd her, the People thought it her Fate to carry Misfortunes

fortunes along with her, and ſo dreaded her as an ill-boding Meteor, wherever ſhe appear'd. 14 Car. I.

But to return, ſhortly after the Departure of the Lord-Commiſſioner, Mr. *Windrom* of *Liberton* was ſent to the Court with the Aſſembly's Letter to the King, which was receiv'd and read before the *Scotch* Council there. They were all of opinion, that it was a moſt humble and well-penn'd Letter, or at leaſt ſo they declar'd: upon which his Majeſty took his anſwering of it into Conſideration, and ſhortly after ſent down a Letter to the Council at *Edinburgh*, importing, 'That for the better ſettling of their Affairs, he 'wou'd be at *York* upon the firſt Day of *April*, and 'wou'd call the *Scotch* Council to come there and give 'him Advice.' Notwithſtanding this, the Noblemen and Miniſters, who govern'd all at *Edinburgh*, profeſs'd they had Intelligence, That the King deſign'd nothing but War, and was now raiſing an Army to invade their Kingdom. Upon which Foundation, before Mr. *Windrom*'s Return and Anſwer, they call'd a General Meeting of all ſorts to be at *Edinburgh* upon the twentieth Day of *February*, to reſolve upon a defenſive War. And being met, a Paper was read, ſetting forth the Lawfulneſs of ſuch a War, which was receiv'd with ſo much Satisfaction, that they unanimouſly conſented to the raiſing of an Army, and voted General *Leſly* to be their chief Commander, a Soldier of eminent Experience in the Wars of *Germany*, who having been deny'd the Favour of a Barony by the King, readily accepted the Office. The next Day they ſeiz'd upon *Edinburgh* without Reſiſtance, and two Days after upon the King's Houſe at *Dalkeith*, where they took away the *Regalia*, and great Store of Arms and Ammunition; and not long after they became Maſters of the chief Parts of *Scotland*.

The King writes to the Council at *Edinburgh*.

The *Scotch* reſolve upon a War.

This Year died Sir *Dudley Diggs*, a Perſon of eminent Knowledge and Experience in the World, and of no leſs Virtues and amiable Qualities. He was a ſhining Example of Honour and Integrity; and it was hard to ſay, whether he was a better Father, Huſband, Brother, or Friend: and his Death hapning at the very concluſion of this Year, the wiſeſt Men have reckon'd it among the publick Calamities of theſe Times.

Death of Sir *Dudley Diggs*.

To

An. 1639. Royal Army.

To ſuppreſs the *Scotch* Rebellion, in the beginning of this Spring the King got together an Army of near Six thouſand Horſe, and about that Number of Foot, well diſciplin'd, under experienc'd Officers. The Earl of *Arundel* was made General, the Earl of *Eſſex* Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horſe. On *March* the 27th, his Coronation-Day, the King began his Journey toward the *North*, and in three Days came to *York*, with a glorious Attendance of Nobility and Gentry, ſummon'd in to ſerve the King. It look'd more like the Pomp and Parade of an Eaſtern Prince, than the Expedition of an *Engliſh* Monarch. The Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, 'If there had been none in the March but Soldiers, it 'is moſt probable, that a noble Peace wou'd have 'quickly enſu'd, even without fighting; but the Pro-'greſs was more illuſtrious than the March, and the 'Soldiers were the leaſt part of the Army.' The Earl of *Eſſex* had been ſent before with a Party of Horſe and Foot to poſſeſs himſelf of *Berwick*, which he enter'd without Oppoſition: And had he march'd on to *Edinburgh*, follow'd and ſupported by the remainder of the *Engliſh* Army, the War had been ſoon ended; for the *Scots* had not three thouſand Men together, and as yet wanted Arms and Unity.

Proceedings of the *Scots*.

The *Covenanters*, tho not daring to approach the Borders, had ſhewn their Power and Will at a ſafer diſtance. They ſeiz'd the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, a Place of great Strength, and much greater Importance, becauſe deſign'd for the landing of the *Iriſh* Forces, as Occaſions ſhould call for them. And the King's Forces near *Aberdeen* were beaten and diſperſed by *Monroe*, and *Aberdeen* taken, with great ſtore of Arms, Ammunition and Treaſure, ſent thither for the King's Uſe and Service.

While the King was at *York*, there was ſuch a conflux of People, and ſuch a multitude of *Scots* among them, that it gave matter of Offence and Jealouſy to the King's Council; who thereupon reſolv'd, *That a ſhort Proteſtation ſhou'd be drawn, in which all Men ſhou'd profeſs their Loyalty and Obedience to his Majeſty, and diſclaim and renounce the having any Intelligence, or holding any Correſpondence with the*

the Rebels. The *Scots*, who were moſt ſuſpected, took the Proteſtation without Scruple: but when it came to the *Engliſh* Nobility, the Lords *Say* and *Brook* poſitively refus'd it in the King's own Preſence; for which they were at firſt a while reſtrain'd, and then diſmiſs'd and ſent home. 15 Car. I.

While the King ſtay'd at *York*, the *Scots* ſent Letters and Petitions to his Majeſty, complaining, 'their Loyal Hearts had ill Fortune, for that they 'deſir'd nothing but to be admitted into the Preſence 'of their gracious Sovereign, to lay their Grievances 'at his Royal Feet, and leave the Determination of 'them entirely to his own Wiſdom and Pleaſure.' Hereby they gain'd their Ends of Time and Popularity, and even Pity from their Enemies. But all the while their Preparations were ſo increaſing, that the King thought it neceſſary to march toward the Borders of *Scotland*, by *Newcaſtle*, to *Berwick*, where the General had the Army drawn up in Battalia, and the King march'd at the Head of them, till near the *Tweed*, two Miles Weſt from *Berwick*; in an open Field call'd the *Berks*, he encamp'd, and lodg'd in his Tent with the Army. *Scots* Petitions to the King at *York*.

On the 30th of *May*, the King had Intelligence that General *Leſly*, with about ſix thouſand of the *Scotch* Army, was quarter'd at *Dunce*, a Town about ſeven Miles diſtant from the *Engliſh* Camp. Next Day, the Earl of *Holland* march'd thither with a Body of three thouſand Horſe and two thouſand Foot; and when he was come, he found the *Scots* drawn up on the ſide of a Hill, where the Front could be only in view, with great Herds of Cattle at a diſtance upon the Hills on either ſide. This was a Stratagem of *Leſly*, to make the appearance of a formidable Body, when they were not above Three thouſand Men, and they very ill-arm'd, moſt Country Fellows brought thus together for a ſhew. The Earl of *Holland*, who had his Foot and Artillery three or four Miles behind, was ſo frighted with the Appearance of the *Scotch* Army, that he ſent Orders to his Foot not to advance, and made his Retreat towards them; and ſo moſt ingloriouſly came back to the King's Camp, with another Misfortune of having quarrel'd in the March with the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, which afterwards produced a Challenge.

An. 1639. This mock Attempt was ſeconded by another of no better Conduct or Succeſs: For on *Sunday*, *June* the 2d, Information was brought that the *Scots* were in their Quarters at *Kelſey*, about ſix Miles diſtance, being not above 1500 Men; whereupon it was reſolv'd in a Council of War to ſend a Detachment toward them. Accordingly the next Day, the Earl of *Holland*, with a Body of two thouſand Horſe, and as many Foot, march'd again over the *Tweed* toward *Kelſey*, and came with his Horſe within ſight of the Enemy, while the Foot were ſtill three Miles behind. The *Scots* ſent a Trumpeter, and immediately drew up their Forces to ſo much Advantage and Surprize, that the *Engliſh* General again retreated to his Foot, and ſo quietly return'd once more to the Camp. Theſe two Sallies of Bravery, as if only to ſhew, and then to diſappear, gave a great Diſcouragement to the King's Army, by keeping them from the Glory and the Reward of Action; and made the *Scots* more daring, when they ſaw it was likely to be no worſe than the jeſt of a War.

Earl of *Holland* inglorious.

Scots write to the *Engliſh* Generals.

Upon this Apprehenſion of their own Safety, the *Covenanters* from *Edinburgh* wrote three diſſembling Letters to the three Generals, *Arundel*, *Eſſex*, and *Holland*; all to deſire their Interceſſion with the King for Peace and Protection to them; and all ſo adapted to the Humours of thoſe great Men, that at laſt the Earls of *Arundel* and *Holland* began to incline and adviſe to Accommodation.

Fleet unſucceſsful.

The Expedition at Sea, under the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, prov'd alike unſucceſsful. The Fleet enter'd the *Frith* on the firſt of *May*, and caſt Anchor in *Leith-Road*, where the Marqueſs landed ſome Forces only to grow ſick, and ſo to be ſhipp'd again. He ſpent his time in a fruitleſs Correſpondence with the Earl of *Rothes*, one of the chief Malecontents, and in frequent Viſits from his Mother, a very zealous Woman for the Covenant and Kirk, and from his Brother-in-Law the Lord *Lindſey*, who told him, they wou'd ſooner lay down their Lives than recede from the Demand of their juſt Rights and Liberties, for the Defence whereof they had an Army of twenty five thouſand Men. This mov'd the Marqueſs to poſſeſs the King of the Dangers of further Hoſtility: ſo that indeed

deed all things conſpired to loſe the opportunity of Honour and Succeſs in this Royal Expedition. The Generals and Admiral were indifferent, and rather complaiſant in the Matter; the common Soldiers and Seamen were ſick and weary of the mock Shew; the Courtiers and Council of the King thought it wiſer not to carry things to Extremity, while there could be any Hopes of Submiſſion; and it was ſuſpected and believed, by thoſe who ſtood neareſt, that his Majeſty himſelf had in truth never any Purpoſe to make the War in Blood; but believed that by ſhewing an Army to them, which was able to force them to any Terms, they wou'd have begg'd Pardon for the Conteſt they had made, and ſo he ſhou'd have ſettled the Church, and all things elſe, according to his Pleaſure. 15 Car. I.

This Diſpoſition in the King and his Miniſters encourag'd the *Scots* to ſome Petitions and Addreſſes; which, meeting with civil and ſoft Anſwers, a Treaty was agreed on *June* the 8th, and Articles of Pacification ſign'd *June* the 18th, with a Declaration of the King for Pardon and Peace upon disbanding the *Scotch* Forces, and delivering up his Majeſty's Forts and Ammunition. The King's Army was preſently disbanded, and the *Scots* return'd to *Edinburgh* with all they deſir'd, having gotten many more Friends in *England* than they had before, kept all their Officers, and as many of their Men as they thought fit, in Pay, and proſecuted all thoſe who had not ſhew'd the ſame Zeal in their Covenant, and enter'd a publick Proteſtation againſt the Biſhops, *&c.* So that by the time the King came to *London*, it appear'd plainly, that the Army was disbanded without any Peace made, and the *Scots* in equal Inclination, and in more Reputation, to oppoſe his Majeſty, than ever. A Pacification.

Indeed the Calamities that befel the King upon this ſtrange Treaty, cannot be expreſs'd; who was ſo in haſte, that he disbanded the Army with the moſt diſobliging Circumſtances. The Gentry, who with great Charge had engag'd themſelves, in hopes of gaining Honour to their King, Country, or themſelves, were ſuddenly diſmiſs'd, without the Honour they aim'd at, or any Acknowledgment of their Love and Loyalty; a thing ſo ungrateful to them, that few of them appear'd in the next Year's Army, Ill State of Affairs.

An. 1639. and many of them turn'd againſt the King in the following Troubles. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who had committed no falſe Step, either in Counſel or Action, was diſcharg'd in the Croud, without ordinary Ceremony; and ſhortly after, was unreaſonably refus'd the Command of *Needwood-Foreſt*, which lying at his Door, wou'd have infinitely oblig'd him. All which enflam'd his high Nature, and expos'd him to the Power of ſome Impreſſions afterwards, which otherwiſe wou'd not have found ſo eaſy an Admiſſion. The Factions and Feuds at Court were rather greater than before: The Earl of *Newcaſtle*, Governor to the Prince, who had, at his own Charge, brought in a brave Troop of Horſe againſt the *Scots*, had been ſo affronted in the Order of his March by the Earl of *Holland*, that he now ſent him a Challenge; and the King, upon notice, was forc'd to interpoſe his Authority, but to the Satisfaction of neither Party. The Marqueſs of *Hamilton* alſo was more and more afraid of his Country-men, and enter'd upon dark Deſigns, that render'd him ſuſpected on all ſides.

Theſe Things made a deep Impreſſion upon the King, who grew very melancholy, and ſoon found he had loſt Reputation both at home and abroad; and thoſe Counſellors to the late Pacification, that had been moſt blameable, ſhifted every Man the Fault from himſelf, and found ſome Friend or other to excuſe him. But it being requiſite ſo diſhonourable a Matter ſhould not paſs altogether without notice, it fell to old Secretary *Cook*'s Turn to be made the Sacrifice, a Perſon then very little regarded. He being diſmiſs'd, upon the Pretence of ſome Errors or Omiſſions relating to the Treaty, Sir *Henry Vane* the Comptroller, by *Hamilton*'s Contrivance, and the powerful Influence of the Queen, was made Secretary of State. And this again gave occaſion to an unſeaſonable Diſpleaſure in the Queen afterwards againſt the Deputy *Wentworth*, who, out of Kindneſs to the old Man, then near Eighty Years of Age, and Hatred to *Vane*, but chiefly out of Deſire of ſome greater Expiation for ſuch a Miſcarriage, oppos'd it ſo vigorouſly, as drove the Queen to the Exerciſe of her full Power to effect it; which afterwards produc'd many dangerous Miſchiefs. So that by means of this unhappy Pacification, the Flame that firſt broke out in *Scotland*, kindled

Sir *H. Vane* made Secretary.

dled many Fires in *England*, both in Court and Country. 15 Car. I.

An Aſſembly and Parliament were to meet in *Scotland* before the end of *Auguſt*; and the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was again deſign'd to be his Majeſty's High-Commiſſioner, but he earneſtly excus'd himſelf: upon which the King was forced to employ the Earl of *Traquair*, and ſign'd his Inſtructions at *Berwick* on the twenty ſeventh of *July*.

Aſſembly and Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

The Aſſembly and Parliament met at *Edinburgh* at the time appointed: The Aſſembly firſt, where all that was agreed in the Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, was confirm'd: And upon the breaking up of the Aſſembly, the Parliament met, which was ſo aſſuming, that the Earl of *Traquair*, by his Majeſty's Orders, prorogued it. But the *Covenanters* proteſted againſt the Legality of Prorogation without Conſent of Parliament, and ſent away the Earl of *Dumferlin*, and the Lord *Loudon*, as their Deputies to the King at *White-Hall*, who refus'd them Audience, and in Diſdain commanded them home, becauſe they came without Warrant from his Commiſſioner. After this, they ſent another Petition to his Majeſty by one *Cunningham*, deſiring Permiſſion to ſend ſome of their Number for their own Vindication; which his Majeſty granting, the Lords *Loudon* and *Dumferlin* were again ſent up; who behaved themſelves like the Miniſters of a foreign State, had their Audience with a ſolemn Speech, put in their Articles of Requeſt, and when referr'd for an Anſwer to a Committee of Council, they refus'd to go, alledging that they had Order and Inſtruction to treat with none but his Majeſty himſelf. They carried it the more high upon the continual Encouragements they receiv'd from their Brethren in *Scotland*, who, upon the Honour of making War and Peace with their King, were grown more conſiderable at home and abroad: At *home*, where the People were ſo fluſh'd with the hopes of what was to be done for them, that their Lives and Fortunes were now at their Leaders Service; and the Tide ſo ſtrong, that moſt of the King's Privy Council and great Miniſters fell in with them: *Abroad*, where they enter'd Correſpondence with *Holland*, and obtain'd Credit for Arms and Ammunition; and were raiſing Men in *Germany* and *Sweden*, and had eſpecial Countenance in *France*, from whence

An. 1639. Cardinal *Richlieu* ſent an Agent privately to *Edinburgh*, to foment their Rebellion, as the moſt effectual Curb to *Engliſh* Monarchy; and receiv'd another Agent from them, who ſollicited Supplies, and communicated Counſels, and eſtabliſh'd a Correſpondence with the *French* King himſelf: For a Letter was intercepted, endors'd, *Au Roy*, ſubſcribed by the Lords *Rothes*, *Montroſe*, *Montgomery*, *Leſley*, *Marre*, *Loudon*, *Forreſter*, wrote in *French*; to ſignify their addreſſing to his Majeſty as the Refuge and Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, moſt humbly beſeeching him to give Faith and Credit to Mr. *Colvil*, whom they had ſent to repreſent the Candour and Ingenuity of their Proceedings, and to aſſure themſelves of an Aſſiſtance equal to his wonted Clemency. This intercepted Letter was brought to the Council at *Whitehall*, while one of the Subſcribers, *Loudon*, was here negotiating the Cauſe of his Brethren; who being examined upon it, refus'd to give any other Anſwer, than *That it was writ before the Agreement, and thereupon reſerv'd and never ſent; that if he had committed any Offence, he ought to be queſtioned for it in* Scotland *and not in* England: and inſiſting upon his ſafe Conduct, demanded his Liberty to return. But this Letter rais'd ſuch abhorrence in the King's Council, that the Lord *Loudon* and *Colvil* (who was then apprehended at *London*) were both committed to the *Tower*.

Deſign of calling a Parliament in *England*.

In the midſt of theſe Diſtractions an *Engliſh* Parliament was reſolv'd on, after an Intermiſſion of near twelve Years. Accordingly, in *December* the King directed the Lord-Keeper to iſſue out Writs for the meeting of a Parliament on the third of *April* next enſuing; not doubting but his Parliament would expreſs a very ſharp Senſe of the *Scots* Proceedings, and provide Remedies for Peace and Subjection. To prepare them the better, within a Month of the Seſſion, the King publiſh'd a large *Declaration concerning his Proceedings with his Subjects in* Scotland, *ſince the Pacification in the Camp near* Berwick.

Affairs of *Ireland*.

Such were the Affairs of this Year in relation to *Scotland*. As to *Ireland*, there was an unhappy Quarrel between *Wentworth* Lord-Deputy and *Loftus* Lord Chancellor, which produc'd a Complaint and a Hearing at the Council-Board; where his Majeſty and Council

Council juſtified the Conduct of the Lord-Deputy, and cenſur'd the Lord *Loftus* as unfit to hold the Office of Lord-Chancellor of that Kingdom. The Lord-Deputy was then himſelf in the *Engliſh* Court, and appear'd in greater Favour with the King, who took him into his moſt ſecret Counſels, and gave him extraordinary Marks of Favour, creating him Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Knight of the Garter. He was a Man of extraordinary Abilities, and of moſt faithful Affection to the King: He ſaw now the neceſſity of his Majeſty's Affairs, and did all that was poſſible to promote another Expedition againſt the *Scots*. In the Subſcription of a Loan at the Council-Board for that Service, he began firſt, and for Example ſubſcribed twenty thouſand Pounds. He returned to *Dublin* at the end of this Year, and met the Parliament which he had before ſummon'd; and for the King's Supply obtain'd from them four entire Subſidies; and in the Preamble of the Act had publick Thanks given to the King *for providing and placing over them ſo juſt, wiſe, vigilant, and profitable a Governor*, &c. 15 Car. I.

Elector *Palatine*'s ſecond coming.

This Year alſo, the Elector *Palatine* arriv'd a ſecond time in the Court of *England*, who was advis'd by the Prince of *Orange* again to apply himſelf to his Uncle the King of *England* to put him in a Condition towards his Reſtoration. The King ſatisfy'd him that the Difficulty of his own Affairs in *Scotland* would not at preſent allow him to furniſh him with any Supplies; therefore all he could do was to recommend him to the *French* Ambaſſador, who undertook to make an Intereſt for him with his Maſter, and with Cardinal *Richlieu*. But the Cardinal becoming ſuſpected to the Court of *England*, as a Fomenter of the *Scotch* Troubles, it was thought more adviſable for the Prince to go *Incognito* thro *France* to the *Swediſh* Army, who upon his Appearance were to receive him as their General, than to truſt to the Sincerity of *Richlieu*, or the Delays of a Treaty. Accordingly he took his Journey, and paſs'd diſguis'd thro *France* till he came to *Lyons*, where being unfortunately diſcover'd, he was made Priſoner by the Order of the *French* King, who interpreted this Proceeding,

An. 1639. while he was in Treaty with him, to be some ill Design against his Crown and Dominions.

Spanish Fleet. Not long after his Departure, the whole Nation was strangely alarm'd by the unexpected Appearance of a *Spanish* Fleet upon the *English* Coasts, consisting of above seventy Sail of considerable Ships, commanded by Don *Antonio d' Oquendo*. These were met by an inferior Fleet of the *Hollanders*, who furiously assaulted them, and forc'd them into the *Downs* near *Dover*, where the *Spaniards* expected to be safe under the King of *England*'s Protection. There they continu'd for some time, when the Weather growing stormy, *Van-Trump* the *Dutch* Admiral told some *English* Gentlemen, *That if they lay there a little longer, the King of* England *would have their Guns, the Country their Wreck, and the Devil their Men.* Both Parties being Allies to *England*, it was judg'd by the Law of Nations, that the Shore and Harbours of a neutral Prince should be a Refuge to protect the Weaker; but at last *Van-Trump* upon a slight Pretence, without the Ceremony of asking leave, fell in upon the *Spaniards* with that Vigour and Bravery, that he burnt, sunk and drove ashore far the greatest Part of their formidable Navy, in the very sight of our *English* Fleet. This, tho not justified upon the Rules of Honour, was yet highly pleasing to the common People, who hated the Appearance of a *Spanish Armado*, and had too much Reason to suspect their Design: For tho they pretended only to carry Recruits and Money to *Dunkirk*, yet such a Design not requiring so many Ships or Men, the Expedition seem'd to have been meant for some greater Purpose. By some Evidences since recover'd, it appeared that the Project was very much like that memorable One in Eighty Eight: and at the Beginning of the following Parliament, a Book was produc'd in the House of Commons, intitled, 'The Papists fishing in troubled Waters, whilst the King was at War with the *Scots*, with Prayers in it for the Holy Martyrs that suffer'd in the Fleet sent against the Hereticks in *England*, *Anno* 1639.' However, this prov'd such a fatal Blow to the maritime Power of *Spain*, that they never since recover'd it.

Sir Henry Wotton's Death. This Year dy'd Sir *Henry Wotton* Knight, and Provost of *Eaton-College*, formerly a great Traveller, and

and Secretary to the unfortunate Earl of *Eſſex* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and after that employ'd by King *James* in eleven ſeveral Embaſſies to foreign Potentates. He was a Man of ſingular Politeneſs, Wit, Learning and Piety; but for all his good Services to the Crown, no otherwiſe rewarded than with Knighthood, and the Provoſtſhip of *Eaton*. About this time alſo died Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, Primate and Chancellor of *Scotland*; a Perſon juſtly advanc'd to that high Character, which he ſupported with ſuch excellent Wiſdom and Integrity, as ſhew'd he deſerv'd his Honour and Dignity. He was buried in *Weſtminſter Abbey*, near his beloved Maſter King *James*, coming to the Grave in Peace and a good old Age, without being Witneſs to thoſe Calamities which afterwards hapned to his Country, whoſe Affairs he knew as well as any Man whatſoever. This Year likewiſe died Sir *Thomas Coventry*, who had been Lord-Keeper fifteen Years, and a worthy Miniſter, who upon his Death-bed ſent his laſt Requeſt to the King, *That his Majeſty would take all Diſtaſtes from the Parliament ſummon'd againſt next* April *with Patience, and ſuffer it to ſit without an unkind Diſſolution*. With this good Advice he died, to the King's Detriment, and was ſucceeded by Sir *John Finch*, Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*.

15 Car. I.

ABp. *Spotſwood's* Death.

Sir *Thomas Coventry's* Death.

The Reſolutions for a Parliament had been taken on the fifth of *December* laſt; and it was obſervable, that the firſt Movers to it were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, and the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*. And at the ſame time in Council, *a Reſolution was voted at the Board, to aſſiſt the King in extraordinary Ways, if the Parliament ſhould prove peeviſh and refuſe*. Which tho meant only of Loans and voluntary Contributions, yet was afterwards interpreted a Deſign of the moſt arbitrary Power. 'Tis certain, as the Reſolution was never executed, ſo it had been better if never made: Perhaps the Parliament had ſat longer to diſpatch the ordinary Aid, if the King had not too much depended on theſe extraordinary Supplies.

An. 1640.

Before the opening of the Parliament, the King had begun his raiſing an Army to reduce *Scotland*; of which Army, the Earl of *Northumberland* was made

Another Army againſt *Scotland*.

An. 1640. made General, the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant-General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horſe. So that none of the Generals, and few of the chief Officers, who had been employ'd before, were now made uſe of; which gave a Diſtaſte, and an Ill-blood, very prejudicial to the publick Intereſt.

Fourth Parliament. On *Monday* the thirteenth of *April*, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; and the King made this ſhort Speech to both Houſes: *My Lords and Gentlemen, There was never a King that had a more great and weighty Cauſe to call his People together than my ſelf: I will not trouble you with the Particulars; I have inform'd my Lord-Keeper, and commanded him to ſpeak, and deſire your Attention.*

After which, Sir *John Finch*, Lord-Keeper, deliver'd a long Harangue, in a Style peculiar to the Times, or to himſelf. 'His Majeſty's Kingly Reſolutions, *ſays he*, are ſeated in the Ark of his ſacred Breaſt, and it were a Preſumption of too high a Nature, for any *Uzzah*, uncall'd, to touch it. Yet his Majeſty is now pleas'd to lay by the ſhining Beams of Majeſty, as *Phœbus* did to *Phaeton*, that the Diſtance between Sovereignty and Subjection ſhould not bar you of that filial Freedom of Acceſs to his Perſon and Counſels; only let us beware how, with the Son of *Clymene*, we aim at the guiding of the Chariot, as if that were the only Teſtimony of fatherly Affection: And let us ever remember, that tho the King ſometimes lays by the Beams and Rays of Majeſty, he never lays by Majeſty it ſelf.' The Senſe of what he told them in glorious Words was to this effect, *That his Majeſty was reſolv'd to reduce his diſaffected Subjects in* Scotland; *that he would by no means admit their Mediation: but before they enter'd on any other Debates, he expected their immediate Aid, and afterward would give them time for conſidering of any juſt Grievances to be heard and redreſs'd.*

Then the King ſpoke thus: '*My Lords*, You ſhall ſee he hath ſpoken nothing hyperbolically, or nothing but what I ſhall make good one way or other. And becauſe he did mention a Letter by my Subjects in *Scotland*, who did ſeek to draw in foreign Power for Aid, here is the original Letter, which I ſhall command him to read unto you.

'And

'And becauſe it may touch a Neighbour of mine, 16 Car. I.
'whom I will ſay nothing of but that which is juſt,
'(God forbid I ſhould) for my part I think it was
'never accepted by him. Indeed it was a Letter to
'the *French* King, but I know not that ever he had
'it; for by chance I intercepted it, as it was going
'unto him; and therefore I hope you will underſtand
'me right in that.'

After the Lord-Keeper had read the original Letter, and a Tranſlation of it, and had firſt made a Remark on the Superſcription of it, the King added, 'Of theſe Gentlemen that have ſet their Hands to 'this Letter, here is one: And I believe you would 'think it very ſtrange, if I ſhould not lay him faſt; 'and therefore I have ſign'd a Warrant to lay him 'cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*. *My Lords*, I think '(but that I will not ſay poſitively, becauſe I will not 'ſay any thing here but what I am ſure of) I think 'I have the Gentleman that ſhould have carried the 'Letter faſt enough; but I know not, I may be 'miſtaken.'

The Commons returning to their Houſe, choſe Mr. Serjeant *Glanvil* for their Speaker; who being preſented to the King on *Wedneſday April* the fifth, was approv'd and confirm'd by his Majeſty.

On the ſixteenth Inſtant, the Commons deſir'd the Lords to move his Majeſty to appoint a Faſt. Then ſeveral Petitions were read, complaining of *Ship-Money*, Projects, Monopolies, *Star-Chamber*, High Commiſſion Courts, *&c.* Then *Harbottle Grimſton* Eſq; ſpoke upon the Subject of Grievances, arguing, *That the Dangers at home were greater than thoſe from abroad; and the Diſeaſes and Diſtempers in our Bodies politick were grown to that Height, that they pray'd for and importun'd a Cure.* Then Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* ſpoke againſt the Diſcontinuance of Parliaments, and ſaid, *That during this Vacation of thoſe Meetings, many Diſorders had been committed, which muſt be now ſet right, to vindicate God in his Religion, the King in his Honour, and the Common-wealth in its gaſping Extremities.*

The next Day, the Commons fell again upon the Debate of Grievances, and Mr. *Pym* made an elaborate Speech againſt them, reducing them to three Heads, '1. Thoſe Grievances which during theſe eleven

Grievances debated.

An. 1640. 'eleven Years Interval of Parliaments were againſt 'the Liberties and Privileges of Parliament. 2. In-'novations in Matters of Religion. 3. Grievances 'againſt the Propriety of our Goods.' Concluding with this Propoſal; 'For the Remedy of theſe Grie-'vances, I adviſe to preſent them to the Houſe of 'Peers, that they may join with us to go to the King, 'and pray that theſe Grievances, being clear in fact, 'may be voted: If any thing in the Vote be ſtuck 'upon, that it may be debated and drawn according 'to the Courſe of the Houſe into a Remonſtrance, 'with an humble Petition of both Houſes for Redreſs. 'And I hope the Wiſdom of this Houſe will prepare 'ſuch a Remedy, as will make the King a great 'King, and the People happy.'

On *Saturday* and *Monday* following, the Houſe proceeded in voting the Grievances of the Members impriſon'd in the third and fourth Year of the King's Reign; and of Sir *John Finch* then Speaker, refuſing to obey the Command of the Houſe, *&c.* So that on *Tueſday April* the twenty firſt, the King not enduring that his main Buſineſs ſhould be neglected or deferr'd, commanded the Lords and Commons to attend him in the *Banquetting-Houſe*; where he order'd the Lord-Keeper to acquaint them, 'That the 'Cauſe of calling this Parliament was for the Aſſiſ-'tance and Supply of his Majeſty; that if the Sup-'ply were not ſpeedy, it would be of no uſe at all, 'for the Army was now marching, and did ſtand his 'Majeſty in at leaſt one hundred thouſand Pounds a 'Month; and if there were not Means us'd to go on 'with this as was fitting, his Majeſty's Deſign would 'be loſt, and the Charge all caſt away. That this 'Supply being granted, his Majeſty would give them 'Scope and Liberty to preſent their juſt Grievances 'unto him, and would hear them with a gracious 'Ear, and give them ſuch an Anſwer as they and all 'the Kingdom ſhould have reaſon to joy therein.'

The next Day, on a Report made in the Houſe of Commons of the King's Speech in the *Banqueting-Houſe*, *Edmund Waller* Eſq; made a warm Speech, ending with this Motion, 'That there may be an 'Order preſently made, that the firſt thing this 'Houſe will conſider of, ſhall be the reſtoring of this

'Nation

'Nation in general to the fundamental and vital Li- 16 Car. I.
'berties, and then to conſider of the Supply deſir'd.'

While the Commons were thus reſolving on the Redreſs of Grievances, his Majeſty came to the Lords Houſe, and expreſs'd ſo great a Concern for a ſpeedy Supply, that the Lords deſir'd a Conference with the Commons upon this Subject, and there urg'd them to truſt his Majeſty, and to begin with a preſent Supply. But this Advice of the Lords, in matter of Aid, was thought to be ſo irregular, that on the twenty ſeventh of *April*, it brought on this Reſolution in the Houſe of Commons, 'That the Lords voting the 'Propounding and Declaring Matter of Supply, be- 'fore it was mov'd from the Houſe of Commons, was 'a Breach of the Privilege of the ſaid Houſe; and 'therefore the Commons deſire their Lordſhips, in 'their Wiſdom, to find out ſome way for the Repara- 'tion of their Privileges broken by that Matter, and 'to prevent the like Infringement for the future.' King comes to the Houſe.

When his Majeſty ſaw the Interceſſion of the Lords did but irritate the Commons, he took another Method of ſending a Meſſage to them by Sir *Henry Vane*, 'That his Majeſty had ſeveral ways acquainted the 'Houſe with the urgent Danger of loſing Time, and 'had yet receiv'd no Anſwer, tho he had before told 'them, that a Delay would be as deſtructive as a 'Denial; therefore again deſires them to give him a 'preſent Anſwer concerning his Supply; his Majeſty 'being ſtill reſolv'd on his Part to make good his 'Promiſe made by himſelf and the Lord-Keeper.' The Houſe turning themſelves into a grand Committee, debated upon this Meſſage, and would come to no Reſolution upon it. Meſſage from the King.

Two Days after, Sir *Henry Vane* brought a ſecond Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, 'That upon 'their granting twelve Subſidies, his Majeſty would 'give way to the utter aboliſhing of *Ship-Money*; 'and for their Grievances, would give them as much 'Time as might be now, and another Seſſion at '*Michaelmas*.' A ſecond.

This Meſſage was warmly debated by the Houſe in a grand Committee, till at laſt Mr. *Hamden* deſir'd the Queſtion might be put, 'Whether the Houſe 'would conſent to the Propoſition made by the King, 'as it was contain'd in the Meſſage;' which he knew would

An. 1640. would be oppoſed by all who thought the Sum too great, or would not have it as a Recompence for *Ship-Money*. Mr. *Hyde* ſtood up and objected againſt this as a captious Queſtion of ill Conſequence, and propoſed, 'That to the end every Man might freely 'give his Yea or No, the Queſtion might be put only 'upon giving the King a Supply; which if carried, 'another might be put upon the Manner and Proportion; if not, it would have the ſame Effect with the 'other propoſed by Mr. *Hamden*.' This was receiv'd with great Approbation by ſome, and no leſs Paſſion by others, and diverted by various Propoſitions, till Serjeant *Glanvile* propos'd, That his Countryman Mr. *Hyde* might again propoſe his Queſtion; which being done, and ſome Objections anſwered by him, there follow'd a confuſed Clamour and Call, *Mr.* Hamden's *Queſtion! Mr.* Hyde's *Queſtion!* The Call appearing much ſtronger for the laſt, it was generally believ'd that the Queſtion had been put, and carried in the Affirmative, tho poſitively and unaccountably oppoſed by the Sollicitor *Herbert*, had not Sir *Henry Vane*, the Secretary, ſtood up and declar'd, *That the putting and carrying that Queſtion would be of no Uſe; for he had Authority to tell them, that if they paſſed a Vote for Supply, and not in the Proportion and Manner propos'd in his Majeſty's Meſſage, it would not be accepted by him; therefore he deſir'd that the Queſtion might be laid aſide.* Which being again urg'd by the Sollicitor, upon the ſame Authority, and the other Privy Counſellors being ſilent, tho highly diſpleas'd with the Secretary's Declaration, the Buſineſs was no more preſs'd; but it being near five in the Afternoon, and the Houſe weary, they agreed to adjourn till the next Morning: Juſt before which, Mr. *Waller* himſelf ſpoke earneſtly to Sir *Thomas Jermyn*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, to ſave his Maſter from the Effects of ſo bold a Falſity deliver'd by Sir *Henry Vane*; *for*, ſaid he, *I am but a Country Gentleman, and cannot pretend to know the King's Mind.* But Sir *Thomas* had not the Courage to contradict the Secretary; and his Son afterwards acknowledg'd to Mr. *Waller*, *That his Father's Cowardiſe had ruin'd the King.*

The Miſchief that Sir *Henry Vane* did, is manifeſt by the Effects, but the Malice is unfathomable! For the beſt

beſt Writers agree, that if he could not induce the House of Commons to give twelve Subſidies, he ſhould deſcend to eight, and ſix, according to the Orders of the King, who with great Anger afterwards declar'd, *That he had given him no ſuch Authority as he aſſum'd; that any Supply would have been welcome to him, the Reputation of his Subjects aſſiſting him in that Conjuncture, being all that he deſir'd.* Sir *Edward Walker* ſaid, that he heard it was the Earl of *Strafford*'s Advice, *To relinquiſh all, rather than make a Breach:* But having an implacable Hatred againſt that Earl, whoſe Ruin was then upon the Anvil, *Vane* ſeem'd willing to bring all things into Confuſion; and did not only diſoblige the Commons, but the very ſame Night went to the King, and told him plainly, *That it was in vain to expect longer, or to make any other Overture to them, for no Money would be had againſt the* Scots. This being ſeconded by the Sollicitor, for Reaſons ſtill unknown to the World, they two, and they only, wrought ſo far on the King, that the next Morning he call'd a Council at ſix a Clock, where he unhappily determin'd to diſſolve the Parliament. And going the ſame Morning to the Houſe of Peers, he ſent for the Speaker and the other Houſe before they could begin to ſit, and in a ſhort Speech vindicated himſelf ‘ as to Religion ‘ and ſome other Matters; heartily thank'd the Lords, ‘ and blam'd the Commons for not obſerving what ‘ had been told them, *That Delay was the worſt* ‘ *kind of Denial*: and then declaring his Reſolutions ‘ to maintain the true Religion, and the Liberties ‘ of his Subjects, he diſſolv'd them.’ 16 Car. I. Parliament diſſolv'd.

This Diſſolution caſt an univerſal Damp upon the Spirits of the whole Nation. The King himſelf, upon better Thoughts, was extreamly ſorry for what he had done, expreſs'd his Reſentments againſt Sir *Henry Vane*, and conſulted whether he might by Proclamation recall them; but finding it impracticable, he proceeded to a Courſe he had formerly us'd, and publiſh'd a *Declaration to all his loving Subjects of the Cauſes which mov'd him to diſſolve this laſt Parliament.* This did not give full Satisfaction, eſpecially ſince he was thought to have ſhewn too much Anger againſt the leading Members, if ever he deſign'd to meet them again. The Lord *Brook*'s Study,

An. 1640. dy, Cabinets, and Pockets were ſearch'd for Papers: *Henry Bellaſis* Eſq; Sir *John Hotham* Knight and Baronet, and *John Crew* Eſq; were impriſon'd; and ſome occaſional Rebukes were given to many others, to the increaſing of future Diſſenſions.

The King's greateſt Difficulty now was, to raiſe himſelf that Aſſiſtance that he loſt in Parliament. And many of the Lords and Gentlemen were ſo ſenſible of his publick Neceſſities, that by voluntary Loan, in leſs than three Weeks, there was three hundred thouſand Pounds paid into the *Exchequer*.

War with *Scotland* carried on.

Upon this Fund, and the Hopes of other Projects, the King was reſolv'd to carry on the Reduction of *Scotland*. Orders had been ſent, *March* the twenty ſixth, to the Lords Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties, to provide Horſes and Carters for the Train of Artillery and Ammunition, to be ready at *New-Caſtle* on the fifteenth of *June*, where the general Rendezvous was by freſh Orders deferr'd to the fifth of *Auguſt*. The Lord *Conway* was there before with a conſiderable Body of Men, and in the Beginning of *July* receiv'd an Alarm from *Carliſle*, that the *Scots* were within a few Days March of *Dumfriefe*, meaning to fall into *Cumberland*. This haſten'd the March of the King's Army, who were now advanc'd into the County of *York*; where being quarter'd in private Houſes, it produced a Petition of the Gentry to the King againſt this Grievance in the Aſſizes at *York*. The Lord *Conway* ſent Intelligence, *Auguſt* the fifteenth, that the *Scotch* Army was juſt ready to break in; upon which, *Auguſt* the twentieth, the King began his Journey from *London* towards the *North*, in ſome haſte, publiſhing the ſame Day a Proclamation, *Declaring all* Scots *entring into* England *in a hoſtile Manner, and their Adherents, to be Traitors; but promiſing a Pardon if they ſhould return to Obedience.*

Scots invade *England.*

On that very Day the *Scotch* Army came over the *Tweed*, the Vanguard commanded by the Earl of *Montroſs*; publiſhing *Six Conſiderations of the Lawfulneſs of their Expedition into* England *manifeſted*: and by ſlow Marches encamped on the twenty ſeventh of *Auguſt* at *Newborn upon Tine*, four Miles Weſt from *Newcaſtle*. Upon which the King's Forces in *Newcaſtle*, three thouſand Horſe, and half the Number of Foot, were drawn into a Meadow call'd *Newborn*

burn Haugh, to hinder the *Scots* from paſſing the River. Next Day a Skirmiſh began, which brought on a fierce Engagement, in which the *Engliſh* had ſo much Diſadvantage, that they retreated in Confuſion, and the Lord *Conway*, in a Council of War at Midnight, reſolved to retire with his Forces to *Durham*, and ſo quitted *Newcaſtle*, which immediately fell into the Hands of the *Scots*. The King was come from *York* as far as *Northallerton*, hoping to have reach'd his Army at *Newcaſtle* before any Engagement; but meeting the ill News, he haſtened back *Auguſt* the twenty ninth to *York*, where he receiv'd ſeveral Petitions for the Meeting of a Parliament. 16 Car. I. An Engagement.

The *Scots* were encouraged to this Invaſion by the Intelligence they held with ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry; by which means they had Informations of the Backwardneſs of *England* to aſſiſt the King in this War, and were well aſſur'd of Friends all over the Kingdom, and ſome of neareſt Acceſs to the King's Perſon, who they knew would interpoſe in their behalf, rather than Matters ſhould come to Extremities. But what moſt of all incited them to this bold Attempt, was a forg'd Letter of the Lord *Savile*'s, pretended to be ſent from ſome of the moſt leading Men of the Nobility of *England*, which adviſed them to paſs over with their Army into that Kingdom.

A little before this Invaſion, on the eighth Day of *July*, was born the King's fourth Son, and the third now living, at *Oatlands* in *Surrey*, and on the twenty ſecond of the ſame Month was baptized by the Name of *Henry*, and called Duke of *Glouceſter*. Birth of the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

The *Scots* having ſeated themſelves in *Newcaſtle*, where they were indulg'd with good Proviſions, and better Entertainment than they enjoy'd in their own Country, thought fit to ſtay there till they ſent a Petition to the King, which they entitled *The humble Petition of the Lords in the laſt Parliament, and other his Majeſty's loyal Subjects in* Scotland: 'In 'which they in general complain'd of their Grievances, 'for Relief of which they were now conſtrain'd to 'come, without Prejudice to the Peace of *England*, 'or any of the Subjects therein, till they preſſed with 'Strength of Arms to oppoſe their Paſſage at *New-burn*: That now they preſented themſelves to his *Scots* Petition to the King.

An. 1640. ‘ Majesty's Goodness for Satisfaction of their full Demands, and Reparation of their Wrongs and Losses, ‘ with the Advice of the Parliament of *England* to be ‘ convened.’ The King, by the Earl of *Lanerick*, his Secretary for *Scotland*, on the fifth of *September* return'd an Answer, ‘ That he expected their Demands in particular, and commanded them to advance no further.’ Three Days after they return'd their Reply to the Earl, declaring, ‘ That as nothing ‘ in the World was more eligible to them than his ‘ Majesty's Favour, so they desir'd nothing but what ‘ suited with his Majesty's Honour, and the Peace of ‘ his Dominions: That they would have express'd the ‘ Particulars of their Desire in their *Petition*, had not ‘ they before done it in their *printed Declarations*; ‘ however they now recited the Sum of them. First, ‘ That the late Acts of Parliament might be publish'd with the States of Parliament: That *Edinburgh* Castle, and other Forts in *Scotland*, might ‘ be repair'd, and us'd for their Defence: That their ‘ Countrymen in *England* and *Ireland* might not be forc'd to Oaths and Subscriptions, contrary to their ‘ *National Oath* and *Covenant*: That the common ‘ Incendiaries in the King's Dominions might be ‘ brought to Censure: That their Ships and Goods, ‘ with all Losses, Damages, and Charges, be repair'd: ‘ That the Declaration made against them as Traitors be recall'd: That all Garisons be removed from ‘ the *Borders*, and all Impediments that may stop a ‘ free Trade: And that the Parliament of *England* ‘ may meet as soon as possible, as the only means to ‘ settle Peace, and enable them to obey the King's Prohibition of advancing further. For as nothing but ‘ invincible Necessity had brought them out of their ‘ Country, so nothing less should draw them beyond ‘ the Limits appointed by his Majesty.’

King's Answer.

Their Reply.

In these difficult Times, a new Invention was thought of, or rather the Revival of a very antient Custom, that had not been practis'd in some Hundreds of Years; and this was the calling of a Grand Council of all the Peers of *England* to meet and attend his Majesty, that by their Advice the great Affairs might be more successfully manag'd. This Resolution being taken, Writs were immediately issu'd under

under the Great Seal to all the Peers of the Realm to attend his Majeſty at *York* within twenty Days. 16 Car. I.

Grand Council of Peers at *York*.

According to the Time appointed, *viz.* upon the twenty fourth Day of *September*, the Great Council of Peers met at *York*: Where his Majeſty being ſeated under a Canopy, in the Hall of the Dean's Houſe, in a Speech to this noble Aſſembly declar'd, 'That it had been the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, 'upon ſudden Invaſions or Dangers, as could not ad-'mit the uſual Delays of a Parliament, to aſſemble 'the Great Council of the Peers, by whoſe Advice 'and Aſſiſtance they might give timely Remedies. 'That this being his preſent Condition, an Army of 'Rebels being lodg'd in his Kingdom, he thought fit to 'ſummon their Lordſhips, to conſult how they might 'jointly proceed for the chaſtiſing of their Inſolencies, 'and ſecuring his good Subjects: But firſt, ſince he 'deſir'd nothing more than to be rightly underſtood 'of his People, of his own accord he had already 'given Order to the Lord-Keeper for the immediate 'calling of a Parliament, to aſſemble on the third of '*November* next enſuing. In the mean time, he de-'ſir'd their Advice in two Points; Firſt, what An-'ſwer to give to the Petition of the Rebels, and in 'what manner to treat with them: Secondly, how 'the Army ſhould be kept on foot, till the Parlia-'ment cou'd meet; for he thought no Man cou'd ad-'viſe him to disband, ſo long as the *Scots* continu'd in '*England*.' But becauſe the Call of a Parliament was the moſt popular Propoſal, that the Queen might have the Honour of it, whom he exceedingly deſired to endear to the People, he inform'd them, *That by a Letter the Queen had advis'd him to it.*

After which the *Scots* Petition, and other Papers were ſucceſſively read: Then by his Majeſty's Command, the Lords were inform'd of the Grounds and Reaſons which moved the Privy-Council to adviſe the raiſing an Army againſt the *Scots*; and the Demands, acknowledg'd by the Lord *Loudon*, were read, and explain'd by the Earl of *Traquair*, who prov'd to their Lordſhips, 'That ſome of thoſe Demands ſub-'verted the fundamental Laws of *Scotland*, others 'the Prerogative and Dignity of the King, deriv'd to 'him from his illuſtrious Anceſtors; and that many 'of them were to the Detriment of his Majeſty as

An. 1640. ‘ to Profit and Revenue, and prejudicial to divers of ‘ his good Subjects in that Kingdom.’ But the ſame Day another Petition was preſented to the King from the *Scots*, ſo full of Submiſſion, as would probably beget a Treaty; and the Council having conſider'd and debated theſe Matters, it was agreed, that as to the firſt Point propos'd by his Majeſty, certain Lords ſhould be ſent as Commiſſioners to treat with the *Scots*.

But then the King was caution'd not to intruſt any ſuch ungracious Perſons in it as might create Jealouſies in the *Scots*, and ſo render the Negotiation fruitleſs. For which Reaſon, the Earls of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Eſſex*, *Holland*, *Briſtol* and *Berkſhire*, the Lords *Mandevile*, *Wharton*, *Dunſmore*, *Paget*, *Brook*, *Savile*, *Paulet*, and *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, were appointed by the King; all popular Men, and ſcarce one of them a Friend to the Earl of *Strafford*. Thoſe from the *Scotch* Army were much inferior in Quality; there were only two Noblemen, *Dumferling* and *Loudon*, and beſides them, Sir *Patrick Hepburn*, Sir *William Douglaſs*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Wedderburn*, Mr. *Henderſon*, and Mr. *Johnſon*. Some thought it ſtrange to ſee *Henderſon* and *Johnſon*, two Clergymen, made Commiſſioners for this and the laſt Treaty, when they had acted ſo furiouſly againſt the Biſhops for intermedling in civil Affairs. But now the *Scots* bore down all before them, and were ſo ſtrict, that they refus'd to come to *York*, as a Place not ſecure, in regard their chief Enemy, the Earl of *Strafford*, commanded there in chief: Whereupon *Rippon*, a Town about ſixteen Miles from *York*, was the Place appointed for the Treaty.

Treaty at *Rippon*.

Upon the firſt Day of *October*, the Treaty began at *Rippon*. The *Scotch* Commiſſioners made the moſt cloſe and particular Applications to the Earls of *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, *Holland*, and the Lord *Mandevile*; tho in publick they ſeem'd equally to careſs them all: where, beſides declaring their Duty and Veneration for their Sovereign, they run out into high Expreſſions ‘ of their Affection to the Kingdom and People of ‘ *England*, proteſting they had the ſame Regard to ‘ their Laws, Liberties, and Privileges, as to their ‘ own: That as the Invaſions upon their native ‘ Country

'Country had forc'd them upon this manner of Ad- 16 Car. I.
'dreſs, ſo they hop'd it might prove to the Benefit of
'*England*, and all its Subjects, in affording them
'this Opportunity of vindicating their own Liberties
'and Laws, which were infring'd by thoſe very Men,
'who, when they had finiſh'd their Work in *Scotland*
'and *Ireland*, intended to eſtabliſh the ſame Slavery
'in their own Kingdom: all which would be pre-
'vented by removing three or four Perſons from the
'King, who of himſelf was graciouſly inclin'd to
'his People; but thoſe ill Men had too great In-
'fluence upon his Counſels.' After which they pro-
ceeded to this Propoſal, 'That to prevent the Effu-
'ſion of Chriſtian Blood, all Hoſtility ſhould ceaſe on
'either ſide; which could not effectually be done, un-
'leſs preſent Care were taken for the Payment of
'their Army, ſtill reſtrain'd to cloſe and narrow Quar-
'ters.' There was not one of the *Engliſh* Commiſ-
ſioners but approv'd of theſe Motions, and hop'd for
great Advantages from them.

Engliſh Commiſſioners return.

The Treaty had continu'd but a few Days at *Rip-pon*, when the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners return'd to the King at *York*, and gave him an account of what had paſs'd, and how zealous the *Scots* were to his Majeſty's Service; which was the more magnify'd, becauſe they had politickly, if not generouſly, reſtor'd the Officers taken Priſoners at *Newburn*, particularly *Wilmot* and *O-neal*, who much extoll'd the Diſcipline and Strength of their Forces. Three of the Commiſſioners, and no more, were of the King's Council, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Holland*, who were all influenc'd by the *Scots*, and approv'd of whatever they deſired. Beſides theſe, the King had but five to adviſe with; the Lord-Keeper *Finch*, a Perſon ſo obnoxious to the People, tho affectionate to his Majeſty, that he ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with thoſe he found able to protect him; the Duke of *Richmond*, young, and more us'd to diſcourſe with the King in the Bed-Chamber than at the Council-Board; the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, who had leave to be wary, and to move in the Clouds; Sir *Henry Vane*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, which laſt was the only Man, whoſe Advice was of any Credit with the King. And he thought there

An. 1640. was but one way, and that not proper to be heard in Council, which was to drive the *Scots* out of the Kingdom by the *English* Army: Wherefore he sent Major *Smith* with a Party of Horse, who defeated two or three of their Troops in the *Bishoprick*, and made it appear that the Kingdom might be freed from the rest, if it were vigorously pursu'd. Upon this, General *Lesly* complain'd, That he had forborn any such Attempt out of respect to the Treaty; and the *English* Commissioners thought themselves affronted in it: And when it was known that the Commanding Officer was a Papist, it increas'd the Clamour; and the King was prevail'd with to restrain his General from giving any more such Orders.

They are sent back to *Rippon*.

The King was so far displeas'd with the Temper of the Commissioners, that he thought the Parliament would be more jealous of his Honour than they appear'd to be; and therefore he sent them back to renew the Treaty, and conclude a Cessation of Arms upon the best Terms they cou'd. After many high Demands, and much Time spent, upon the twenty sixth Day of *October* they agreed upon twelve Articles; the Substance of which was, 'A present Cessation of Arms, with a peaceable Retaining what both 'Parties were in possession of; A Continuation of 'the eight hundred and fifty Pounds *per Diem*, in 'which Payment *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* were 'also to be included: That the River *Tees* was to be 'the Boundary of both Armies, and private Insolencies to be no Breach of the Treaty. And after all, 'it was agreed that the Treaty should be adjourn'd 'and transferr'd to *London*, where further Demands 'were to be heard;' the only thing desir'd by the *Scots*, without which they could never have effected their great Design. At the same time, the Earl of *Pembroke* was sent to borrow two hundred thousand Pounds of the City of *London* for the Payment of both Armies, while the Cessation and Treaty should continue; to which the City easily agreed, being to be repaid out of the first Mony that should be rais'd in Parliament. Thus the Treaty broke up, but was not ended: about which time the Earl of *Montross*, who had been strictly engag'd with the *Covenanters*, began to dislike their Proceedings; and having written a dutiful Letter to the King, with general Expressions

Treaty adjourn'd to *London*.

of

of Loyalty and Affection, the King had ſuch Attendants about him, that the Subſtance of it was ſent back to General *Leſly*; who challenging *Montroſs* for holding Intelligence with the Enemy, he undauntedly own'd it, asking *Who it was that durſt reckon the King an Enemy:* And with ſuch high Words he quaſh'd this Charge, ſo that they dar'd not to proceed againſt him in a judicial manner. 16 Car. I.

The Parliament now drew near, whoſe Meeting was expected by the Nation with ſuch Longings and Impatience, that every Moment that retarded it, was thought a Grievance or Misfortune: For moſt Men began to think that nothing could make the Nation happy but a Parliament, and that no Parliament could make it miſerable. The King himſelf was reduc'd to great Straits and Perplexities, yet was full of hopes that his Condition was better than it ſeem'd to be: But the main Care and Buſineſs of the Courtiers was to preſerve themſelves from the Cenſure of the enſuing Parliament, and to render themſelves gracious to thoſe who were like to be powerful in the Houſe.

The Meeting of the Long Parliament.

On the third Day of *November* the famous Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, with a fuller and more formidable Appearance than was formerly known. No Age ever produc'd greater Men than thoſe who ſat in this Parliament: They had ſufficient Abilities and Inclinations to have render'd the King and their Country happy, if *England* had not been, thro a Chain of concurring Accidents, ripen'd for Deſtruction. In meeting this Parliament, his Majeſty declin'd the accuſtom'd way of riding in magnificent State from *White-Hall* to the Church at *Weſtminſter*, and his ſolemn Entrance at the great Weſtern Gate; but choſe to paſs privately in his Barge to the Parliament-Stairs, and ſo to the Church; as if it had been to the Return of a prorogu'd or adjourn'd Parliament.

King's Speech.

His Majeſty being ſeated on his Throne in the Houſe of Lords, told both Houſes, 'That the Know-'ledge he had of the Deſigns of his *Scotch* Subjects, 'was the Cauſe of his calling the laſt Parliament; 'wherein, if he had been believ'd, he did ſincerely 'think, that things had not happen'd as now they 'ſaw them. But it was no wonder that Men were 'ſo ſlow in believing that ſo great a *Sedition* cou'd 'be rais'd on ſo little Ground. But now, ſince the

An. 1640. 'Honour and Safety of the Kingdom lay ſo near at 'ſtake, he was reſolv'd *to put himſelf freely and clear-* 'ly on the Love and Affection of his Engliſh *Subjects.* 'Therefore he ſhou'd not at all mention his own Inte- 'reſt, or that Support he might juſtly expect from 'them, till the common Safety was ſecur'd: Tho he 'muſt tell them, That he was not aſhamed to ſay, 'thoſe Charges he had been at were merely for the 'Security and Good of his Kingdom, tho Succeſs had 'not anſwer'd his Deſires. Wherefore he ſhou'd on- 'ly deſire them to conſider the beſt Way for the Safe- 'ty and Security of the Kingdom; wherein were 'two things chiefly conſiderable: Firſt, the chaſing 'out of the *Rebels*; ſecondly, the ſatisfying their juſt 'Grievances, in which he promiſed ſo to concur with 'them, as to ſatisfy the World of his Intentions to 'make this a flouriſhing and glorious Kingdom. 'Two Things more he wou'd acquaint them withal; 'firſt, that the Loan of the City of *London*, and the 'Money advanc'd by thoſe Lords who waited upon 'him at *York*, wou'd pay his Army but two Months 'from their Advance; therefore he referr'd it to their 'Conſideration, what a great Diſhonour and Miſchief 'it wou'd be to this Kingdom, if his Army for want 'of Money ſhou'd be forced to disband, before the '*Rebels* were put out of it: And ſecondly, the re- 'dreſſing the great Calamities the *Northern* Coun- 'ties endured, in which all *England* was like to ſuf- 'fer with them. Laſt of all, deſiring them to lay 'aſide all Suſpicions of one another, and declaring it 'ſhou'd not be his Fault if this were not a good and 'happy Parliament, he referr'd them to the Lord- 'Keeper.'

Lenthall choſen Speaker. Then the Commons return'd to their Houſe, and Sir *Henry Vane* ſen. firſt mov'd for the Choice of a Speaker, and propos'd *William Lenthall* Eſq; a Bencher of *Lincolns-Inn*, who was unanimouſly call'd to the Chair; and notwithſtanding his earneſt Deſires to be excus'd, was by two Members led by each Hand, and fix'd therein, and the Houſe adjourned to *Thurſday* the 5th of *November*.

Several Petitions. Soon after their Return, ſeveral Petitions were deliver'd in behalf of ſuch as were great Sufferers by the cruel and ſevere Sentence of the *Star-Chamber* againſt them, as *Prynne*, *Baſtwick*, *Burton*, &c. who remain'd

main'd ſtill cloſe Priſoners in remote Places: where- 16 Car. I.
upon the Houſe order'd the ſaid Priſoners to be ſent for in ſafe Cuſtody, and that the Cauſe of their Detainment ſhou'd be ſignify'd. And now a large Scene of Grievances, under which the Nation had long groan'd, began to be laid open. Firſt, the particular Grievances of the ſeveral Counties were repreſented: as thoſe of *Hertfordſhire*, by Mr. *Arthur Capel*; of *Yorkſhire*, by Mr. *Bellaſis* and the Lord *Fairfax*; of *Lincolnſhire*, by Sir *John Wray*; of *Weſtmorland*, by Sir *Philip Muſgrave*; of *Wiltſhire*, by Sir *Francis Seymour*; of *Worceſterſhire*, by Sir *John Packington*; of *Rutland*, by Sir *Guy Palmes*; of *Norfolk*, by Sir *Edmund Montford*; of *Eſſex*, by Sir *Thomas Barrington*; of *Kent*, by Sir *John Culpeper*; of *Shropſhire*, by Mr. *William Pierpoint*; of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, by Sir *Anthony Irby*; and of other Counties and Towns by their reſpective Knights and Burgeſſes. Then ſeveral Speeches were made upon the general Grievances of the Nation. Mr. *Pym* began with an Harangue of two Hours long, in which he treated of the Grievances of the Nation under three Heads: 1. Againſt the Privilege of Parliament. 2. To the Prejudice of Religion. 3. Againſt the Liberty of the Subject. Shortly after, the Lord *Digby* made a Speech againſt the great and intolerable Burden of Ship-Money; the Abuſes in preſſing Soldiers, and raiſing Monies for the Maintenance of them; the multitude of Monopolies, the new Canons and Oath, the Oath to Church Officers for preſenting upon new and unuſual Articles, the Impoſition of the new Oath upon Miniſters, and the Benevolence rais'd by Convocation: and concluded with a Motion, 'That a ſelect 'Committee might be appointed to draw up ſuch a 'Remonſtrance as ſhou'd be a faithful and lively Re- 'preſentation to his Majeſty of the deplorable State 'of the Kingdom:' And a Committee of twenty four was accordingly appointed for that purpoſe.

Grievances laid open.

The Complaints and Petitions concerning Grievances were ſo numerous, that the Houſe was divided into above forty Committees to hear and examine them. But the chief were reducible to four Heads: 1. Committees concerning Religion, Innovations in the Church, and Grievances by Eccleſiaſtical Courts. 2. Thoſe concerning publick Affairs in general, and particularly concerning

Many Committees appointed.

An. 1640. concern'ng *Ireland* and *Scotland*. 3. Other Committees relating to Ship-Money, Judges, and Courts of Juſtice. And laſtly, Committees concerning Popery, the Papal Hierarchy, the Pope's Nuncio, Plots, Deſigns, &c.

Monopoliſts ejected the Houſe.

The Houſe fell into a Debate concerning Monopolies, and in the Iſſue reſolv'd, That all Projectors and unlawful Monopoliſts, and ſuch as lately had a ſhare in, or now receive benefit from, any Project or Monopoly, or have procur'd any Warrant to moleſt ſuch as refuſe to comply with them, be diſabled by Order of the Houſe to ſit therein. It was order'd that Mr. Speaker ſhou'd iſſue out Writs to chuſe new Members in their room, and that if any Member knew of ſuch, he ſhou'd diſcover them.

Cottington diſcharg'd from being Conſtable of the *Tower*.

About this time the Houſe of Commons was diſpleas'd that the King had made the Lord *Cottington* Conſtable of the *Tower of London*, over the Lieutenant himſelf, and plac'd a Gariſon of Four hundred Men to preſerve the City from Tumults; and they further complain'd againſt the Confluence of Popiſh Recuſants about the City: Whereupon his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe, acquainting them, 'That he had commiſſioned a Conſtable over the 'Tower, for the better ſecuring the Peace of the City, but that now he would recal his Commiſſion, 'and leave the *Tower* to the government of the Lieutenant only; and as for the Papiſts, they ſhou'd be 'remov'd by Proclamation to the Places of their Habitation.'

Ship-Money condemn'd.

Upon the Debate concerning Ship-Money, the Lord *Falkland* made a vehement Speech againſt it; and it was reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente*, 'That the Charge impos'd upon the Subject, for the 'providing and furniſhing Ships, and the Aſſeſſments 'for raiſing of Money for that Purpoſe, commonly 'call'd *Ship-Money*, are againſt the Laws of the 'Realm, the Subjects Right of Property, and contrary to the former Reſolutions in Parliament, and 'to the *Petition of Right*.'

Motion againſt the Earl of *Strafford*.

A ſudden Motion was made by Mr. *Pym*, declaring he had ſomething of Importance to acquaint the Houſe with, and deſiring that the outward Room might be kept from Strangers, and that the Doors might be lock'd. This being done, he told them that ſeveral Perſons

Perſons had given Information, which gave good Ground to accuſe *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* of High-Treaſon. Whereupon the Houſe appointed Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Strode*, Mr. *St. John*, the Lord *Digby*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Walter Earl*, and Mr. *Hamden* to withdraw, and conſider of the ſaid Information; who preſently retir'd into the Committee-Chamber, to prepare Matter for a Conference with the Lords, and an Accuſation againſt the ſaid Earl. 16 Car. I.

While this was debating, the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, That the King had commanded thoſe Peers who were Commiſſioners to treat with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, to give an account to both Houſes what paſs'd there; and that therefore their Lordſhips deſire a Committee of each Houſe may meet this Afternoon, if the Occaſion of this Houſe will permit. To which, Anſwer was return'd by the ſame Meſſengers, That at this Time the Houſe is engag'd in very weighty and important Buſineſs, and that therefore they doubted they ſhou'd not be ready to meet them at the Time deſir'd, but as ſoon as they can, they will ſend an Anſwer by Meſſengers of their own. Meſſage from the Lords.

Several Members ſuſpected, that this Meſſage was procur'd to hinder the Debate about the Earl of *Strafford*: However it did not interrupt the ſame longer than while it was delivering. For when the Meſſengers were gone, the ſelect Committee reported, That they found juſt Cauſe to accuſe the ſaid Earl of High-Treaſon. They alſo mov'd, that the Houſe wou'd deſire the Lords that he may be ſequeſter'd from Parliament, and committed; and inform 'em, that within ſome convenient time, the Commons will exhibit to their Lordſhips particular Articles againſt him; and that in the ſame Meſſage, the Lords be deſir'd that ſome fit Courſe may be taken, that there be a free Paſſage between *Ireland* and *England*, notwithſtanding any Reſtraint lately made to the contrary. Mr. *Pym* reported he had deliver'd the Meſſage; and the next Day the Peers ſent the two Chief Juſtices to acquaint the Commons, that they had in this whole Matter done according to their Deſire.

Not long after, the Houſe was alarm'd by a bold Attempt of one *James* a Papiſt upon Mr. *Heyward*, an active Juſtice of the Peace in *Weſtminſter*, who was then employ'd in the Service of the Houſe, having *Heyward's* Caſe.

An. 1640. ving drawn up a Catalogue of the Recuſants thereabouts to be preſented to the Committee of Religion. This ſo far provok'd the Zeal of Mr. *James*, that meeting him in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, he publickly ſtabb'd him. Mr. *Heyward* eſcap'd with Life; but the Fact caus'd a great Diſturbance, and help'd to ſwell all the old Fears and Jealouſies of the Dangers from Popery and Papiſts. Religion began now to be more and more the Out-cry of the Parliament and People; and in a grand Committee for that purpoſe, Sir *Edward Deering* made a Speech, wherein he exclaim'd, *That God's true Religion was violently invaded by two ſeeming Enemies, but indeed, like* Herod *and* Pilate, *faſt Friends for the Deſtruction of the Truth; the* Papiſts *for one Party, and the* Prelating Faction *for the other:* and likewiſe declar'd, *That he had rather ſerve one as far off as* Tiber, *than to have him come ſo near as the* Thames; *a* Pope *at* Rome *wou'd do him leſs hurt, than a* Patriarch *might do at* Lambeth. And he concluded with a Motion, 'To ſelect a Committee of a few, and to empower them for the Diſcovery of the Numbers of oppreſſed Miniſters, under the Tyranny of the Biſhops for theſe ten Years laſt paſt.'

The City offers to guard the Parliament.

The Petitions from the City of *London* concerning Recuſants, with a Catalogue of their Names deliver'd in from Mr. *Heyward*, were referr'd to the Committee for Inquiry after Papiſts. The Citizens looking on the forementioned Aſſault to have a deeper Deſign on the Parliament, offer'd to guard them; Whereupon it was reſolv'd on the Queſtion, That it is expedient for this Houſe to accept of the Guard ſo kindly offer'd for their Safety; yet the further Conſideration of it was referr'd to the next Day: And it was order'd that at the ſame time Mr. *Pym* ſhould make a Report of the Charge againſt the Earl of *Straſford*.

After voting the late Canons made in Convocation to be illegal, &c. a Committee was appointed to conſider how far in particular the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had been an Actor in the great Deſign of the Subverſion of the Laws and Religion of the Realm, and to draw up a Charge againſt him. The ſame Day, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners accuſed the Archbiſhop, and the next Morning exhibited to the Houſe

House of Lords a long Charge of his being the Author of all their Troubles. The Day after, Mr. *Harbottle Grimstone* made a bitter Invective against the Archbishop, calling him, *The Sty of all Pestilential Filth*, —— *The great and common Enemy of all Goodness and good Men*, —— *A Viper near his Majesty's Person to distil Poison into his sacred Ears*, &c. At the end of this Speech, the Archbishop was voted to be a Traitor, *Nemine Contradicente*, and Mr. *Hollis* was sent to the Lords to accuse him of High-Treason: upon which he was committed to the Custody of the Gentleman-Usher, and sequestred from sitting in Parliament, till he clear'd himself of this Accusation. 16 Car. I. Archbishop *Laud* impeach'd and committed.

The Lord-Keeper *Finch* was the next obnoxious Man; who being threaten'd with an Impeachment, desir'd leave to speak for himself in the House of Commons, and did so in a very eloquent Speech, deliver'd with an excellent Grace and Gesture; but was voted a Traitor, 1. For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord-Treasurer *Weston*, 4 *Car.* when the Parliament desir'd it. 2. For solliciting, persuading, and threatning the Judges, to induce them to deliver their Opinion for the levying of Ship-Money. 3. For several illegal Actions in Forest Matters. 4. For ill Offices done in making the King to dissolve the last Parliament, and causing his Declaration thereupon to be put forth. Upon this, he got up early the next Morning, and escaped into *Holland*; and Sir *Edward Littleton*, Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, was made Lord-Keeper in his Place. Lord-Keeper *Finch* voted a Traitor. He flies.

On the 19th of *January*, the Lord *Digby* made a Speech for the Frequency of Parliaments; whereupon the Bill for the preventing of Inconveniencies happening by the long Intermission of Parliaments was passed, and carried up to the Lords by the said Lord *Digby*. Lord *Digby*'s Speech.

Soon after the House of Commons voted, 'That 'a friendly Assistance and Relief shall be given to-'wards Supply of the Losses and Necessities of the 'Scots; and that in due time the House will consider 'the Measure and Manner of it.' And not long after, they proceeded to this Resolution, 'This House doth 'conceive the Sum of Three hundred thousand Pounds Votes in favour of the *Scots*.

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An. 1640. ‘ a fit Proportion for the friendly Aſſiſtance and Re-
‘ lief thought fit to be made towards the Loſſes and
‘ Neceſſities of our Brethren of *Scotland*.’ After which, they accepted the Thanks of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners for the ſaid Aſſiſtance, and the Stile of *Brethren* given them in the Vote of the Houſe.

Lady *Mary*'s Marriage to the Prince of *Orange*.

About this time, the Leiger Ambaſſador of *Holland* having made ſeveral Overtures of a Match between the young Prince of *Orange* and the Princeſs *Mary*, the King's eldeſt Daughter, his Majeſty very willingly inclin'd to the Alliance, in regard of that Prince's great Affection to the Proteſtant Religion. Yet he reſolv'd to acquaint the Parliament with his Intentions, before he proceeded to any Determination; which being done in a Speech from the Throne, it was receiv'd with very great Applauſe by the Parliament, and with infinite Satisfaction by the People in general, who were extremely pleas'd, that the King ſhould condeſcend to make a Match with an inferior Prince for the ſake of the Proteſtant Religion. This Marriage, which was concluded a few Weeks after, prov'd afterwards of wonderful Conſequence to the *Engliſh* Nation; and the very Name of it at preſent much abated the Fears and Jealouſies which the People had entertain'd, of the King's Deſigns to introduce Popery.

Judge *Berkley* impeach'd.

A few Days after, the Commons proceeded to an Impeachment, formidable to the Judges and many more; which was that of Sir *Robert Berkley*, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, who having given his Opinion for the *Ship-Money*, was by Sir *John Culpeper* and others accus'd of High-Treaſon in the Houſe of Lords, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*: Upon which, *Maxwell* Uſher of the Black-Rod, was ſent to fetch him in the moſt publick manner off the Bench, which he perform'd in the face of the Court, when *Weſtminſter-Hall* was full of People. This open Diſgrace, and ſudden Change from a Judge to a Priſoner, ſtruck a great Terror into the reſt of his Brethren then ſitting in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and all others of his Profeſſion. He afterwards redeem'd himſelf by ſupplying the Parliament's Occaſions with Ten thouſand Pounds, and ended his Days in a private Retirement.

Shortly

Shortly after this Impeachment, the Commons finiſh'd their firſt Money-Bill of four Subſidies, for the Relief of the King's Army and the Northern Parts; and at the ſame time prepar'd and concluded their famous Bill for Triennial Parliaments, which was to paſs with it. Theſe Bills being ready, upon the fifteenth of *February*, the King readily paſs'd both: And upon the account of paſſing the Triennial Bill, great Rejoicings were made, with Bells, Bonfires, and Illuminations; and the two Houſes were ſo ſenſibly oblig'd, that they waited on his Majeſty, and return'd their Thanks by the Mouth of the Lord-Keeper, 'for having now ſufficiently provided for the 'Security of the Common-wealth; and that there 'remain'd nothing to be done, but ſuch a Return of 'Duty and Gratitude, as might teſtify their Devo-'tions to his Majeſty, and that their only End was 'to make him a glorious King.' 16 Car. I. Triennial Bill paſs'd.

The Earl of *Strafford* being impeach'd of High-Treaſon, and the Day prefix'd for his Tryal being come, he was brought before the Houſe of Peers, where the Charge againſt him was manag'd by Members of the Houſe of Commons appointed to that End. The chief Heads of the Accuſation were, That he had governed the Kingdom of *Ireland* in an arbitrary manner: That he had retain'd the Revenues of the Crown without rendring a due Account of them: That he had encourag'd and promoted the *Romiſh* Religion: That he had endeavour'd to create Feuds and Quarrels between *England* and *Scotland*: That he had labour'd to render the Parliament ſuſpected and odious to the King: That he was the Author of this Advice, *That ſince the Parliament had denied to grant the King ſuch Supplies as he demanded, he was at liberty to raiſe them by ſuch Means as he thought fit; and that he had an* Iriſh *Army that wou'd aſſiſt him to that End.* It being the Cuſtom that a Lord High-Steward ſhou'd be made to preſide at the Tryal of a Peer, that Honour was conferr'd upon the Earl of *Arundel*. The King, the Queen, the Houſe of Commons, the Deputies of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with many other Perſons of Quality of both Sexes, were there preſent. Among other things, the Earl in his Defence objected againſt the Evidence of the An. 1641. *Strafford's* Tryal.

An. 1641. the Earl of *Cork*, denying him to be a competent Witneſs, becauſe his Enemy: To which *George* Lord *Digby*, who was appointed one of the Managers of the Charge againſt him, replied, That if that Objection ſhould be of any Weight with the Court, the Earl of *Strafford* had found out a certain Way to ſecure himſelf from any farther Proſecution.

There never was a more ſolemn Trial than this of the Earl of *Strafford*, whether we conſider the Accuſers or the Perſon accuſed, the Accuſation or the Defence. As in every thing elſe, ſo in this more particularly, he expreſs'd a wonderful Preſence of Mind, and a vaſt Compaſs of Thought, with ſuch nervous and moving Flights of Eloquence, as came nothing ſhort of the moſt celebrated Pieces of Antiquity. This did evidently appear from his ſumming up the long Anſwer he made *ex tempore* to every one of the Articles againſt him, with this pathetick Concluſion: *My Lords*, ſays he, *I have troubled you longer than I ſhould have done, were it not for the Intereſt of theſe dear Pledges a Saint in Heaven hath left me.* At this Word he ſtopp'd, pointing to his Children that ſtood by him, and dropt ſome Tears; then went on, *What I forfeit for my ſelf is nothing, but that my Indiſcretion ſhould extend to my Poſterity, woundeth me to the very Soul. You will pardon my Infirmity; ſomething I ſhould have added, but am not able, therefore let it paſs. And now, my Lords, for my ſelf, I have been by the Bleſſing of God taught, that the Afflictions of this preſent Life are not to be compar'd to that eternal Weight of Glory which ſhall be reveal'd hereafter: And ſo, my Lords, even ſo, with all Tranquillity of Mind, I freely ſubmit my ſelf to your Judgment; and whether that Judgment be of Life or Death,* Te Deum laudamus.

King's Speech in favour of the Earl.

On the firſt of *May*, the Commons being call'd up to the Houſe of Peers, his Majeſty expreſs'd himſelf to both Houſes to the following Purpoſe: 'That he 'had no Intention of ſpeaking to them concerning the 'great Buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*, becauſe he 'would not hinder their Occaſions; but ſeeing he muſt 'neceſſarily have part in the Judgment, he thought it 'needful for him to declare his Conſcience therein: 'That having been, as they knew, preſent at hearing 'that Matter from the Beginning, he muſt tell them, 'he

'he could not in his Conſcience condemn him of High Treaſon; which he was ſure they would not expect he ſhould argue, ſince *a poſitive Doctrine beſt becomes the Mouth of a Prince:* But yet he muſt tell them three great Truths, which none knew ſo well as himſelf; 1. That he never had any Intention of bringing the *Iriſh* Army into *England*, nor was ever adviſed to it. 2. That there never was any Debate before him of the Diſloyalty of his *Engliſh* Subjects, nor did he ever ſuſpect them. 3. That he was never counſell'd to alter the leaſt of the Laws of *England*, much leſs all of them; and if any had been ſo impudent as to adviſe him to it, he ſhould have ſet ſuch a Mark on him, as would evidently have ſhewn his Intentions of governing according to Law, and no otherwiſe. That yet he could not clear the Earl of Miſdemeanours, and therefore he hop'd they would find a Way to ſatisfy Juſtice, and their own Fears, without preſſing on his Conſcience; which they knew to be a tender thing: That he would do great Matters to ſatisfy his People; but no Fears or Reſpect whatſoever ſhould make him go againſt his Conſcience, nor had he deſerv'd ſo ill of the Parliament, that they ſhould impoſe this upon him, which therefore he could not expect they would do: That tho he would not chalk out the Way, he thought ſuch were the Earl's Miſdemeanors, that he was not fit to ſerve him or the Common-Wealth hereafter ſo much as in the Truſt of a Conſtable: Therefore he left it to their Lordſhips to find ſome Way to bring him out of his great ſtrait, and free the Kingdom from Inconveniencies, ſeeing ſuch as thought him guilty of High Treaſon might certainly condemn him for Miſdemeanours.' 17 Car. I.

The Commons ſeem'd much diſcontented at this Speech, and thereupon adjourn'd till *Monday*; on which Day the Bill againſt the Biſhops and Clergy's exerciſing temporal Juriſdiction, was read a third Time, and paſſed, and order'd to the Lords.

On *May* the third, Mr. *Pym* acquainted the Houſe concerning divers Informations given in of deſperate Deſigns againſt the Parliament and Peace of the Nation, the Conſpirators being under an Oath of Secrecy; that they attempt to diſaffect the Army againſt, and bring the ſame up to overcome the Pro- Plots againſt the Parliament.

An. 1641. ceedings of the Parliament: That there was also a Design upon the *Tower*, and Endeavours us'd for the Earl of *Strafford*'s Escape: That these Combinations at home correspond with Practices abroad, the *French* drawing their Forces apace to the Sea-side, and it is apprehended they have an Eye upon *Portsmouth*: That several eminent Persons about the Queen are deeply engag'd in these Plots; that therefore it is necessary that the Ports should be stopp'd, and the King desir'd to command that none attending on himself, the Queen, or Prince, depart without his Majesty's Leave, with the Advice of the Parliament.

Upon this several Debates arose, and the House generally agreed, it was needful for them to enter into a joint Resolution for the common Safety. Among others Sir *John Wray* signified, 'That, as ever they 'intended to compleat the great Works they had 'begun, they must take the right Way, which in 'a Word was, to be loyal Covenanters with God 'and the King: That they should first bind themselves with a Parliamentary and National Oath, to 'preserve their Religion entire, without the least 'Mixture of Superstition or Idolatry; and then to 'defend the *Defender of the Faith*, his Royal 'Crown, Dignity, and Glory, which can never be 'eclipsed while Justice is duly dispensed, and the 'Laws rightly executed: That thus making *Jerusalem* 'their chiefest Joy, they would be a happy People; 'but if they let go their Christian hold, they were in 'danger to have their Parliaments broken, and their 'golden Candlestick remov'd; which he pray'd he 'might never live to see, nor *England* feel the 'Want of.'

Sir *John Wray*'s Speech.

At length the House came to a Resolution, signifying, 'That the Commons find, to the Grief of their 'Hearts, that the Designs of the Priests and Jesuits, '&c. have of late more boldly appear'd than formerly for undermining the Reformed Religion: That 'they have Cause to suspect, that there are yet Endeavours to subvert the Laws, and introduce arbitrary Government, by most wicked Plots and Conspiracies: That the long Intermission and unhappy 'Breach of Parliaments have occasion'd many illegal 'Taxings, by which, as also by bringing Superstitions 'into the Church, the Subjects being very much 'grieved,

'grieved, have been driven in great Multitudes out 17 Car. I.
'of his Majeſty's Dominions, and Jealouſies have
'been rais'd between the King and his People. That
'a Popiſh Army is rais'd in *Ireland*, and two Armies
'brought into the Bowels of this Kingdom, to the
'Hazard of his Majeſty's Perſon, &c. And laſtly,
'finding great Cauſe of Jealouſy, that Endeavours are
'uſed to diſaffect the *Engliſh* Army towards the Par-
'liament, and incline the ſame to effect their wicked
'Counſels, they had therefore thought good with uni-
'ted Affections and Reſolution to make the following
'Proteſtation. *I* A. B. *do, in the Preſence of Al-* Proteſtation of the Commons.
mighty God, promiſe, vow, and proteſt to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power, and Eſtate, the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, *againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovation within this Realm, contrary to the ſaid Doctrine: and according to the Duty of my Allegiance, I will maintain and defend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, Honour and Eſtate; alſo the Power and Privilege of Parliaments, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and every Perſon that ſhall make this* Proteſtation, *and whatſoever he ſhall do in the lawful Purſuance of the ſame. And to my Power, as far as lawfully I may, I will oppoſe, and by all good Ways and Means endeavour to bring condign Puniſhment on all ſuch as ſhall by Force, Practice, Counſels, Plots, Conſpiracies, or otherwiſe, do any thing contrary to the preſent* Proteſtation. *And further, that I ſhall, in all juſt and honourable Ways, endeavour to preſerve Union and Peace between the three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and neither for Hope, Fear, or any other Reſpects, ſhall relinquiſh this* Promiſe, Vow, *and* Proteſtation.

About a Fortnight after, ſome Doubts being rais'd concerning theſe Words in the Proteſtation, *The true Reformed Proteſtant Religion expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of* England *againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations in this Realm*; the Houſe declar'd, that thereby was and is only meant the publick Doctrine profeſs'd in the ſaid Church, and that the ſaid Words are not to be extended to the maintaining any Form of Worſhip, Diſcipline, or Government, nor of Rites or Ceremonies.

An. 1641. This *Protestation* being generally taken by the Members present, (as it was on following Days by others) a Committee was appointed presently to draw up a Letter to be sent Express to the Army, and to think of providing Clothes, *&c.* for it; which Letter was accordingly dispatch'd.

Letter to the Army.

At the same Time a Message was sent to the Lords, to acquaint them, That the Commons had just Cause to inspect a secret Practice to discontent the Army with the Proceedings of Parliament, and to engage them in some dangerous Design against the State: Also to desire their Lordships, that a select Committee might be appointed to take Examinations upon Oath concerning this desperate Plot, in the Presence of some of the Commons; and that they would move his Majesty, that none of his Servants, *&c.* may depart the Kingdom without his Leave, with the Advice of Parliament, till they are examin'd: Likewise to inform the Peers of the Commons Resolution, that strict Enquiry be made what Papists, Priests, and Jesuits are now about Town: That fifteen hundred Barrels of Powder, now going to *Portsmouth*, be stopp'd: That the Forces in *Wiltshire* and *Hampshire* be drawn towards that Garison, and those in *Kent* and *Sussex* towards *Dover*: And that whoever should counsel or assist to bring any foreign Forces into the Nation, unless by his Majesty's Command, with the Consent of both Houses, shall be adjudg'd publick Enemies of the King and Kingdoms: Also to desire their Lordships to move his Majesty, that the Ports may be stopp'd, and that the Lord Admiral place such Commanders in the Ships, for the Safety of the Nation, as they can confide in. To all which the Lords most readily concurr'd.

Commons send a Message to the Lords.

The Commons also sent to the Peers the *Protestation*, with the Reasons of their making it, by Mr. *Denzil Hollis* and Mr. *Maynard*; on which occasion the former spoke to the following Effect: 'That the 'Commons having seriously consider'd the present 'State of the Kingdom, found it surrounded with Va- 'riety of pernicious Designs, not only against the Well- 'being, but the Being of it; some of which were 'hatch'd within our own Bowels, Viper-like, to de- 'stroy us. They also find that Jesuits and Priests con- 'spire with ill Ministers to destroy our Religion, and 'sub-

Mr. Hollis's Speech.

'ſubvert our Laws: That Juſtice is obſtructed, which 17 Car. I.
'is the Life-blood of every State: That the Property
'of the Subject is invaded by illegal Impoſitions, *&c.*
'to enrich the Caterpillars of the Land, and impoveriſh
'the Good. That theſe things being ſo, they muſt
'conceive there were ill Counſels which diſcourag'd
'all true *Engliſhmen*, and brought two Armies a-
'mongſt us. That heretofore Parliaments were the
'*Catholicon*, which heal'd our Wounds, and reſtor'd
'our Spirits; but of late they only prov'd deſtructive
'to the particular Members who diſcharg'd their Con-
'ſciences. That this very Aſſembly which has ſat
'ſo long, has only been beating the Air, and ſtriving
'againſt the Stream; ſince the ſame ill Counſels,
'which rais'd the Storm, and almoſt ſhipwreck'd the
'Commonwealth, ſtill blow ſtrongly like the Eaſt-
'Wind. That therefore it was high Time we ſhould
'unite, ſeeing one main Engine of our Enemies to
'work their Miſchief, is by infuſing a Belief into the
'World, that we are divided, and draw ſeveral Ways,
'towards different Ends. And that to defeat the
'Counſels of theſe *Achitophels*, who would involve our
'Religion, our King, our Laws, our Liberties, and all
'that is dear to us, in an univerſal Deſolation, the
'Commons had thought fit to declare their united
'Affections, by entring into an Aſſociation among
'themſelves, and by making this ſolemn *Proteſtation*
'and *Vow* to their God.'

Great Tumults.

About this Time great Multitudes of People repair'd to *Weſtminſter*, being full of Fears concerning Plots againſt the Parliament; and particularly becauſe they heard of a Deſign to put Soldiers into the *Tower*. And being apprehenſive the Earl of *Straffford* would eſcape, they cry'd out for Juſtice, and poſted up a Paper in *Old-Palace-Yard*, containing the Names of the Lords *Digby*, *Compton*, *Buckhurſt*, and above fifty more of the Houſe of Commons, with this Preface, *Theſe are* Straffordians, *Betrayers of their Country*; and concluding, *This and more ſhall be done to the Enemies of Juſtice aforewritten.*

Upon this the Peers deſir'd a Conference with the Commons, which they manag'd by the Lord Privy-Seal, who ſignified, That the Multitudes without ſufficiently intimated the Occaſion of the Conference; that what he had to ſay, was by Command from the

An. 1641. King to the Peers, to be communicated to both Houſes, *viz.* That his Majeſty took notice, that the People's aſſembling in ſuch Numbers might obſtruct their Counſels, and the Peace of the Kingdom; and therefore as a King, who loves Peace and the Freedom of Parliament, he deſires their Advice how theſe Interruptions may be remov'd.

Petition from the Multitude.

He alſo communicated to the Commons a Petition which the Lords had receiv'd the Day before from the Multitude, to this Effect: 'That having petitioned the Day before for the Redreſs of many Grievances, and for Juſtice upon the Earl of *Strafford* and other Incendiaries, and alſo to be ſecur'd from dangerous Plots on foot; they now return'd their Lordſhips Thanks for the Anſwer given them this Day, *viz.* That the ſame was under preſent Conſideration. Yet ſtill underſtanding that the *Tower* of *London* is preſently to receive a Gariſon of Soldiers (not of the Hamlets, as uſual) under the Command of a great Confident of the ſaid Earl, this encreaſes their Fears of the ſudden Deſtruction of the King and Kingdom, and that it is done in order to the Eſcape of that grand Incendiary. They therefore humbly pray, that a Courſe may be inſtantly taken for Diſcovery thereof, and Juſtice ſpeedily executed upon the Earl of *Strafford*.'

Hereupon the Lords ſent ſix of their Houſe to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who own'd he had the King's Command to receive a hundred Soldiers, commanded by Captain *Billingſley*; but upon their Lordſhips Order, he promiſed no other Guards ſhould come there beſides the Hamlets.

The Peers further declar'd at the forementioned Conference, That they were drawing to a Concluſion of the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl, but were hinder'd from diſpatching it by the Multitudes flocking together; and therefore they deſir'd the Commons to join with them in finding out ſome Way to diſſolve thoſe Tumults. They afterwards debated, paſſed, and took the *Proteſtation*.

Bill of Attainder paſſed by both Houſes.

The Lords having paſſed the Bill of Attainder as well as the Commons, his Majeſty was deſired to give his Aſſent, which he ſhew'd himſelf very unwilling to do; and in the mean time the Earl ſent a Let-

Letter to his Majeſty, wherein he ſignified, 'That it 17 Car. I.
'had been his greateſt Grief to be taken for one who
'endeavour'd to repreſent things amiſs between his Ma- Earl's Let-
'jeſty and his People, and to give Counſels for diſquiet- ter to the King.
'ing the three Kingdoms: That (as was well known
'to his Majeſty) his humble Advice ſtill concluded,
'that the King and his Subjects could never be happy,
'till there was a right Underſtanding between him
'and the Parliament; tho it was his Misfortune to
'have the contrary generally believ'd of him: That he
'underſtood Mens Minds were more and more in-
'cens'd againſt him, tho his Majeſty had declar'd
'he could not in Conſcience paſs the Bill, as not
'thinking him guilty of High Treaſon; which brought
'him into a great ſtrait, while on the one Side he
'viewed Death with the Ruin of his Family, and on
'the other conſider'd the many Evils might befal his
'Majeſty's ſacred Perſon and the Kingdom, ſhould he
'and the Parliament diſagree: That is to ſay he had
'no Strife in him, were to make himſelf leſs Man
'than his Infirmities would allow; but notwithſtand-
'ing this, he was with much Sadneſs come to a Re-
'ſolution, which he thought moſt becoming him, *viz.*
'to prefer the King's Perſon and the Commonwealth
'before his private Intereſts: That therefore, in few
'Words, as he had ſo wholly put himſelf on the Ho-
'nour and Juſtice of the Peers, that he wiſh'd his
'Majeſty had been pleas'd to ſpare his Declaration
'on *Saturday* laſt; ſo now, to ſet his Conſcience at
'Liberty, he humbly beſought him, for preventing
'the evil Conſequences of refuſing it, to paſs the Bill:
'That ſeeing to a willing Manthere is no Injury done,
'his Conſent would more acquit him before God
'in paſſing it, than all the World beſides could do:
'That he forgave all Men to the infinite Content of
'his diſlodging Soul, and with all Chearfulneſs ſur-
'render'd his Life to his Majeſty, in conſideration of
'his exceeding Favours; only begging, that in his
'Goodneſs he would caſt a gracious Eye upon his
'poor Son and three Daughters, ſo far as their unfor-
'tunate Father ſhould hereafter appear more or leſs
'deſerving this Death.'

The King ſtill diſſatisfied with the Bill, conſulted *His Majeſty conſults about the Bill.* with the Privy Council, ſome Judges, and four Biſhops: And all of them except one, *viz.* Biſhop *Juxon*, ad-

An. 1641. advis'd the throwing of *Jonas* over-board for the appeasing of the Storm. Upon which his Majesty with great Reluctance commissioned the Earl of *Arundel*, and two other Lords, to pass the Bill for the Execution of the Earl.

He passes it.

The Bill being pass'd, the King sent Sir *Dudley Carleton* his Secretary to the Earl, to acquaint him with what was done, and the Motives to it, especially the Earl's own Consent. He receiv'd the Message of Death with great Courage, but not without some Surprize and Astonishment, as if he could not believe the King would assent to the Bill. Some say, he lift up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and with great Earnestness said, *Put not your trust in Princes, nor in the Sons of Men, for in them there is no Salvation!* On Monday, after the Bill was pass'd, he sent an humble Petition to the House of Lords, in which 'He craved leave 'to return their Lordships most humble Thanks for 'their noble Compassion, he understood they had 'shewn towards his innocent Children, whom now 'with his last Blessing, he must commit to the Pro'tection of Almighty God, beseeching their Lord'ships to finish this pious Intention towards them, in 'which he trusted the honourable House of Commons 'would afford their Christian Assistance.'

His Letter to the Lords.

In the mean time, the King's Mind being filled with relenting Thoughts and melancholy Reflections, upon *Tuesday* he sent a pathetick Letter to the House of Lords, in which he told them, 'He had 'the Day before satisfy'd the Justice of the Nation 'by passing the Bill of Attainder; but Mercy being 'as inherent to a King as Justice, he desir'd in some 'measure to shew that likewise, by suffering that un'fortunate Man to fulfil the natural Course of his 'Life in a close Imprisonment; so that if he ever 'made the least Offer to escape, or directly or indi'rectly offer'd to meddle in any sort of publick Bu'siness, he should die without Process. If this could 'be done, without the Discontentment of the People, it 'would be an unspeakable Satisfaction to him. There'fore, as in the first Place he did by this Letter ear'nestly desire their Approbation, and to endear it 'the more, had chosen Him to carry it, who of all 'their House was most dear to him, so he desir'd 'that they would in a Conference endeavour also to

'give Content to the Houſe of Commons. But if 'no leſs than his Life will ſatisfy the People, he muſt 'then ſay, *fiat Juſtitia*; and ſo again recommended 'the Conſideration of his Intentions to them, and re-'main'd their unalterable and affectionate Friend.' At the bottom of the Letter, as a Poſtſcript, he added, *If he muſt die, it were Charity to reprieve him till Saturday.* 17 Car. I.

This Letter, all written with the King's own Hand, was deliver'd by the young Prince himſelf, and with much Attention read twice in the Houſe. After a ſerious but ſad Conſideration, the Houſe immediately reſolv'd to ſend twelve of the Peers Meſſengers to his Majeſty, humbly to ſignify, 'That neither of 'the two Intentions expreſs'd in the Letter, could 'with Duty in them, or without Danger to his Conſort 'the Queen, and all the young Princes their Children, 'be poſſibly admitted.' This being ſignify'd to his Majeſty, he ſuffer'd no more Words to come from them; but told them, 'That what he intended by 'his Letter was with an *If*, if it might be done with-'out Diſcontentment to his People: If it cannot be, 'I repeat the ſame I wrote, *fiat Juſtitia*. My other 'Intention for a few Days Reſpite, was upon Infor-'mation, that his Eſtate was ſo diſtracted, that it ne-'ceſſarily requir'd ſome few Days for the Settlement 'of it.' To which the Lords anſwer'd, 'Their De-'ſign was to be Suitors to his Majeſty for Favour to 'his innocent Children, and that their Father's Pro-'viſion for them might be confirm'd:' Which was highly pleaſing to the King. At their Departure, they offer'd the King's Letter into his own Hands; but he was pleas'd to ſay, *What I have written to you, I ſhall be content to have it regiſter'd in your Houſe; in which you ſee my Mind, I hope you will uſe it to my Honour.* So they parted; and on the twenty ſecond Day of *May* the Earl of *Strafford* was beheaded, notwithſtanding all the King's Endeavours to ſave him. The Earl beheaded.

Thus fell Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, who was a Gentleman of extraordinary Parts, a great Orator, and yet a greater Stateſman. He made a conſiderable Figure in the firſt three Parliaments of this Reign, and no Man appear'd with greater Zeal againſt Ship-Mony, Tonnage and Poundage, and other Taxes His Character.

An. 1641. Taxes illegally impos'd upon the Subject. The Court brought him off, and preferr'd him to great Honour and Places; which loſt him his former Friends, and made the Breach irreconcilable. There had been a long and intimate Friendſhip betwixt Mr. *Pym* and him, and they had gone hand in hand in every thing in the Houſe of Commons: but when he was upon making his Peace with the Court, he ſent to *Pym* to meet him alone at *Greenwich*; where he began, in a ſet Speech, to ſound Mr. *Pym* about the Dangers they were like to run by the Courſes they were in, and what Advantages they might have, if they would but liſten to ſome Offers which would probably be made them from the Court. *Pym* underſtanding his Drift, ſtopp'd him ſhort with this Expreſſion, *You need not uſe all this Art to tell me that you have a mind to leave us; but remember what I tell you, You are going to be undone: And remember that tho you leave us now, I will never leave you, whilſt your Head is upon your Shoulders.* He was as good as his Word; for it was he that firſt accus'd him of High-Treaſon in the Houſe of Commons, he carried up his Impeachment to the Houſe of Lords, and was the chief Manager of his Tryal, and Bill of Attainder.

Act for Continuance of the Parliament.

The Parliament having now the Charge of two Armies to pay, and fearing leſt all Men ſuſpecting they might be abruptly diſſolv'd, as had often hapned before, ſhould therefore refuſe to credit them with ſuch Sums as were neceſſary, unleſs an Act might paſs to ſecure their ſetting; the King gave his Aſſent to one drawn up and paſs'd to that purpoſe, *viz. That that Parliament ſhould not be diſſolv'd, but by Act of Parliament; nor prorogu'd or adjourn'd, but by their own Conſent.* This Act, which ſeem'd inconſiſtent with his own Prerogative, the King paſs'd, at the ſame time when he paſs'd the Bill of Attainder.

A Change in the Miniſtry.

Within a few Days after the Fall of the Earl of *Strafford*, ſeveral of the chief Officers of State voluntarily reſign'd their Places. The Lord *Cottington* gave up his Place of Maſter of the Wards, which was conferr'd upon the Lord *Say*: Biſhop *Juxon* reſign'd his Place of Lord High-Treaſurer into the Hands of five Commiſſioners: The Marqueſs of *Hertford* was ſworn Governor of the Prince, in the Room of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*; and in the Place of the

the late Earl of *Strafford*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Theſe Alterations were thought of ſome Advantage to the King's Affairs; and there hapned an Accident about the ſame time, which probably might have increas'd that Expectation: Some Paſſion aroſe at a Committee of the Lords between the Earl of *Pembroke*, then Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and the Lord *Mowbray*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Arundel*; and from exaſperating Words proceeded to an Attempt of Blows, for which Miſdemeanour they were both ſent to the Tower by the Houſe of Lords: And the King, who had been long diſpleas'd with the indiſcreet inſolent Carriage of the Earl, took that Advantage to ſend for the Staff, and immediately put it into the Hands of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who took it without any Heſitation. It was believ'd that this Favour to the moſt popular Man in the Kingdom, would have had a ſignal Influence upon the whole Party: but inſtead of that they look'd upon it rather as a Mark of Puniſhment upon the Earl of *Pembroke*, for his Affection to them and Enmity to the Earl of *Strafford*, than of Eſteem to the Earl of *Eſſex*; ſo that, unhappily for the King, they were really more incens'd with the Diſgrace of the one, than they were oblig'd with the Preferment of the other. 17 Car. I.

About this time, the Parliament importun'd the King to disband the *Iriſh* Army, that had been rais'd by the Earl of *Strafford*; and prevail'd with him to do it, after he had made this Speech to both Houſes: *Iriſh* Army disbanded.

'For the *Iriſh* Army, you muſt underſtand, I am already upon Conſultation how to disband it; but I find many Difficulties in it: Therefore I hold it not only fit to wiſh it, but to ſhew the Way how it may be conveniently done. This is not all I deſire; but ſince you have mentioned the disbanding of Armies, it is my Duty to my Country to wiſh for disbanding of all Armies, and to reſtore the ſame Peace to all my three Kingdoms, that the King my Father did leave them in: And I conjure you, as you will anſwer the ſame to God and the Country, to join with me heartily and ſpeedily, for the diſbanding of the two Armies in *England*; to which End there are two things requiſite, Money, and the Concluſion of the *Scotch* Treaty.'

Upon

An. 1641. Upon a Meſſage from the Lords for disbanding the two Armies, Mr. *Treaſurer* reported, that there was in Arrear due to the *Scots* 120000 *l.* beſides the 300000 *l.* and it was voted by both Houſes, That the two Armies ſhould be disbanded and ſatisfied next Month. In the Debate upon raiſing Money for this purpoſe, it was found, that no leſs than 800000 *l.* would ſuffice. And becauſe the King was preparing for another Progreſs into *Scotland*, for fear he ſhould in his Paſſage thither influence the Armies that lay upon his Road, it was reſolv'd, 'That both Houſes 'be humble Suitors to his Majeſty, that the Armies 'might be disbanded before the King's going into 'the *North*, and all Parts of the Kingdom put into 'a Poſture of Defence.' Upon which, the Earl of *Holland*, General, was ſent down to disband the *Engliſh* Army: And it was concluded, that the *Scots* ſhould have three hundred thouſand Pounds paid for a Condition of their disbanding.

Caſe of Tonnage and Poundage.

About this time, the Commons reſolv'd to fix the great Buſineſs of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. The King having enjoy'd this Benefit ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, it was propos'd, 'That a Bill ſhould be 'ſpeedily prepar'd for the granting it, as had been 'uſual, for Life, leſt the Crown by long Poſſeſſion 'might plead Preſcription, without the Donation of 'the People.' But ſoon after, it was alledg'd, 'That 'the Bill could not be ſo ſpeedily prepar'd, by reaſon 'of the many juſt Exceptions made by the Mer-'chants to the Book of Rates, lately made by the 'Farmers of the Cuſtoms, when the Earl of *Port-'land* was Lord-Treaſurer.' Therefore it was further propos'd, as the beſt Expedient both to preſerve his Majeſty's Revenue, and the Peoples Right of Giving, 'That a Temporary Bill ſhould paſs for granting 'the ſame to the King for two Months only, when 'a new Book of Rates might be made, more advan-'tageous to his Majeſty's Revenue; and then a com-'pleat Act might paſs.' To this purpoſe a Bill was brought in, the Preamble of which 'renounced and 'declar'd, not only againſt any Power in the Crown, of 'levying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, without conſent of 'Parliament, but alſo any Power of Impoſition upon 'any Merchandize whatſoever, and in any Caſe what-'ſoever.'

Both

Both Houſes having paſs'd this Bill, on the twenty ſecond of *June* his Majeſty alſo paſs'd the ſame; and in a Speech to both Houſes declar'd, 'That he did 'willingly accept their Offer, as a Teſtimony and 'Beginning of their dutiful Affections, and hoped 'that in due time they would perform their Promiſes 'when they had Leiſure: And he doubted not but 'they would ſee by his paſſing that Bill, the Truſt he 'had in their Affections, hoping the ſame from them 'to him:' Adding theſe Words, *Therefore in this particular Bill, I hope you will know, that I do freely and frankly give over the Right which my Predeceſſors have ever challeng'd, which tho diſputed in their Times, was never yielded till now. Therefore you will underſtand this but as a Mark of my Confidence, to put my ſelf wholly upon the Love and Affection of my People for my Subſiſtence.* His Majeſty's Compliance with this Bill, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon ſome, that the Day before the Bill paſs'd, Sir *Edward Deering* acknowledg'd in the Houſe, that the King had yet deny'd them nothing, uſing theſe Words, *We are all bound to the Goodneſs of his ſacred Majeſty, (God preſerve Him and His for it) none of all our Bills, none of our Petitions this Parliament, have miſcarried in his Royal Hand, but have been all compleated with the Royal Aſſent.* 17 Car. I. King's Speech.

In order to be freed from the great Burden of the two Armies, the Parliament now paſs'd a general Poll-Tax, according to all Mens Qualities, which rais'd vaſt Sums of Money. The Bill was preſented to the King with two others, one for aboliſhing the *High-Commiſſion* Court, and the other the *Star-Chamber*. The King was deſirous to conſider of the two laſt, for ſome time, and would at firſt have only paſs'd the Poll-Bill; which being intimated to the Houſe of Commons, they voted, 'That all three ſhould be 'paſs'd, or none at all:' Notwithſtanding which, the King paſs'd that for the Poll-Mony, and demurr'd on the other two; till underſtanding the great Heats in the Parliament, two Days after, he came to the Houſe of Lords, where he declar'd, 'That he could not but 'be ſenſible of thoſe Reports of Diſcontent, which 'he heard ſome had taken for his not paſſing thoſe 'Bills before; and that he thought it very ſtrange, 'they ſhould expect his paſſing two Bills of that Im- A General Poll-Tax.

'portance,

An. 1641. 'portance, without taking time to consider of them; 'they being an Alteration of those Fundamental Laws 'Ecclesiastical and Civil, which many of his Prede- 'cessors had establish'd: That he wonder'd they 'could possibly harbour any Discontent, if they did 'but remember how much he had done for this Par- 'liament; as his granting the Judges to hold their 'Places *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*, his Bounding the 'Forest-Laws, declining Ship-Money, establishing the 'Subjects Property in Tonnage and Poundage, sub- 'mitting to Triennial Parliaments, doing Justice to 'Delinquents and Papists, *&c.* concluding, That he 'would omit nothing which should give them just 'Content.' And then he pass'd the two Bills for taking away the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commission* Courts.

Star-Chamber and High-Commission Courts abolish'd.

His Majesty having done this, after a short Mention of his Journey he design'd speedily to take into *Scotland*, he propos'd some Matters very acceptable to the Parliament, as the Desires of his Nephew the Prince Elector *Palatine*; which were, 'That he 'should send an Ambassador to the Diet at *Ratisbon*; 'and fearing lest in that Negotiation he should not 'receive so good an Answer as he might in Justice 'expect, he intended in his own Name to publish a '*Manifesto*, which he yet would not resolve upon, 'without the Advice of his Parliament; and there- 'fore he referr'd the Matter to their Consideration.' Which *Manifesto* was soon after made by the full Consent of both Houses, and Sir *Thomas Roe*, a Member of the Commons, and a Gentleman of great Abilities, was sent to the Emperor at *Ratisbon*, but without any good Success.

Motion about the Elector *Palatine*.

Queen Mother leaves *England*.

At the same time, *Mary de Medicis*, the Queen Mother of *France*, according to the Desire of the Parliament, was to take her leave of *England*; but Money being wanted for the Charges of her Journey, the Commons allotted ten thousand Pounds out of the Poll-Money. This illustrious Lady, who arrived in *England* almost three Years before, had so long been a continu'd Expence to the King her Son-in-law, of a hundred Pounds *per Diem*; which besides the Jealousies of the People, prov'd a new Addition to his Wants and Necessities. Her Regency in *France* had not been very fortunate, nor according to the Interest of

that Kingdom, where her Actions had been ſuch, that the King her Son would not harbour her in his own Dominions. Neither could ſhe be admitted into the Territories of her Son-in-law, the King of *Spain*; nor durſt the States of *Holland* ſuffer her to tarry in theirs, for fear of offending Cardinal *Richlieu*. So that ſhe was oblig'd to retire to *Cologn*, where ſhe liv'd the reſt of her Days in extreme Indigence; thus becoming a remarkable Example of the Inſtability of human Fortune, that ſo great a Queen and Mother of ſo many mighty Princes, ſhould want a quiet Harbour in her Age. 17 Car. I.

Impeachment of the Judges.

About this time, the Judges were brought under the Cenſure of the Houſe of Commons, and ſix of them, *Berkley*, *Bramſton*, *Crawly*, *Davenport*, *Trevor* and *Weſton*, were impeach'd at the Lords Bar, as guilty of many Crimes, but eſpecially the promoting of *Ship-Money*. The Charges againſt them were introduc'd by the rhetorical Speeches of Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Waller*, and Mr. *Hyde*; the latter of whom diſplay'd his Eloquence, and declar'd to their Lordſhips, *That there could not be a greater Inſtance of a ſick and languiſhing Commonwealth, than the Buſineſs of this Day* —— *'Tis no marvel, that an irregular, extravagant, arbitrary Power, like a Torrent, has broken in upon us, when our Banks and Bulwarks, the* Laws, *were in the Cuſtody of ſuch Perſons.* —— *That the great Reſolution in* Ship-Money, *was a Crime of ſo prodigious a Nature, that it could not be eaſily ſwallowed and digeſted by the Conſciences even of theſe Men: But as they, who were to wreſtle or run a Race, by degrees prepare themſelves by Diet, and leſſer Eſſays for the main Exerciſe; ſo theſe Judges enter themſelves, and harden their Hearts by more particular Treſpaſſes upon the Law, before they could arrive at that univerſal Deſtruction of the Kingdom by* Ship-Money. Moſt of the Biſhops were likewiſe about this time impeach'd.

Mr. *Hyde's* Speech.

Parliament againſt the King's Journey into *Scotland*.

The Commons were very apprehenſive of the King's forementioned Progreſs, and a very active Member with a deep Sigh cry'd out, *We are all undone!* and when the appointed Time drew near, the Houſe fell into a perplex'd Debate, in which many expreſs'd dark and doubtful Fears of his Majeſty's Safety, not without ſome Inſinuations, 'That if the King were

'once

An. 1641. ‘ once with his Army, he might probably liſten to ‘ new Counſels, before he conſented to diſband it; ‘ and at laſt concluded, To deſire the Lords to concur ‘ with them in a Petition to the King, to defer his ‘ Journey till the Act of Pacification was paſs'd, the ‘ Armies diſbanded, and other Acts prepar'd for the ‘ Good of the Kingdom;' without mentioning any prefix'd time when they ſhould be ready. The Majority of both Houſes being againſt the Journey, they accordingly addreſs'd the King, who anſwer'd, ‘ That ‘ they having had ſo long Notice of his Deſign for ‘ that Journey, he wonder'd they ſhould defer pre- ‘ paring what was neceſſary for his Approbation be- ‘ fore he went: That he was content to comply with ‘ their Requeſts ſo far as to put it off a Fortnight ‘ longer, till the tenth of *Auguſt*, in which time they ‘ might prepare whatever was of Importance, and ‘ it was not poſſible for him to exceed it.'

This time being gain'd, they mov'd but ſlowly in the diſbanding, or in the Act of Pacification, but ſtill dwelt upon Fears and Jealouſies: ſo that when the peremptory Day drew near for the King's Departure, on a Saturday in the Afternoon, they again fell into warm Debates againſt the intended Journey; and in hopes of hindering or deferring it, they ſat all the next Day, which they excus'd by a ſhort Declaration, ſhewing their Regard to the *Sabbath* Day. But finding they could prevail no further with his Majeſty, than whereas he deſign'd to begin his Progreſs on Monday after Dinner, to ſtay till Tueſday Morning, they earneſtly propos'd, ‘ That he would leave a ‘ Power with ſome Perſons to paſs ſuch Acts as ſhould ‘ go thro both Houſes in his Abſence, and conſtitute ‘ a *Cuſtos Regni* to ſupply the Government till his Re- ‘ turn.' But when they found ſuch a Commiſſion, to confirm ſuch Acts as were not paſs'd both Houſes at the Date of that Commiſſion, would be illegal; and that if the King deſir'd to ſatisfy them, both the Power and Perſon of a *Cuſtos Regni* would require great Conſideration, they were at laſt contented with a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Eſſex*, of Lieutenant-General on that ſide *Trent*, and with the King's paſſing ſuch Bills as were prepar'd for the Royal Aſſent. The ſame Day, which was the tenth of *Auguſt*, the King ſet forwards in the Afternoon upon his ‘ Journey

King ſets out for *Scotland*.

Journey to *Scotland*, accompany'd with the Prince Elector, the Duke of *Lenox*, now created Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*. 17 Car. I.

The Bills paſs'd before his Majeſty's Departure, were moſt of them of great Importance; as, *An Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland. *An Act for the Certainty of the Metes, Bounds, and Limits of all the Foreſts in* England. *An Act for the Prevention of vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood. An Act for the free making Salt-Petre and Gun-Pouder within the Kingdom. An Act againſt divers Oppreſſions and Incroachments in the* Stannary *Courts.* And laſtly, *An Act declaring unlawful and void the late Proceedings touching* Ship-Money, *and for vacating all Records and Proceſſes concerning the ſame.* Several Bills paſs'd before.

The King being arriv'd at *York*, where he found neither Army disbanded, his General the Earl of *Holland* attended, and begg'd of his Majeſty the Privilege of making a Baron, which then might have been Ten thouſand Pounds Advantage to him; but whether the King fear'd his chuſing one that might prejudice him among the Peers, or was unwilling to enlarge their Number, he thought fit at that time to refuſe his Suit. This ſo diſoblig'd the Earl, that tho he parted with all the appearance of Loyalty, yet having been inform'd by Sir *Jacob Aſtley* and Sir *John Conyers* of ſome Paſſages in the late tampering with the Army, that had not yet been divulged, as ſoon as the King had left the Place, he ſent a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to be by him communicated in Parliament, 'That he found there had been ſtrange Attempts to 'debauch and pervert the Army, but he did not 'doubt he ſhou'd be able to prevent any Miſchief.' The whole Letter was ſo worded, that Men were eaſily perſuaded it related to ſome unheard-of Diſcoveries; and by the Date it bore, it ſeem'd to reflect on ſomething the King himſelf ſhou'd have attempted. So that it ſerv'd to revive their old Fears, and infuſe new Apprehenſions into the People, every Man drawing what ſenſe he thought fit, from what none of them could rightly underſtand. Earl of *Holland* diſoblig'd.

Shortly after, the Armies were disbanded, that had been ſuch a Burden to the Nation, and the Earl of *Holland* return'd in great State to *Kenſington*, where Both Armies diſbanded.

An. 1641. he was immediately visited and complimented by all the leading Members, to whom he declar'd himself fully in their Interest; and he furnish'd them with several Informations of Occurrences in the late Army, that might be turn'd to the King's Disadvantage; discover'd to them the private Discourses of the King to him, when he thought him in his Interest; and all that Sir *Jacob Astley* and Sir *John Conyers* had repos'd with him, when they believ'd him devoted to his Majesty's Service; together with what he had heard that the Queen said or did, which might increase their Aversion against her Majesty; tho it was by her means that he had formerly been supported against all the Power of *Portland*, *Strafford*, and *Canterbury*.

King arrives at *Edinburgh*, and makes a Speech to the Parliament.

The King arrived at *Edinburgh* upon the 14th of *August*, with a small Retinue of his Nobility. Three Days after, in a long Speech to a full Parliament, he declar'd, 'That nothing had been so displeasing to 'him as those unfortunate Differences between him 'and his People; and nothing he more desir'd, than 'to see that Day, wherein he not only hop'd to 'settle those unhappy Mistakings, but rightly to 'know and to be known to his native Country.' He further declar'd, 'If Love to his native Country had 'not been a chief Motive to his Journey, other Re'spects might easily have found a shift to do that by 'a Commission which he came to perform himself. 'Which consider'd, he could not doubt of such real 'Testimonies of their Affections, for the Maintenance of that Royal Power he enjoy'd, after a hun'dred and eight Descents; and which they had pro'fessed to maintain, and to which their own National 'Oath did oblige them.' Lastly, he assur'd them, 'That the End of his Coming was to perfect what'ever he had promis'd, and withal to quiet all Dis'tractions among them; which he design'd to per'form not superficially, but fully and chearfully; for 'he could do nothing with more Chearfulness, than 'to give his People a general Satisfaction. Where'fore not offering to endear himself by Words, he de'sir'd in the first Place, to settle what concerns the 'Religion and just Liberties of his native Country, 'before he proceeded to any other Act.'

After the King had been ſome time in *Scotland*, the *Engliſh* Parliament was alarm'd with the News of a Plot in that Kingdom: Whereupon it being thought that the Deſign might reach farther than *Scotland*, it was mov'd in the Houſe of Commons, 'That a 'Meſſage might be ſent to the Peers, that the Earl 'of *Eſſex*, whom the King had left General on this 'ſide *Trent*, might be deſir'd to order ſuch a Guard 'as he thought ſufficient for the Security of the Par-'liament:' Which was done accordingly. 17 Car. I. A Plot in *Scotland*. Meſſage for a Guard.

While the King was in *Scotland*, there aroſe a ſudden Storm in *Ireland*, or rather an impetuous Hurricane, that bore down all before it. It was a Rebellion ſurprizing and prodigious, as has been ſcarce known in any Age; ſuch as can hardly be parallel'd for the numberleſs Acts of Perfidiouſneſs and Barbarity; and the firſt Sound of it came like a moſt terrible Thunder-Clap to the *Engliſh* Nation. This aſtoniſhing Concuſſion broke out in all Parts of the Kingdom upon one Day, the 23d of *October*; which by a cloſe and deep Conſpiracy of the *Iriſh*, took effect after an unheard-of manner. The Papiſts and old Natives, taking advantage of the preſent poſture of Affairs in *England*, reſolv'd to deſtroy all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and to ſecure the Kingdom in their own Hands. Their Deſign upon *Dublin* was miraculouſly diſcover'd the Night before it was to be executed, and the Surpriſal of the Caſtle prevented; and the principal Conſpirators, who were to undertake it, as *Mac-Mahon*, *Mac-Guire*, and others, apprehended. But in the other Parts of the Kingdom, they exactly obſerv'd the appointed Day, without hearing of the Diſappointment of their Friends in *Dublin*: So a general Inſurrection of the *Iriſh* ſpread it ſelf like a Deluge over the whole Country, in ſuch an inhuman and mercileſs manner, that forty or fifty thouſand of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants were maſſacred, without diſtinction of Age, Sex, or Quality, before they ſuſpected any Danger, or could provide for their Defence. The *Iriſh* Rebellion.

Religion was the moſt open and plauſible Pretence of theſe Rebels, for which purpoſe they form'd a ſort of a Popiſh Covenant. But becauſe all their Pretenſions wou'd not wholly ſeduce many of the *Iriſh*, who ſtill retain'd ſome love to the *Engliſh*, and ſome Reverence to their Government, their Leaders, Sir Pretences of the Rebels.

An. 1641. *Phelim O-Neale*, and others, invented an infernal Stratagem, to perſuade them, 'That they took up Arms 'for the Defence of the King, and of his lawful Pre-'rogative, againſt the Puritanical Parliament in *Eng-'land*, who had invaded it in many Parts; and that 'what they did was by his Majeſty's Approbation 'and Authority.' And to gain the greater Credit to this, they produc'd a Commiſſion, with the Broad-Seal to it, ſaid to be taken from a Grant of the Lord *Caulfield*'s at *Charlemont-Caſtle*, which might induce ſome to believe it a real Commiſſion from the King. But this was afterwards detected, as well by ſeveral *Iriſh* Rebels taken Priſoners, as *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who eſcap'd their Fury; particularly Dr. *Maxwell*, a conſiderable Divine, in his Depoſition upon Oath, declar'd, That while he was their Priſoner, he ventur'd to expoſtulate with them *for abuſing the King in ſo groſs a manner*: To whom they reply'd, *That in all Wars, Rumours and Lyes ſerv'd many times to as good a purpoſe as Arms, and that they wou'd not diſclaim any Advantage: But for the Queen, becauſe ſhe was a Catholick and had Enemies enough, they wou'd diſcharge the People from ſpeaking of her as the Abettor of the preſent Troubles.*

But his Majeſty's Order afterwards for printing only forty Copies of the Proclamation againſt thoſe Rebels, inclined many, even at that time, to the contrary Opinion, eſpecially conſidering with how much Difficulty the ſaid Proclamation was obtain'd. His Majeſty's ſtopping the Proviſions, *&c.* ſent ſoon after by the Parliament for the Relief of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*; and the different Treatment which their Agents met with afterwards at *Oxford* from his Majeſty, from what thoſe of the Popiſh Party did, might probably confirm ſome in that Opinion. And what has ſince conduced to ſtrengthen it, was his Son King *Charles* IId's declaring in his Letter to the Duke of *Ormond* in 1663. that what the Marqueſs of *Antrim* (who was known to be at the Head of the *Iriſh* Rebellion) had done in that Affair, was by Direction from, and for the Service of his Father. However, 'tis not our Buſineſs to determine, but leave the Reader to judge for himſelf.

The

The King had not left *Scotland* when the News of this Rebellion arriv'd in *England*, where it flew like Lightning thro the Kingdom, with all the Circumſtances of Terror and Amazement. Every Day, and almoſt every Hour, produc'd new Meſſengers of Miſery, who brought further Intelligence of the vaſtneſs of the Conſpiracy, and of the mercileſs Cruelty of the Rebels, who ſhamefully robb'd, ſtripp'd, and barbarouſly tormented and murder'd ſo many thouſands of Proteſtants, contrary to all the Rules of Reaſon and Humanity. 17 Car. I.

News of the *Iriſh* Rebellion brought to *England*.

It was upon a *Sunday* Night when the firſt Intelligence came to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Lord-Lieutenant, at *London*, who immediately ſummon'd the Lords of the Council, and inform'd them of the Condition of *Ireland*. The Houſe of Peers having been adjourn'd for three Days, and the Commons being to meet next Morning, the Council reſolv'd to go in a Body to the Houſe, as ſoon as it met, and give an Account of what they had heard of this Conſpiracy; all which they did with the uſual Form and Solemnity, and ſo departed. This News caus'd a profound Silence, and a kind of Conſternation in the Houſe. They were perfectly at a loſs, ſince the Affair it ſelf ſeem'd to be out of their Cognizance; and the Communication of it ſerv'd only to prepare their Minds how to act when they had further Intelligence, and when they ſhould hear what the King himſelf thought convenient to be done.

Shortly after, they receiv'd Letters from the King in *Scotland*, which acquainted them, 'That it was 'no raſh Inſurrection, but a contriv'd Rebellion, ſuch 'as muſt be proſecuted with a ſharp War; the Ma'nagement of which he wholly committed to their 'Care and Wiſdom, and depended upon them for the 'carrying it on, *&c.*' This new Conceſſion hapned according to their Deſire; and immediately they form'd a Committee of both Houſes, 'for the Conſi'deration of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and providing of 'Men, Money, and Arms, for the ſuppreſſing that 'Rebellion:' the Lieutenant of *Ireland* being one of the Committee, which ſat every Morning with a great Appearance in the *Painted Chamber*.

King's Letters from *Scotland*.

Thus, as the King had the News of this Rebellion brought to him in *Scotland*, he took what Meaſures

An. 1641. ſures were poſſible there about ſuppreſſing it; and made what haſte he could back to *England* to concert with the Parliament, what was farther to be done towards it; leaving the *Scots*, as he thought, contented, and every thing ſettled to their Mind both in Church and State.

King returns, and is joyfully receiv'd.

He returned to *London* the latter end of *November*, having been abſent from it near four Months, and was receiv'd with all Demonſtrations of Affection. The Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, the Nobility, Gentry, and Train'd-Bands met him without the City, and conducted him in great State, with the Acclamations of the People (the City Companies in their Formalities lining the Streets on each ſide) to *Guild-Hall*, where he was royally feaſted, and after Dinner conducted with the ſame Pomp to *White-Hall*.

He diſmiſſes the Parliament Guards.

The King, immediately upon his Return, commanded the Guards that had been attending on the two Houſes, to be diſmiſs'd. This diſpleaſed ſome Members, who thought it to be a needful Security: So the King was petitioned to continue them; to which when the King anſwer'd, that he wou'd order ſome Train'd-Bands to wait for a few Days, tho he knew no Cauſe they had of Fears, and it was a great Trouble to his Subjects to perform that Service, and gave ſtrange Apprehenſions and Jealouſies to the People; they appointed a Committee to draw up Reaſons for a Guard, and deſir'd ſuch Guard might be under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

Iriſh Rebellion, occaſion of Uneaſineſs between the King and Parliament.

The *Iriſh* Rebellion prov'd a new Bone of Contention between the King and the Parliament. The Houſe of Commons had begun ſome few Days before his Return from *Scotland*, to fall into new Heats about it; as alſo about Plots ſaid to be laid in *Scotland*, Innovations in Religion, the diſabling the Clergy to exerciſe Temporal Juriſdiſdiction, and excluding the Biſhops from Votes in Parliament: All which Matters, together with Reports of ſome Deſigns againſt the Parliament, led the Houſe into that remarkable *Petition, and Remonſtrance of the State of the Nation*; in which they ripp'd up again all the Miſmanagements in the Government ſince the King's coming to the Crown, and attributed all to *evil Counſels and Counſellors, and a malignant Party about the King*. This *Remonſtrance*, which ſome thought to be roughly

The Commons grand Remonſtrance.

penn'd,

penn'd, met with great Oppoſition in the Houſe; the Debate laſting from three in the Afternoon till ten next Morning, many thinking it both unneceſſary and unſeaſonable; but at laſt it was carry'd by nine Voices, and preſented to his Majeſty the eighth Day after his Return from *Scotland*. The King was ſurpriz'd at this *Petition and Remonſtrance*, conſidering how much he had done to comply with his Parliament in all they deſir'd. He promiſed an Anſwer to it, *as ſoon as the Weight of the Buſineſs wou'd permit*; and deſir'd *there ſhou'd be no publiſhing that Declaration, till they had receiv'd his Anſwer to it*. But they did publiſh it, and that by Order of the Houſe; and the King in his Anſwer complain'd of it as a *Diſreſpect*; but however promiſed and aſſured them that he wou'd do all that was poſſible *for the Comfort and Happineſs of his People*. 17 Car. I.

The next Day after the *Remonſtrance* was preſented, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, where the Speaker of the Commons preſenting him with a Bill for a further Continuation of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, with a very complimenting Oration, the King told them in a Speech to both Houſes, 'That tho his 'Stay had been longer than he expected, yet he had 'made all the haſte that the Settlement of the *Scotch* 'Affairs wou'd admit; in which he had ſuch good 'Succeſs, that he cou'd confidently affirm to them, '*That he had left that Nation a moſt peaceable and* 'contented *People*. That having before his Journey 'ſettled the Liberties of his Subjects, and given the 'Laws a free and orderly Courſe, he expected at his 'Return to have found his People reaping the Fruits 'of them, by living in Quietneſs and Satisfaction; 'but inſtead of that, he found them diſturb'd with 'Jealouſies, Frights, and Alarms of dangerous Deſigns 'and Plots, and Guards ſet to defend both Houſes: 'Which he ſaid not, as doubting the leſſening of his 'Subjects Affections in his Abſence, for with great 'Comfort he remember'd the joyful Reception he 'found at his Entry into *London*; but rather, be-'cauſe his Preſence wou'd diſperſe thoſe Fears, ha-'ving a perfect and true Affection to his People, as 'ever any Prince had, or as good Subjects can poſſi-'bly deſire. And he was ſo far from repenting of any 'Act paſs'd this Parliament, for the Good of his Peo-King's Speech.

An. 1641. ‘ple, that he proteſted, if it were to do again, he ‘wou'd do it; and wou'd yet grant what further could ‘be juſtly deſir'd in the point of Liberty or Religion. ‘Then he recommended to them the Buſineſs of *Ire-* ‘*land*, and concluded all with a Declaration of his ‘ſeeking his Peoples Happineſs; for their Flouriſhing ‘was his greateſt Glory, and their Affections his great- ‘eſt Strength.’

Bill for preſſing of Soldiers.

On *December* the 14th, the King made another Speech to both Houſes, to recommend the Diſpatch of reducing the *Iriſh* Nation to their true and wonted Obedience, and to take notice of the Bill for preſſing of Soldiers now depending among them, declaring *he wou'd paſs it, if it did not infringe or diminiſh his Prerogative*; and offering, to avoid Debate, *that the Bill might paſs with a* Salvo jure *both for King and People*. But this gave them another occaſion of Diſguſt; and ſo a Remonſtrance under the Name of a Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, was preſented to the King, ſetting forth, ‘That it is ‘their antient and undoubted Right, that his Majeſty ‘ought not to take notice of any Matter in agitation ‘or debate in either Houſe of Parliament, but by their ‘Information and Agreement, and ought not to pro- ‘pound any Condition, Proviſion, or Limitation to ‘any Bill or Act in Debate or Preparation; and de- ‘claring, that theſe their Privileges had been broken, ‘to their great Sorrow and Grievance, by his Ma- ‘jeſty's Speech on *Tueſday* laſt; and finally de- ‘ſiring to know the Names of thoſe who had given ‘that evil Counſel, that they might receive condign ‘Puniſhment.’

Another Remon- ſtrance.

Commons uneaſy about the Lieutenan- cy of the *Tower*.

On the 23d of the ſame Month, the King remov'd Sir *William Balfour* from the Lieutenancy of the *Tower*, and plac'd Colonel *Lunsford* in that important Truſt. The Majority of the Commons were afraid of him, and drew up Reaſons of his being unfit for that Place, and wou'd recommend Sir *John Conyers* to it. The Lords refuſed to join in any ſuch Addreſs, becauſe they conceiv'd it *an Intrenchment upon his Majeſty's Prerogative*. Upon which the Commons made a ſeparate Declaration of Colonel *Lunsford*'s being *unfit to be Lieutenant of the* Tower, *as being a Perſon whom the Commons of* England *could not confide in*; and enter'd a Proteſtation againſt the Lords Re-

fuſal

fuſal to join with them; and ſent two of their own Members to the Earl of *Newport*, Conſtable of the *Tower*, to deſire him to reſide there and take Cuſtody of it; and encourag'd and read in their Houſe a Petition of ſome of the Common-Council and other Citizens, for the Security of the *Tower*; and ſuffer'd the Lord-Mayor to acquaint the King, that the Apprentices wou'd riſe if *Lunsford* were not remov'd: So that the King was forc'd to diſplace him on *Sunday* Night *December* the 26th. 17 Car. I.

Petition of the Apprentices.

About the ſame time, an unuſual Petition was preſented and read in the Houſe of Commons, in the Name of *the Apprentices, and others, whoſe Times are lately expired, in and about the City of* London, directed to the King and both Houſes of Parliament; in which they complained of 'great Miſchiefs coming 'upon them, occaſion'd by the *Papiſts*, *Prelates*, 'and their Party; and notwithſtanding the unwearied 'Endeavours of the Houſe of Commons, deſperate 'Men had been encourag'd to plot againſt the Peace 'and Safety of the Kingdom; witneſs the unheard-'of Cruelties acted by the *Papiſts* in *Ireland*: Therefore they deſir'd that Care might be taken of all 'eminent *Papiſts*, the Laws againſt *Jeſuits* put in 'execution, and that *Prelacy* might be rooted 'up, *&c.*'

Great Tumults.

Soon after, great multititudes of People came to *Weſtminſter*, crying, *No Biſhops, no Biſhops*; and made ſo great a Tumult, that the Lords in a Conference with the Commons inſiſted upon the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of theſe tumultuous Aſſemblies, and requir'd a Declaration to be publiſh'd for that purpoſe. The Commons only anſwer'd, 'That their Houſe wou'd 'agree to all good and lawful Ways and Means for 'preventing Tumults and Routs, that ſhall be againſt 'the Safety and Privilege of Parliament; but for 'printing a particular Declaration, the ſame was a 'Matter that wou'd require ſome time to be conſi-'der'd of.'

Many offer their Service to guard his Majeſty.

Upon ſeeing the Rage of the Multitude, and the Danger threatning the Court, beſides the uſual Retinue, many Officers of the late Army, who waited for their Arrears and ſome Employment in the *Iriſh* War, offer'd their Service as a Guard to his Majeſty's Perſon, and were entertain'd with more Ceremony than was

An. 1641. was thought ſeaſonable, conſidering the preſent State of Affairs. Theſe Officers, provok'd at the ſeveral Inſults of the Multitude, treated them firſt with Words of great Contempt; which being return'd with equal Scorn, Blows were given to ſome of the moſt buſy and forward, which produc'd ſome ſlight Cuts, and a little Blood. This was look'd upon by the Commons like a levying of War by the King, and they took all care to aggravate the Peoples Sufferings that came with their Petitions. Some brisk Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court* did alſo offer their Service to guard his Majeſty, but were only civilly receiv'd and diſmiſs'd. This, with the other, caus'd the Commons to call more loudly for a Guard for themſelves under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*; and in the mean time they order'd the Bailiff and other Officers of *Weſtminſter*, to ſet a double Watch and Guard upon the twenty ninth of *December* at Night.

During the height of theſe Tumults, twelve of the Biſhops met at the Lodgings of the Archbiſhop of *York*; and there conſulting how to preſerve their antient Rights, the Archbiſhop drew up a *Petition and Proteſtation*, which he declar'd to be agreeable with former Precedents. It was directed to the King and the Lords aſſembled in Parliament, and the Subſtance was, 'To declare and proteſt againſt all Laws, Orders, Votes, and Determinations, as in themſelves void and of none effect, which in their Abſence, ſince the twenty ſeventh Inſtant, have already paſs'd; as likewiſe againſt all ſuch, as ſhall hereafter paſs, during the time of their forc'd and violent Abſence from the ſaid honourable Houſe.' Subſcribed, *York*, *Durham*, *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, *Norwich*, *St. Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Hereford*, *Oxford*, *Ely*, *Gloceſter*, *Peterborough*, and *Landaff*. This Paper was put into the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*'s Hands, to be us'd with Tenderneſs and Caution, and not to be read, till his Majeſty, by the Invitation of the Biſhops, ſhou'd ſit with the Peers in the Houſe, and then to be read in the Audience of the King and the Lords, and not before. But the Lord-Keeper, willing to take the Advantage of ingratiating himſelf with the prevailing Party, to which he knew he was ſufficiently obnoxious; and finding what uſe might be made of it by prejudic'd Minds, read the ſame openly in the Houſe

Proteſtation of the Biſhops.

House of Lords: And when he found some apprehensive enough of Misconstruction, he aggravated the Matter, as highly offensive and of dangerous Consequence. Therefore, not without great Heat and Vehemence, and with an ill Preface, it was sent down to the House of Commons; some of the Lords saying, *The Hand of God now appear'd in bringing that to pass, which otherwise they never could have effected.* 17 Car. I.

The Commons entertain'd it very heinously, and were very quick in their Resolutions: Mr. *Glynne* loudly exclaimed against it, and cry'd, *It was no less than High Treason.* One indeed was willing to clear the Bishops from Treason and the *Tower*, but thought *they were stark mad, and ought to be sent to* Bedlam. However, within half an Hour's Consideration, the said twelve Bishops were impeach'd by the Commons of *England* of High Treason. The Usher of the *Black-Rod* was commanded to find them out, and bring them to the Bar of the House of Peers, which by reason of their different Lodgings could not be effected till eight at Night, when being brought together, their Crime was signify'd to them, and an Order made for their Commitment to the *Tower*; only *Durham* and *Litchfield*, by reason of their Age and Infirmities, found the Favour to continue with the *Black-Rod.*

Commons offended at it.

Bishops impeached.

Things were now going on apace towards destroying all Confidence betwixt the King and Parliament: And yet there were not wanting Endeavours on both Sides to accommodate Matters by soft and healing Methods, when an unprecedented and ill-advis'd Enterprize of the King put all into Confusion, and gave occasion to the House to assert their Privileges with a greater Warmth than ever. His Majesty resolving to rid the House of those Members whom he look'd upon as most opposite to his Interest, sent Sir *Edward Herbert*, his Attorney-General, and a Member of the House of Commons, to accuse of High Treason, in the Name of his Majesty, Mr. *William Strode*, Mr. *John Pym*, Mr. *John Hamden*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Members of that House; and the Lord *Kimbolton* of the House of Lords: acquainting them that he intended to proceed against them according to Law, upon the following Articles: ' 1. ' That they intended to change the Government of ' the

King sends to accuse six Members of Parliament.

An. 1641. 'the State, and to diſpoſſeſs the King of his ſovereign 'and lawful Power, and to attribute to Subjects an 'arbitrary and tyrannical Power. 2. That by falſe 'Reports and Calumnies ſown againſt his Majeſty, 'they had endeavour'd to alienate from him the Af-'fections of his People. 3. That they had done 'their utmoſt to debauch the Troops of his Majeſty, 'and to engage them in their perfidious Deſigns. 4. 'That they had traiterouſly ſought to overthrow the 'Rights and true Form of Parliaments. 5. That 'they had us'd Force and Terror to conſtrain the Par-'liament to engage in their pernicious Deſigns; and 'to that End had ſtirr'd up Tumults againſt the King 'and Parliament. 6. That they had by a great Trea-'ſon reſolv'd to raiſe Arms, and had actually raiſed 'Arms againſt the King. 7. That they had endea-'voured to procure a foreign Power to invade *Eng-'land.*'

Upon this the Houſe made Anſwer to the Attor-ney-General, That they were the proper Judges of their own Members: That upon his producing the Articles he had to accuſe their Members with, and the Conſideration of them, if they found Cauſe, they would leave them to be proceeded againſt according to Law; but commanded him at his Peril not to pro-ceed any farther againſt them, or any other Member, without their Conſent. After which they publiſh'd a Declaration, forbidding the ſeizing of any of their Members without their Order; authorizing them to ſtand upon their Guard; and requiring all Juſtices of the Peace, Conſtables, and other Officers and People, to be aſſiſting to them.

King comes in Perſon to demand the five Com-moners.

The King finding this, and being reſolv'd to re-move all Obſtructions in his Way, went in Perſon to the Houſe of Commons, attended with his own Guard and ſome others. He left his Guard, com-manded by the Lord *Roxberry*, at the Door of the Houſe; and enter'd, accompanied only with the Prince *Palatine*: Where taking Poſſeſſion of the Speaker's Chair, and not ſeeing thoſe whom he look'd for, he ſaid, *The Birds are flown.* For upon Notice given by a Lady of the Court of the King's Inten-tion; they were retir'd into the City. The King then demanded of the Speaker, where ſuch and ſuch were, naming the five Members: To which he an-

ſwer'd

ſwer'd in theſe Words: *I have neither Eyes to ſee, Ears to hear, nor Tongue to ſpeak in this Place, ſave what this Houſe gives me.* The King reply'd, *I think you are in the right*: And then addreſſing himſelf to the Houſe, ſaid, 'That he was ſorry he had 'been neceſſitated to come thither: That no King 'of *England* had been more careful to preſerve the 'Privileges of Parliament than he deſired to be; but 'that thoſe five Members being dangerous Perſons, 'he had been oblig'd to purſue them, not by Force, 'but by the ordinary Forms of Juſtice: That he hop'd 'the Parliament would ſend them to him, to juſtify 'themſelves, if they could; if not, he knew how to 'find them.' Which ſaid, he retired, ſeveral of the Members crying out, *Privilege, Privilege!* 17 Car. I.

The Behaviour of ſome who attended the King to the Lobby of the Houſe, was inſiſted upon as an Argument that he was reſolv'd to uſe Violence upon the Parliament. However, this was the moſt unfortunate Step King *Charles* could have made at that Juncture; and nothing could have been more prejudicial to his Intereſt and Honour than this Enterprize: which if it had ſucceeded, would have ſerv'd to no Purpoſe but that of blackening him for breaking the ordinary Courſe of Law and Juſtice; and being diſappointed, was the more popular Suggeſtion to Self-Defence and open War.

Whoever they were that adviſ'd the King to this raſh Attempt, they are juſtly chargeable with all the Blood that was afterwards ſpilt; for this ſudden Action was the firſt and viſible Ground of all the following Miſeries. The Commons fell immediately upon remonſtrating againſt this Breach of Privilege; and to prevent ſuch further Aſſaults at *Weſtminſter*, they ſat in a Committee at *Guild-Hall*, from whence, after a few Days, they return'd to *Weſtminſter*, accompanied with Guards from the City both by Land and Water. And now there followed nothing but Confuſion and Tumults, Fears and Jealouſies every where, which ſpread themſelves to *Whitehall* in the rudeſt manner; ſo that his Majeſty not thinking himſelf ſafe there, on *January* the tenth retir'd with his Family to *Hampton-Court*, thence to *Windſor*, and by degrees to *York*, coming no more to *Weſtminſter* till he was brought thither a Priſoner and as a Malefactor. Commons remonſtrate. King leaves *Whitehall*.

On

An. 1641. On *January* the twelfth his Majesty sent a gracious Message to the House, 'That he would wave 'his Proceedings against the five Members, and be as 'careful of their Privileges as of his own Life or 'Crown:' and gave them fresh Assurances of it, *January* the fourteenth; and offer'd a general Pardon, *February* the second. Yet nothing would do; they made a large Declaration against the late Action; they encourag'd Petitions out of the Country in Abhorrence of it; they impeach'd the Attorney-General for preferring the Articles; and got a Sentence from the Lords to disable him from being Member, Assistant or Pleader in either House, and to commit him to Prison during the Houses Pleasure.

Message to the House.

Proceedings of the Commons.

And now in the King's Absence the Parliament went on vigorously with their Measures. They order'd a Guard to be set about the *Tower*, and took the Lieutenancy from Sir *John Biron*; drew in the *Scotch* Commissioners to offer a Mediation; endeavour'd to take the *Militia* out of the King's Hands into their own, and sent out repeated Declarations: While he on his Part sent Messages, Answers, and Replies, drawn up with a great deal of Temper; and making Propositions for the Remedy of all Evils, on *January* 20. wherein he concludes, 'How ready 'he will be to exceed the greatest Examples of the 'most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and 'Favour to their People: So that if all the present 'Distractions, which so apparently threaten the Ruin 'of this Kingdom, do not by the Blessing of God, 'end in a happy and blessed Accommodation, his 'Majesty will be ready to call Heaven and Earth to 'witness, that it hath not fail'd on his Part.' And when on *March* 9. a Committee presented to him at *New-Market* a Declaration of both Houses, he made a most pathetical Speech to them, wherein he has these Words: 'What would you have? Have I vi-'olated your Laws? Have I denied to pass any Bill 'for the Ease and Security of my Subjects? I do not 'ask you what you have done for me. Have any of 'my People been transported with Fears and Appre-'hensions? I have offer'd as free and general a Par-'don as your selves can devise. All this consider'd, 'there is a Judgment from Heaven upon this Na-'tion, if these Distractions continue. God so deal

'with

'with me and mine, as all my Thoughts and Intentions are upright for the Maintenance of the true 'Proteſtant Profeſſion, and for the Obſervation and 'Preſervation of the Laws of this Land; and I hope 'God will bleſs and aſſiſt thoſe Laws for my Preſervation.' 17 Car. I.

On the twenty ſixth of *March* the Lords and Commons ſent a Petition to the King at *York*, to juſtify their Declaration which had been deliver'd at *Newmarket*, and to deſire him to return, and cloſe with the Counſel and Deſire of his Parliament. To which his Majeſty return'd Anſwer, 'That they ought 'not to look upon him as *gone*, but *driven* from them; 'that if they could not make his Reſidence in *London* ſafe, he would be content the Parliament ſhould 'be adjourn'd to ſuch a Place, where he might be fitly and ſafely with them. For tho he was not pleaſed to be at that Diſtance, yet they are not to expect his Preſence till they ſhould ſecure him againſt 'his juſt Apprehenſions of tumultuary Inſolences, and 'likewiſe give him Satisfaction for thoſe inſupportable 'and inſolent Scandals that were rais'd upon him.' An. 1642. The two Houſes ſend a Petition to the King. His Anſwer.

Shortly after the Parliament ſent this Meſſage to his Majeſty, 'That the Lords and Commons had 'found it neceſſary to put to Sea a ſtrong and powerful Navy, the Charge whereof was to be born by 'the Commonwealth; and taking notice of the Indiſpoſition of the Lord Admiral, they had recommended the Earl of *Warwick* to ſupply his Room; 'and deſired his Majeſty, that he would withdraw 'his Pleaſure of giving that Command to Sir *John* '*Pennington*.' And ſtill ſuſpecting the King's Deſigns, that he would ſome time or other take Advantage againſt them, and break thro the good Laws he had paſs'd, and again introduce Arbitrary Government, they endeavour'd to get the *Militia* into their own Power, that they might put it into the Hands of ſuch whom they could entirely truſt. For this purpoſe, having paſt a Bill in both Houſes, they ſent it to his Majeſty for his Royal Aſſent: But this he abſolutely refus'd, and gave his Reaſons in a Meſſage to the two Houſes, wherein he ſays, 'You have by 'this Bill put the Power of the whole Kingdom, the 'Life and Liberty of the Subjects of all Degrees and Meſſage from the Parliament. King refuſes the *Militia* Bill.

'Qua-

An. 1642. ‘ Qualities, into the Hands of particular Men for two ‘ Years: Can you imagine we will truſt ſuch an ab- ‘ ſolute Power in the Hands of particular Perſons, ‘ which we refuſed to commit to our two Houſes of ‘ Parliament? Nay, is not the Power it ſelf too ab- ‘ ſolute, too unlimited, to be committed to any pri- ‘ vate Hands? Hath not Sir *John Hotham*'s high ‘ Inſolence ſhewed us what we may expect from an ‘ exorbitant legal Power, when he by a Power not ‘ warranted by Law dares venture upon a treaſonable ‘ Diſobedience?

Sir *John Hotham* withſtands the King at *Hull*.

The Repulſe which Sir *John Hotham* gave the King, was thus occaſion'd: In the laſt Expedition againſt the *Scots*, *Hull* was made the common Magazine, and had great Store of Arms and Ammunition ſtill preſerved in it. This Place would have been of the greateſt Importance to his Majeſty's Service; and therefore the Parliament ſent down Sir *John Hotham* to take poſſeſſion of it, and to be Governour in their Name, not only without the King's Commiſſion, but againſt it. For the King had given the Government of the Gariſon to the Earl of *Newcaſtle*. Upon this his Majeſty with about three hundred Horſe, on *April* twenty third, came to *Hull*, and having the Gates ſhut againſt him, commanded them to be open'd: But Sir *John Hotham* anſwered, *That he was entruſted by the Parliament to ſecure the Town for his Majeſty's Honour, and the Kingdom's Uſe, and he intended by God's Help ſo to do.* Upon reiterated Demands and Denials, the King was content to proclaim Sir *John Hotham* a Traitor, and return to *York*; from whence he complained to the Parliament of the Affront he had receiv'd at *Hull*; who, to manifeſt their Approbation of Sir *John Hotham*'s Conduct, declar'd, *That he had done his Duty in denying the King Admittance into the Town*; aſſerting, *That the Command of the* Militia *was entruſted with the King, to be employed for the Good of the Nation, of which the two Houſes of Parliament ſitting are the proper Judges.*

King ſummons the Gentry of *Yorkſhire*.

On *May* 12. the King ſummon'd the Gentry of *Yorkſhire* to appear before him, and complaining of the Parliament's Commiſſioners, who ſtaid there to watch him, when he had expreſly commanded them to return, he told them, ‘ You ſee my Magazine is ‘ going to be taken from me, being my own proper ‘ Goods,

'Goods, directly againſt my Will; the *Militia*, a- 18 Car. I.
'gainſt Law and my Conſent, is going to be put in
'Execution; and laſtly, Sir *John Hotham*'s Treaſon
'is countenanced: All this conſider'd, none can blame
'me to apprehend Danger; therefore I have thought
'fit, upon theſe real Grounds, to tell you, that I am
'reſolved to have a Guard, (the Parliament having
'had one all this while, upon imaginary Jealouſies)
'only to ſecure my Perſon, in which I deſire your
'Concurrence and Aſſiſtance; and that I may be
'able to protect you, the Laws, and the true Proteſ-
'tant Profeſſion, from any Affront or Injury that may
'be offer'd; which I mean to maintain my ſelf, with-
'out Charge of the Country, intending no longer to
'keep them on foot than I ſhall be ſecur'd from my
'juſt Apprehenſions, by having Satisfaction in the
'Particulars before-mentioned.'

Declaration of the Parliament.

But on *May* 19. the Lords and Commons publiſh'd a Declaration, 'That it was againſt the Laws
'and Liberties of the Kingdom for any of the Sub-
'jects to be commanded by the King to attend him
'at his Pleaſure; and that whoſoever, upon pretence
'of his Majeſty's Command, ſhould take Arms, ſhall
'be eſteemed Diſturbers of the publick Peace.' And the next Day they order'd, 'That the Magazines of
'the ſeveral Counties in *England* and *Wales* ſhould
'be forthwith put into the Power of the Lords Lieu-
'tenants of the ſaid Counties reſpectively, being ſuch
'as the Parliament doth confide in.'

Votes of the Commons.

On the ſame Day the Commons voted, '1. That
'it appeared, that the King, ſeduced by wicked Coun-
'ſel, intends to make War againſt the Parliament. 2.
'That whenſoever the King makes War upon the
'Parliament, it is a Breach of the Truſt repoſed in
'him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tend-
'ing to the Diſſolution of this Government. 3. That
'whoſoever ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt him in ſuch Wars, are
'Traitors by the fundamental Laws of this King-
'dom.' Two Days after the Houſes ſent a Petition to the King to disband his Guard, and all other Forces by his Command aſſembled. And having receiv'd his Majeſty's Anſwer, *That his raiſing of a Guard was a legal Action, and was with no other Deſign than the Safety of his Perſon*; they made an Order to all Sheriffs to ſuppreſs the raiſing or meeting of any Soldiers,

An. 1642. by any Warrant from the King, without the Advice and Consent of the Lords and Commons of Parliament; and another Order to all Civil Officers, to make Stay of all Arms and Ammunition carried towards *York*.

Nineteen Propositions.

On *June* 2d. they sent *an humble Petition and Advice, with nineteen Propositions, as the most necessary and effectual Means of removing the Jealousies and Differences, which had unhappily fallen between him and his People*; which they concluded thus: 'These humble Requests being granted unto us by 'your Majesty, we shall endeavour, as we ought, to 'regulate the Revenue of your Majesty, and to 'encrease it more and more, in such sort that it 'shall support the Dignity Royal with Honour and 'Abundance, beyond whatever the Subjects of this 'Kingdom have allow'd to their Kings, your Majesty's Predecessors. We will put also the Town of '*Hull* into such Hands as your Majesty shall please, 'with the Approbation of the Parliament; and will 'give a good Account of the Munitions of War, 'and of the Magazines; and to conclude, we shall 'chearfully do our Endeavours to give your Majesty 'Testimony of our Affection, Duty and Faithfulness, 'to preserve and maintain your Royal Honour, the 'Greatness and Safety of your Majesty, and of your 'Posterity.'

His Majesty's Answer.

These Propositions were deliver'd to the King by the Commissioners of the Parliament, but without Success: For his Majesty return'd this Answer, *That their Profession of Peace, joined to such Propositions, did but appear a Mockery and a Scorn, the Demands being such, as tho he were unworthy of the Trust reposed in him by the Laws, and of his Descent from so many great and famous Ancestors; and the Contrivers of them could have no Intention of settling any firm Accommodation, but to increase those Jealousies, and widen that Division, which had now fallen (not by his Fault) between him and both Houses.*

Parliament prepares for the raising of an Army.

The Parliament now prepar'd for the raising of an Army, and published several Declarations, inviting the good People of *England to assist them with their Prayers, Persons, and Purses, to carry on this War, which they were necessitated to enter into for the Defence of the Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Parlia-*

ment of England. The Proteſtation taken by both Houſes, and by them propoſed to the People, *to ſtand by each other in their juſt and neceſſary Undertaking*, was readily and chearfully taken by them in *London* and elſewhere; and ſeveral hundreds on Horſeback from the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Hertford*, and *Eſſex*, came up with their ſeveral Petitions, acknowledging the Care and Faithfulneſs of the Parliament in the diſcharge of their Truſt, and promiſing to ſtand by them in the carrying on what they had declared for. 18 Car. I

Declarations were alſo ſet forth by the two Houſes, encouraging the People *to provide Horſes and Arms, and to bring in Plate and Money for their neceſſary Defence*; engaging the Credit of the Publick *for the Reimburſement of what ſhould be ſo advanc'd.* Which Contributions ariſing to the Value of a great Sum, they declared their Intentions of raiſing a certain Number of Horſe and Foot, with a proportionable Train of Artillery; and voted the Earl of *Eſſex* to be their General, and the Earl of *Bedford* General of the Horſe.

Several withdraw from the Parliament.

The Breach was now ſo wide, that ſeveral of the Lords and ſome few Commons, and even the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, with the great Seal, thought it high Time to withdraw from the Parliament, and to attend the King at *York*; and tho this Receſs of the King's Friends put the reſt into an abſolute Poſſeſſion of the two Houſes, and left no Oppoſition to the Torrent that was breaking forth, yet it was a mighty Comfort to the perplex'd King to begin to ſee himſelf attended by ſo many of his Nobility and Gentry: And by their Advice he proclaim'd that he would ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, on *Monday Auguſt* the twenty ſecond, which accordingly was done with ſound of Trumpet, and a Proclamation, that the Ground and Cauſe of it was to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of the Earl of *Eſſex*; to which he requir'd the Aid and Aſſiſtance of all his loving Subjects. The Standard was blown down the ſame Night it had been ſet up, by a very ſtrong and unruly Wind, and could not be fixed again in a Day or two, till the Tempeſt was allay'd.

King ſets up his Standard at *Nottingham*.

Cenſure on the Beginning of the War.

Thus all things became ripe for a fatal and bloody War, which it's reaſonable to believe was never deſign'd at firſt by either Side, each Party blaming the other for beginning this War, and it is not eaſy to determine which of them begun it. Tho the King ſeem'd

An. 1642. to make the first Step tending that Way, such as *raising a Troop for a Guard to his Person, summoning the Gentlemen and Freeholders of several Counties to attend him in his Progress to the* North, *and ordering Arms and Ammunition to be bought in* Holland *for his Use*; yet the Parliament did as much at the same time, for they likewise *raised Guards of their own, and took care that the Magazine of* Hull *should not fall into the King's Hands.* So that the King and Parliament prepared themselves insensibly for War, without considering that those Preparations must gradually and inevitably come to Blows in the End. The King's setting up his Standard at *Nottingham* was not the first publick Notice of this War; for that, as was said, was not done till *August* 22. and yet the House of Commons pass'd this Vote the twelfth of *July* before, *That an Army should be forthwith rais'd for the Safety of the King's Person, Defence of both Houses of Parliament, and of those who have obey'd their Orders and Commands; and preserving of the true Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Peace of the Kingdom.* To which the House of Lords agreed.

King's Message for Peace.

On the twenty fifth of *August*, his Majesty sent a Message to both Houses of Parliament, by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, Sir *John Culpeper*, and Sir *William Uvedale*, in order to a Treaty for a Peace, to be transacted by Commissioners on each Side. To which Message the Lords and Commons answered, 'That they could receive no Proposals till his Majesty should recal those Proclamations and Declarations, whereby the Earl of *Essex* and both Houses of Parliament, and their Adherents and Assistants, are declared Traitors, or otherwise Delinquents; and until the Standard set up in pursuance of the said Proclamation, were taken down.' To which the King replied, 'We never did declare, nor never intended to declare both Houses of Parliament Traitors; or set up our Standard against them; and much less to put them and this Kingdom out of our Protection: We utterly profess against it before God and the World; and further to remove all possible Scruples which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by us, we hereby promise, so that a Day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations against all Persons as Traitors, or otherwise, for assisting us, we shall

'ſhall with all Chearfulneſs, upon the ſame Day, re- 18 Car. I.
'cal our Proclamations and Declarations, and take
'down our Standard.' To which the Lords and Commons anſwered, 'That they believed there was no 'other Way to make himſelf happy and the Kingdom ſafe, but by leaving his Forces, and returning 'to his Parliament, and receiving their faithful Advice.' After theſe and ſome other ineffectual Meſſages, Anſwers, and Replies, both Sides made further Preparations for the War; and on the nineteenth of *September* the Earl of *Eſſex* ſet out from *London*, attended in great State by ſeveral Members of both Houſes, towards his Head-Quarters at St. *Albans*, and thence to *Northampton*, where the main Body met him, and made up fifteen thouſand Men.

Earl of *Eſſex* begins his March.

The King had march'd from *Nottingham* to *Derby*, *Stafford*, and *Leiceſter*, and ſo to *Wales*; and at *Shrewsbury* he found his Army increaſed to a conſiderable Body. In his Paſſage thro the ſeveral Counties, upon Reſort of the Gentry and People, the King had his Orders of military Diſcipline, and the following Proteſtation read to them: *I do promiſe in the Preſence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his Bleſſing and Protection, that I will, to the utmoſt of my Power, defend and maintain the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England, *and by the Grace of God in the ſame will live and die. I deſire to govern by the known Laws of the Land, and that the Liberty and Property of the Subjects may be by them preſerved with the ſame Care as my own juſt Rights. And if it pleaſe God, by a Bleſſing upon this Army, raiſed for my neceſſary Defence, to preſerve me from this Rebellion, I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe, in the Sight of God, to maintain the juſt Privileges and Freedom of Parliament; and to govern by the known Laws of the Land, to my utmoſt Power; and particularly to obſerve inviolably the Laws conſented to by me this Parliament. In the mean while, if this Time of War, and the great Neceſſity and Straits I am now driven to, beget any Violation of thoſe, I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this War, and not to me who have ſo earneſtly laboured for the Preſervation of the Peace of this Kingdom. When I willingly fail in theſe Particulars, I will expect no*

King's Proteſtation.

An. 1642. *Aid or Relief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven; but in this Resolution I hope for the chearful Assistance of all good Men, and a Confidence of God's Blessing.*

The first Rencounter.

The first Rencounter was at *Powick-Bridge* near *Worcester*, *September* the 22d. The Earl of *Essex* was on his March with his Army towards *Worcester*, intending that Place for a Head-Quarter, wherein lay Sir *John Biron* with some of the King's Forces; and Prince *Rupert* with a good Body of Horse came to secure their Retreat from the Town before the Parliament's Army reached to it. When the Prince was advanced within two Miles of *Worcester*, he was charg'd by a Party of Horse, commanded by Colonel *Sandys*; but he and Major *Douglas* were both slain, four Colours taken, and the Defeat so entirely given, that the Prince opened a clear Passage for the King's Forces to march away from *Worcester*, before *Essex* with his Army entered.

Declaration and Protestation of the Parliament.

On the twenty second of *October*, the Lords and Commons set forth their Declaration and Protestation to this Kingdom and to the whole World: 'That 'they do, in the Presence of Almighty God, for the 'Satisfaction of their Consciences, and the Discharge 'of the Trust which lies upon them, declare to this 'Kingdom and the whole World, That no private 'Passion or Respect, no evil Intention to his Majesty's Person, no Design to the Prejudice of his just 'Honour and Authority, have engaged them to raise 'Forces, and to take up Arms against the Authors of 'this War, wherein the Kingdom is now inflamed: 'That they had professed their Loyalty by several '*Remonstrances*; that they had passed by ignominious Slanders, *&c.* that for the avoiding of Blood, 'they had directed the Earl of *Essex* to cause a Petition to be presented to the King, and safe Conduct 'was refused for the Delivery of it: That he was 'engaged to the Popish Party for Suppression and 'Extirpation of the true Religion, and exposing the 'Wealth of this Kingdom to be plundered by *Cavaliers*, contrary to his solemn Oaths, Protestations, 'and Execrations; and therefore they resolved to 'enter into a solemn Oath and Covenant to defend 'this Cause with the Hazard of their Lives against 'the King's Army: And they expected Help here

'from

'from their Brethren of *Scotland*: And they doubted 18 Car. I.
'not but the God of Truth, and the great Protector
'of his People, would enable them to reſtrain the
'Malice of thoſe who ſeek their Ruin, to ſecure the
'Perſons, Eſtates, and Liberties of all ſuch as ſhall
'join with them, and to eſtabliſh the Safety of Reli-
'gion, and Enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties,
'in this and all other his Majeſty's Dominions; which
'they here again profeſs before God to be the chief
'end of all their Counſels and Reſolutions, without
'any Intention to hurt his Majeſty either in his Per-
'ſon or his juſt Power.'

The King having greatly augmented his Forces, ſeem'd reſolv'd to leave *Eſſex* behind him, and to march directly for *London*: This Apprehenſion put the Parliament into ſo much Terror, that they ſent expreſs Orders to their General, to haſten after the King, and interrupt his March. Which Order was ſo well executed, that while the King was ſummoning *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire* to ſurrender to him, he received Advice on Sunday Morning, *October* 23. that the Army of the Parliament was advanc'd to *Keynton* in *Warwickſhire*: Upon which the King gave immediate Orders for his whole Army to march with all Expedition to *Edge-hill*, three Miles from *Keynton*. When they came about Noon to the top of the Hill, they could ſee the other Army drawing into Battalia in *Keynton* Field; and ſo went down the Hill to receive them. The Ordnance play'd ſome time, beginning from the Parliament's Army. The Charge began between the two Wings of the Horſe: That of the King's broke, and purſu'd that of the Parliament with great Execution for three Miles together; but when the Bodies of Foot engag'd, a Reſerve of the Parliament's Horſe charged the Flank of the King's Foot, who wanting the Support of the Horſe, which had too far purſu'd that of the Parliament, and thought the Day their own, was in great danger, till the Horſe rallied and reliev'd them. The Night coming on, both Armies retreated, and the next Day looked one upon another, till the Earl of *Eſſex* withdrew to *Warwick*, and the King returned to *Banbury*, and forced that Gariſon to ſurrender to him. Two different Relations of this Battel were publiſh'd, one by his Majeſty's Command at *Oxford*,

Edge-hill Fight.

An. 1642. the other by an Order of the Commons at *London*, both Sides claiming the Honour of a Victory, when it could not be ſo called on either ſide; yet the King was much better entitled to the Credit of it, by killing the greater Numbers, and taking the greater Spoil, and ſeeing the Enemy break up and retire, while he immediately took a Gariſon, which had juſt before refus'd to yield to him; tho he loſt in this Fight, the Earl of *Lindſey*, General of his Army.

The King marched from *Banbury* to *Oxford*, thence to *Reading*, and ſo in nearer Approaches towards *London*. At *Colebrook*, *November* 11. he receiv'd a Petition of the two Houſes for a Treaty, towards which he had granted a ſafe Conduct to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, to Viſcount *Wenman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, and Sir *John Hippeſly*. It was expected, and indeed the King had reſolv'd to draw back to *Reading*, and there rely upon the Treaty: but Prince *Rupert*, unhappily elevated with the Terror his Name gave to the Enemy, and too much truſting to the common Reports of unqueſtionable Succeſs if he drew near to *London*, without any Directions from the King, the very next Morning after the Return of the Committee, advanc'd with the Horſe and Dragoons to *Hounſlow*, and there ſent to the King to deſire him that the Army might march after. Which now proved of abſolute Neceſſity: for the Earl of *Eſſex* had Part of his Army at *Brentford*, and others at *Acton* and *Kingſton*; ſo that if the King had not advanced with his Body, thoſe before might eaſily have been ſurrounded, and their Retreat made very dangerous. The King therefore, by the advantage of a thick Miſt, march'd his whole Army, and was advanc'd within half a mile of *Brentford*, before it was known. His Forces attacked the new Works there, and firſt fell furiouſly upon the Regiment of Colonel *Holtis*, who made a brave Reſiſtance, but in all probability had been cut in pieces, had not thoſe of *Brook* and *Hamden* come in to their Relief. They continu'd to defend themſelves till towards Night, when the King's Men made themſelves Maſters of the Town, and plunder'd it: Beſides the Priſoners they took there amounting to about five hundred, eleven Colours, fifteen Cannon, and a good Store of Ammunition fell into their hands. But this

Brentford Fight.

Victory

Victory prov'd not at all fortunate to his Majeſty: for the two Houſes having conceiv'd a good Opinion of his Anſwer to their Petition, they had ſent Orders to their Forces not to exerciſe any Acts of Hoſtility; and at the ſame time, diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to deſire there might be the like forbearance on the King's Part. They look'd upon this Attempt therefore as a Surpriſe contrary to Faith, and the betraying the Parliament's Forces to a Maſſacre, under the ſpecious Pretence of a Treaty for Peace. 18 Car. I.

As the Courage and Bravery of the Parliament's Party, in oppoſing the King's Paſſage, was much to be admir'd, (which if they had not done, he had in all probability advanc'd and ſurpriz'd the Parliament and City) ſo the Vigilance of the Parliament for their own Safety and Preſervation, was very remarkable on this Occaſion: For when the firſt News of this unexpected Fight was brought to *London*, where the Noiſe of the Guns was eaſily heard, (the Earl of *Eſſex* then ſitting in the Houſe of Peers) the Parliament us'd ſuch diligence to get their Forces together, that by eight of the Clock the next Morning they had a Body of 20000 Horſe and Foot drawn up on *Turnham-Green*, the City all Night pouring out Men that Way. Hereupon ſome were for engaging the King, and others againſt it; but whilſt they were conſulting, his Majeſty drew off his Carriages and Ordnance, and ſo retreated. Vigilance of the Parliament.

About the End of *November*, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* had aſſociated the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, the *Biſhoprick* of *Durham* and *Newcaſtle*, for the Defence and Aſſiſtance of the King; and was marching at the Head of a conſiderable Army towards *York*, and at *Piercebrig* beat a Party of the Lord *Fairfax*'s Horſe commanded by Captain *Hotham*, and enter'd *York*, and had his Commiſſion enlarg'd to govern that and other Counties. Upon which, by a Declaration of the two Houſes, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſent a Commiſſion to the Lord *Fairfax* to command in chief for the Parliament in the *Northern* Parts. Earl of *Newcaſtle* aſſociates the *Northern* Counties.

On the firſt of *December*, Sir *William Waller* with a Party of Horſe took *Farnham* Caſtle from the Poſſeſſion of Mr. *Denham*, High-Sheriff, and other Commiſſioners of Array for the King. On the fifth, the

Lord

An. 1642. Lord *Digby* with ſome Troops took *Marlborough*, which had been fortified, and was defended by the Parliament's Forces. On the thirteenth, Sir *William Waller* recovered *Wincheſter* for the Parliament; and on the eighteenth of the ſame Month, Colonel *Ruthin*, Commander of the Gariſon of *Plymouth* for the Parliament, ſurpriz'd the High-Sheriff of *Devonſhire*, and other Commiſſioners of Array, and ſent them Priſoners to *London*. And in moſt Parts of *England*, Skirmiſhes, Aſſaults and Sallies were ſo frequent and ſo fierce, that all People dreaded the ſad Effects of a Civil War.

Cirencester taken from the Parliament.

On *February* 2. the Town of *Cirenceſter*, a ſtrong Gariſon of the Parliament's, was taken by Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Stamford*'s Regiment put to the Sword; and great Numbers of Priſoners brought to *Oxford* in an ignominious manner: which was made uſe of to improve the Charge of Pride and Cruelty on the King's ſide.

On the firſt of *March*, *Litchfield* being held for the King by the Lord *Cheſterfield*, was aſſaulted by the Lord *Brook*, who gain'd the Town, but in ſtorming the Cloſe and Church, loſt his Life by a Bullet in the left Eye.

Salt-Heath Fight.

On the nineteenth of the ſame Month, there was a ſharp Fight at *Salt-Heath* near *Stafford*, between the King's Forces commanded by the Earl of *Northampton* and Colonel *Haſtings*, and the Parliament's under Conduct of Sir *John Gell* and Sir *William Brereton*. The King's Forces, at firſt victorious, were in effect defeated by the ſingle Loſs of their General, the valiant Earl of *Northampton*.

The Queen had been ſome time in *Holland*, ſoliciting Aid, and providing Supplies for the King. The two Houſes, to hinder her Endeavours, ſent over *Walter Strickland* Eſq; with a Letter and Declaration to the States, and prevailed with them to declare for a Neutrality with the King and Parliament. But however, the Queen with great diligence and importunity, had procured ſeveral Ships of Arms and Ammunition; and on *February* 22. landed at *Burlington* in the Eaſt-Riding of *Yorkſhire*; and being received there by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Army, was conducted to *York*, to the great improvement of his Majeſty's Intereſt in thoſe Parts.

The Queen procures Arms and Ammunition in Holland, and returns.

The

The Action at *Brentford* had interrupted a Treaty, that was then under Agitation, and that was now renewed by the two Houſes; at whoſe deſire, the King granted a ſafe Conduct to their Commiſſioners to come to *Oxford*, and deliver to him the humble Deſires and Propoſitions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled: '1. That his Majeſty will be 'pleas'd to disband his Army, as they likewiſe ſhould 'be ready to disband all thoſe Forces which they 'had rais'd; and that he will return to his Parliament. '2. That he would leave Delinquents to a legal 'Tryal and Judgment of Parliament. 3. That the 'Papiſts be not only disbanded, but diſarm'd according 'to Law:' With ten other Propoſitions. To which his Majeſty gave Anſwer, 'That if he had not 'given up all the Faculties of his Soul to an earneſt 'Endeavour of Peace and Reconciliation with his 'People, or if he would ſuffer himſelf by any Provo-'cation to be drawn to a ſharpneſs of Language at a 'time when there ſeems ſomewhat like an Overture 'of Accomodation, he could not but reſent the heavy 'Charges upon him, *&c.* But tho many of their 'Propoſitions did appear very derogatory from, and 'deſtructive to his juſt Power and Prerogative, and 'no way beneficial to his Subjects; yet he was pleas'd 'that a ſpeedy Time and Place be agreed upon for 'meeting of ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty and both 'Houſes ſhould appoint to diſcuſs their Propoſitions, 'and ſuch others as his Majeſty now propoſed: 1. *That 'his Majeſty's Revenue, Magazines, Forts*, &c. *which 'have been taken or kept from him by force, be forth-'with reſtored unto him.* 2. *That whatſoever hath 'been done contrary to the known Laws of the Land, 'or derogatory to his Majeſty's legal and known Power 'and Rights, be renounced and recalled.* And after 'three other Propoſitions, Laſtly, *To the intent this 'Treaty may not ſuffer Interruption by any inter-'vening Accidents, that a Ceſſation of Arms, and 'free Trade for all his Majeſty's Subjects, may be firſt 'agreed upon.*' In Proſecution of this Treaty, on *February* 28. the Lords and Commons ſent to his Majeſty *Articles for a Ceſſation.* To which his Majeſty return'd a Meſſage *March* 6. propoſing ſuch Articles as he thought more ſafe and reaſonable. To which the Parliament again made Additions and Alterations;

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Treaty at *Oxford.*

An. 1642. terations; and the King further Exceptions: ſo that all that could be done this Year, was for the Parliament to grant leave for their Commiſſioners to treat, tho the *Ceſſation* was not agreed upon.

An. 1643. The next Year began with the Proſecution of the ſame Treaty between the Commiſſioners from the Parliament and the King in Perſon at *Oxford*; which was manag'd with ſeveral Inſtructions, Propoſitions, Anſwers and Replies, till at length it ſeem'd to promiſe a good and happy Iſſue. The King us'd the Commiſſioners with great Favour aud Civility. They were often waiting upon him, and debating ſome Points of the Treaty with him until Midnight, before they came to a Concluſion. Upon one of the moſt material Points they preſſed his Majeſty with their Reaſons and beſt Arguments they could uſe, to grant what they deſired. The King ſaid, *he was fully ſatisfy'd, and promis'd to give them his Anſwer in Writing, according to their Deſire:* But becauſe it was then paſt Midnight, and too late to put it into Writing, he would have it drawn up next Morning, when he commanded them *to wait on him again, and then he would give them his Anſwer in Writing, as it was now agreed upon.* They went to their Lodgings full of joyful Hopes to receive his Anſwer the next Morning; and which being given, would have conduced to a happy Iſſue and Succeſs of the Treaty. The next Morning they waited on him at the Hour appointed; but inſtead of the Anſwer which they expected, and were promis'd, the King gave them a Paper quite contrary to what was concluded the Night before. Upon this they expoſtulated with his Majeſty, and preſs'd him upon his Royal Word, and the ill Conſequence which they feared would follow upon this new Anſwer. But the King told them *he had altered his Mind, and that this Paper he now gave them was his Anſwer, and which he was reſolved to make upon their laſt Debate*; and as they could obtain no other from him, it occaſioned them much Sadneſs and Trouble. Some of his own Friends, of whom the Commiſſioners enquir'd touching this Change in the King, inform'd them, That after they were gone from him, and his Council alſo were retired, ſome of his Bed-Chamber (and they went higher) hearing what

what Anſwer he had promis'd, and doubting it would tend to a ſpeedier Iſſue of the Treaty than they wiſh'd for, never left preſſing him till they had prevailed with him to change his Reſolutions. However, this Anſwer was ſent in a Meſſage to both Houſes, *April* 12. and as ſoon as they had receiv'd it, they immediately recalled their Commiſſioners from *Oxford*; and ſo the Treaty having continued from the fourth of *March* to the fifteenth of *April*, was unhappily broken off, tho the main Articles ſeem'd eaſy enough to be adjuſted, and the only Queſtion was, who ſhould be firſt and moſt truſted in the Performance of them. 19 Car. I. The Treaty broken off.

The Treaty being broken off, the War was now carried on with more Fury than before. The moſt active Raiſer of Forces for the Parliament, was Sir *William Waller*, who on *March* 16. had advanced from *Briſtol*, and forced the Town of *Malmsbury* (gariſon'd for the King, and commanded by Colonel *Herbert Lunsford*) to ſurrender; after which he defeated a great Body of *Welſh* near *Gloceſter*, rais'd and led by the Lord *Herbert*, Son to the Marquiſs of *Worceſter*: Thence he marched and took *Chepſtow*, *Monmouth* and *Hereford*, and ſo victorioufly on, till at *Round-Way-Down* in *Wiltſhire*, he was ſhamefully beat, and forced to poſt up to *London*. War proſecuted.

The Earl of *Eſſex* with the Parliament's main Army, beſieged *Reading* on *April* 15. commanded by Sir *Arthur Aſton*, who being wounded in the Batteries, was forced to ſubſtitute Colonel *Fielding* in his Place: but he hung out a Flag, and enter'd upon a Treaty of Surrender; and while that was depending, the King in Perſon marched from *Wallingford* to raiſe the Siege: But not being able to gain the Paſs at *Caveſham-Bridge*, he retir'd, and *Fielding* ſurrendered the Town upon Articles; for which he was ſhortly after by a Council of War at *Oxford*, ſentenced to die, but by his Majeſty's Favour reprieved. *Reading* beſieged.

Her Majeſty, after her Arrival from *Holland*, had lain ſome time at *York*, ſending Arms and Ammunition to *Oxford*; and reſolved now to go thither to attend her Royal Conſort, by whom ſhe was met at *Edge-hill*, having been abſent from him almoſt a Year and a half. King and Queen meet.

On

An. 1642. terations; and the King further Exceptions: so that all that could be done this Year, was for the Parliament to grant leave for their Commissioners to treat, tho the *Cessation* was not agreed upon.

An. 1643. The next Year began with the Prosecution of the same Treaty between the Commissioners from the Parliament and the King in Person at *Oxford*; which was manag'd with several Instructions, Propositions, Answers and Replies, till at length it seem'd to promise a good and happy Issue. The King us'd the Commissioners with great Favour aud Civility. They were often waiting upon him, and debating some Points of the Treaty with him until Midnight, before they came to a Conclusion. Upon one of the most material Points they press'd his Majesty with their Reasons and best Arguments they could use, to grant what they desired. The King said, *he was fully satisfy'd, and promis'd to give them his Answer in Writing, according to their Desire:* But because it was then past Midnight, and too late to put it into Writing, he would have it drawn up next Morning, when he commanded them *to wait on him again, and then he would give them his Answer in Writing, as it was now agreed upon.* They went to their Lodgings full of joyful Hopes to receive his Answer the next Morning; and which being given, would have conduced to a happy Issue and Success of the Treaty. The next Morning they waited on him at the Hour appointed; but instead of the Answer which they expected, and were promis'd, the King gave them a Paper quite contrary to what was concluded the Night before. Upon this they expostulated with his Majesty, and press'd him upon his Royal Word, and the ill Consequence which they feared would follow upon this new Answer. But the King told them *he had altered his Mind, and that this Paper he now gave them was his Answer, and which he was resolved to make upon their last Debate*; and as they could obtain no other from him, it occasioned them much Sadness and Trouble. Some of his own Friends, of whom the Commissioners enquir'd touching this Change in the King, inform'd them, That after they were gone from him, and his Council also were retired, some of his Bed-Chamber (and they went higher) hearing what

what Anſwer he had promis'd, and doubting it would tend to a ſpeedier Iſſue of the Treaty than they wiſh'd for, never left preſſing him till they had prevailed with him to change his Reſolutions. However, this Anſwer was ſent in a Meſſage to both Houſes, *April* 12. and as ſoon as they had receiv'd it, they immediately recalled their Commiſſioners from *Oxford*; and ſo the Treaty having continued from the fourth of *March* to the fifteenth of *April*, was unhappily broken off, tho the main Articles ſeem'd eaſy enough to be adjuſted, and the only Queſtion was, who ſhould be firſt and moſt truſted in the Performance of them. 19 Car. I. The Treaty broken off.

The Treaty being broken off, the War was now carried on with more Fury than before. The moſt active Raiſer of Forces for the Parliament, was Sir *William Waller*, who on *March* 16. had advanced from *Briſtol*, and forced the Town of *Malmsbury* (gariſon'd for the King, and commanded by Colonel *Herbert Lunsford*) to ſurrender; after which he defeated a great Body of *Welſh* near *Gloceſter*, rais'd and led by the Lord *Herbert*, Son to the Marquiſs of *Worceſter*: Thence he marched and took *Chepſtow*, *Monmouth* and *Hereford*, and ſo victorioufly on, till at *Round-Way-Down* in *Wiltſhire*, he was ſhamefully beat, and forced to poſt up to *London*. War proſecuted.

The Earl of *Eſſex* with the Parliament's main Army, beſieged *Reading* on *April* 15. commanded by Sir *Arthur Aſton*, who being wounded in the Batteries, was forced to ſubſtitute Colonel *Fielding* in his Place: but he hung out a Flag, and enter'd upon a Treaty of Surrender; and while that was depending, the King in Perſon marched from *Wallingford* to raiſe the Siege: But not being able to gain the Paſs at *Caveſham-Bridge*, he retir'd, and *Fielding* ſurrendered the Town upon Articles; for which he was ſhortly after by a Council of War at *Oxford*, ſentenced to die, but by his Majeſty's Favour reprieved. *Reading* beſieged.

Her Majeſty, after her Arrival from *Holland*, had lain ſome time at *York*, ſending Arms and Ammunition to *Oxford*; and reſolved now to go thither to attend her Royal Conſort, by whom ſhe was met at *Edge-hill*, having been abſent from him almoſt a Year and a half. King and Queen meet.

On

An. 1643. Battel at *Lansdown*.

On *July* 5. there was a Battel at *Lansdown*, between the King's Forces commanded by Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Carnarvan*, and the Parliament's led by Sir *William Waller*. Both Parties were sufficiently tired and battered. The *Corniſh*-Men, commanded by Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, ſtood their Ground till they came to the puſh of Pike, but were then routed, and Sir *Bevil* killed. *Waller* in the Night marched away to *Bath*, and in the Morning the King's Army found themſelves poſſeſſed of the Field, and the Dead, and all other Enſigns of Victory.

Several deſert the Parliament.

Many of thoſe who ſided with the Parliament, ſeeing the ſad Effects of Civil War, began now to deſert them, and to reconcile themſelves to his Majeſty's Favour and Service; as Colonel *Goring* at *Portſmouth*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley* Governor of *Scarborough*, and even Sir *John Hotham* Governor of *Hull*, who had been brought over to the Royal Intereſt by the Lord *Digby*. This Gentleman, with his Son Captain *Hotham*, had been ſuſpected for ſome time by the Parliament's Party, of holding Correſpondence with their Enemies, particularly with the Earl of *Newcaſtle*: and it being known that they intended afterwards to deliver up *Hull* to the King, which was prevented but juſt before it was to have been done, Sir *John* was ſeiz'd by Colonel *Boynton*, and his Son by Sir *John Meldrum*; and being both ſent up to *London*, were committed to the Tower. Some time after they were try'd by a Court Martial, of which Sir *William Waller* was Preſident, and being both prov'd guilty, were ſentenc'd to die, and beheaded on *Tower-hill*, notwithſtanding the great Services they had done the Parliament in ſecuring *Hull* at the breaking out of the War, and the great Sollicitations made in their favour to both Houſes.

The two *Hothams* beheaded.

Deſign of *Chaloner* and others.

Mr. *Waller*, *Tompkins*, *Chaloner*, and others, had entered into a more expeditious Deſign to ſeize ſome leading Members, and ſurprize the City, and bring up the King to diſſolve the Parliament; but they were all diſcover'd, try'd and condemn'd: *Tompkins* and *Chaloner* were hang'd; but Mr. *Waller* having been a Member well affected at firſt to the Cauſe, and one of the Commiſſioners in the Treaty at *Oxford*, was repriev'd by General *Eſſex*, and after a Year's Impriſonment, purchas'd his Pardon for ten thouſand Pounds;

Pounds; and travelling into *France*, improved himſelf in good Letters, and for the reſt of his Life, which was very long, he choſe rather to be admir'd for a Poet than to be envied for a Politician. 19 Car. I.

Several of the greateſt Lords as well as Commons came over to the King; but many of them thinking themſelves to be ſlighted or ſuſpected, again cooled in their Loyalty, and returned to be Enemies or Neuters. The two potent Earls of *Holland* and *Bedford* withdrew from the Parliament about *Auguſt* 25. and waited on the King at *Oxford* with great Profeſſions of Duty and Allegiance; yet ſoon after deſerted him, and took refuge again at *Weſtminſter*. The Earl of *Clare* did the ſame.

The two Houſes, to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the growing Intereſt of the King, reſolv'd to ſend for Aſſiſtance into *Scotland*, by Commiſſioners choſe out of both Houſes to go and negotiate a Treaty of Alliance; who came to *Edinburgh Auguſt* 7. and brought with them a Declaration of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England* to the Kingdom and Eſtates of *Scotland*, and another to the General Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland*. They promis'd to aid their Brethren in *England* upon Condition of taking the *ſolemn League and Covenant*, and tranſmitted a Form of it to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*; where it was conſented to *Auguſt* 28. order'd to be printed and publiſh'd *September* 21. and the next Day taken by the Houſe of Commons and Aſſembly of Divines. And tho his Majeſty publiſh'd a Proclamation againſt taking it, dated *October* 15. it was by degrees impos'd and rigorouſly exacted of all People, as they would eſcape the Brand and Penalty of Malignants. The two Houſes ſend to the *Scots* for Aſſiſtance.

In the mean time, the chief Actions in the Field were the Siege of *Briſtol* by Prince *Rupert*, who attack'd it with ſo much Bravery, that he brought the Governour Colonel *Fiennes* to a Parley, and a Surrender upon Articles *July* 22. *Briſtol* taken by Prince *Rupert*.

Soon after this, his Majeſty laid Siege to *Gloceſter*; and had he carried that Place, would in all probability have brought the Parliament to ſubmit to his Terms. The Beſieged under the Command of Colonel *Maſſey*, made as brave a Defence as was known during the whole Courſe of this War, notwithſtanding the Diſcourage- Siege of *Gloceſter*.

An. 1643. couragements they were under, and the advantageous Terms that were offer'd them in caſe they would ſurrender. The Parliament and City of *London* exerted themſelves on this Occaſion, and ſent out an Army of 20000 Men under the Earl of *Eſſex*, beſides ſeveral Regiments of the City Trainbands and Auxiliaries; with which he marcht with that diligence, that the King was forc'd to raiſe the Siege, after he had ſat down there 26 Days.

First Battel at *Newbury*.

About ten days after, *viz. September* 20. the Earl of *Eſſex* fell on the King's Army at *Newbury*, who maintain'd the Fight from ſeven in the Morning till eight at Night, when the King ſuffering much the greater Loſs, drew off his Forces and marched to *Oxford*, having loſt three excellent Perſons of Quality, the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*; the laſt of whom, tho he was Secretary of State to the King, and followed his Fortune, yet ſeeing all his Endeavours for promoting of Peace were in vain, he went on with a Party to ſkirmiſh with the Enemy the Day before the Battel was fought; and being diſſuaded by his Friends, as having no Call to it, being no military Perſon, he ſaid, *He was weary of the Times, and foreſaw much Miſery to his Country, and hoped he ſhould be out of it e'er Night*: So puſhing into the Battel, he was ſlain.

The two Houſes order a new Great-Seal.

The two Houſes wanted nothing ſo much as the Broad-Seal, that had been carried away by the Lord-Keeper *Littleton* to the King: Hence the Commons voted, 1. That the Great-Seal of *England* ought to attend the Parliament. 2. That the Abſence thereof hath been a Cauſe of great Miſchief to the Commonwealth. 3. That a Remedy ought to be provided for thoſe Miſchiefs. 4. That the proper Remedy is by making a new Seal. Upon theſe Reſolutions a Conference was had with the Lords, who were prevailed with to join in an Ordinance dated *November* 11. That every Act under the old Seal ſhould be void, and that a New Great-Seal of *England*, already by them made and provided, ſhould only be in force, and put in the Cuſtody of theſe following Commiſſioners, *John* Earl of *Rutland*, (in whoſe Room was ſubſtituted *Ruthin* Earl of *Kent*) *Oliver* Earl of *Bolingbrook*, *Oliver St. John* Eſq; *John Wild* Serjeant

jeant at Law, *Samuel Brown* and *Edmund Prideaux* Eſquires. 19 Car. I.

An Ordinance was made *September* 21. *For the due and orderly receiving and collecting of the King's, Queen's and Prince's Revenue, and the Arrearages thereof.* And in return, the King iſſued a Proclamation *September* 25. *forbidding all the Tenants or Debtors of ſuch as are in actual and open Rebellion, or who adhere to or aſſiſt the Rebels, to pay any Rents or Debts to ſuch Perſons, or any of them.* So that all Property was now put upon the Point of the Sword, and there was no Law but that of Arms.

Affairs of Ireland.

As to Affairs in *Ireland*, the King thinking himſelf under a Neceſſity to recal as many of thoſe Forces as would obey his Orders, to aſſiſt him nearer home, did grant a Commiſſion *April* 23. to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's Army and Forces in *Ireland*, to treat with the *Iriſh* Rebels upon a Ceſſation of Arms for one Year. The Lords and Commons reſolved to take the Government of *Ireland*, as they had done that of *England*, into their own Hands: So on *June* 16. they publiſh'd a Declaration touching the preſent lamentable Condition of *Ireland*; and eſtabliſh'd the Project of a Company of *Adventurers*, who for advancing Monies here, ſhould be paid in the Lands of that Kingdom. In the mean time, his Majeſty purſued the expedient of a Ceſſation of Arms, and declar'd his Reſolution in a Letter to the Lords Juſtices of that Kingdom, dated *July* 2. and by another of *September* 7. he commanded the Lords Juſtices to agree upon making a Ceſſation, and after that to ſend over the Forces which were employ'd againſt the *Iriſh*, to aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt his *Engliſh* Rebels. And accordingly the Articles of Ceſſation of Arms were agreed and concluded at *Siggings-Town* in the County of *Kildare*, *September* 15. Before the News of this Treaty came into *England*, the Lords and Commons had publiſhed a *Declaration September* 30. *againſt the intended Ceſſation or Treaty with the* Iriſh. Several of the Forces under Colonel *Ernley* came over to ſerve the King; but many of them that came over with *Vavaſour*, refus'd to fight againſt their *Fellow-Proteſtants*; and ſo joined with the Army under *Eſſex*. And in ſhort, this Ceſſation in *Ireland*, and the Re-

An. 1643. cruits called from thence to the King, were repreſented ſo odious and ſo Popiſh, that thoſe Meaſures, as moſt others taken by the King upon Neceſſity, were improved to his greater Diſadvantage.

Hamden's Death. In *June* this Year, Mr. *Hamden*, a great Leader in the Houſe of Commons, going out with a Party of the *Buckinghamſhire* Forces to oppoſe Prince *Rupert*, who made frequent Incurſions into the Parliament's Quarters, and engaging with him in *Chalgrave-Field*, was routed, and wounded by a Shot in the Shoulder, of which he died.

Pym's Death. In *December* this Year, died alſo the famous *John Pym* Eſq; another of the chief Leaders in Parliament: His Body was for ſeveral Days expoſed to publick View in *Derby-Houſe*, before it was interr'd, for a Confutation of thoſe who reported it to be eaten of Lice. He was with great Pomp and Magnificence buried among the *Engliſh* Kings in *Weſtminſter-Abby*.

Parliament at Oxford. The Nobility and Gentry were in ſuch great Numbers attending upon the King, and many of them Members excluded from the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, that it was thought proper to aſſemble them into a Parliament at *Oxford*: And therefore the King publiſhed his Proclamation, *December* 22. for aſſembling the Members of both Houſes at *Oxford*, *January* 22. This Aſſembly did his Majeſty no conſiderable Service, and ſhew'd themſelves ſo unwilling to aſſume the Name of the Parliament of *England*, and to declare thoſe met at *Weſtminſter* Rebels, tho the King again and again importun'd them to it, that in one of his Letters to the Queen, intercepted at *Naſeby*, he reflects heavily upon them for it, and calls them in Deriſion his *Mungrel Parliament*.

Scotch Army enters England. Upon the forementioned Confederacy, the *Scotch* Army enter'd *England* at *Berwick*, *Jan.* 15. and ſoon after was publiſhed *the Declaration of the Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland *joined in Arms for the Vindication and Defence of their Religion, Liberties, and Laws, againſt the Popiſh, Prelatical, and Malignant Party, by the honourable Houſes of Parliament in* England, *and the honourable Convention of Eſtates of the Kingdom of* Scotland. The two Houſes ſent a Committee of their own to meet them on the Borders, and to conduct and ſupply them in the

most friendly faithful manner. This *English* Committee was joined to another ſelect Committee of *Scots*, and they were the Committee of both Kingdoms, and in effect an united Camp Parliament. By their Advice, the *Scotch* Army, under General *Leven*, advanced from *Berwick* on *Jan.* 19. and without Oppoſition came before *Newcaſtle*, *Feb.* 3. but not being able to take that Town, they paſſed the *Tine* on the twenty eighth of the ſame Month, and entered *Sunderland*, *March* 4. The Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*, General for the King in thoſe Northern Parts, having reinforced his Army to about fourteen thouſand Horſe and Foot, attended ſo near upon the *Scotch* Army, and ſo intercepted their Supply, that ſometimes they had neither Meat nor Drink, and never above twenty four Hours Proviſion beforehand; but they coloured over this Neceſſity by keeping a ſolemn Faſt, and by preſſing on towards *Durham* for better Quarters. To ſtop their Advance, the Marquiſs drew up his Army on *March* 23. at *Hilton* on the North of the River *Ware*, the *Scotch* being drawn up on a Hill Eaſt from them towards the Sea. So the Armies faced each other, and skirmiſhed in Parties; the Field Word given by the Marquiſs being *Now or Never*; and by the *Scots*, *The Lord of Hoſts is with us*. The Marquiſs not able to force the *Scots* to a Battel, returned towards his Quarters at *Durham*, and the *Scots* ſlowly followed. The two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* knowing that a Defeat of the *Scots* wou'd be a Ruin to their whole Cauſe, were extremely ſollicitous for their ſafe Progreſs; and by their Advice the Committee of both Kingdoms on *March* 5. wrote a Letter to the Lord *Fairfax* to join his Son Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who was to leave the Siege of *Latham-Houſe* in *Derbyſhire*, and to haſten with two thouſand Horſe into the Weſt-Riding of *Yorkſhire*, and ſo with joint Forces to keep Intelligence with the *Scotiſh* Army, and give them the beſt Accommodation and Aſſiſtance. Colonel *Bellaſis* Governor of *York*, drew his Forces to *Selby*, to hinder, if poſſible, the Conjunction of the two *Fairfaxes*; but they notwithſtanding joined and fell upon *Bellaſis* and his inferior Forces at *Selby*, and obtain'd a compleat Victory over them on *April* 11. taking Priſoners the Colonel, many Officers,

19 Car. I.

Their March.

An. 1644.

Fairfax routs *Bellaſis*.

An. 1644 and sixteen hundred Soldiers; for which the two Houses appointed a solemn Thanksgiving.

The Marquis of *Newcastle* now finding that he shou'd be between two Armies, was resolv'd to prevent that Danger, by marching back to *York*, to make the better Defence for that important Place. The *Scots* followed, with the double Joy of seeming to pursue their Enemies, and hasting to join their Friends; and accordingly on *April* 20. they joined the *English* Army under the Lord *Fairfax* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and immediately marched to *York*, and shut up the Marquess of *Newcastle*, who had just entred that City, and defended it with great Bravery for several Months against the united Armies, that were farther reinforced on *June* 3. by a considerable Body under the Earl of *Manchester*, who had took *Lincoln*, *May* 6. and marched on to the Leaguer at *York* without Opposition.

Prince *Rupert* relieves *York*.

Some time after, Prince *Rupert* arrived with about eighteen thousand Men, and caused the Besiegers to raise the Siege; who, joining their Forces, resolved to observe his Motions: But that they might be a little refreshed and furnished with Provisions which they wanted, they marched towards *Tadcaster*. If Prince *Rupert*, who had acquir'd Honour enough by the Relief of *York* in the view of three Generals, could have contented himself with it, and retreated, as he might have done, without Fighting, the Reputation he had gained wou'd have caused his Army to increase. But he thinking this nothing unless he might have all, forced his Enemies to a Battel, against the Advice of many of those that were with him: In which the left Wing of his Army charging the right Wing of the Parliament's, consisting of *English* and *Scots*, so totally routed them, that the three Generals of the Parliament quitted the Field, and fled towards *Carwood-Castle*. The left Wing of the Parliament's Army, commanded by Colonel *Cromwel*, knowing nothing of this Rout, engaged the right Wing of the King's, commanded by Prince *Rupert*, who had gained an advantageous piece of Ground upon *Marston-Moor*, and caused a Battery to be erected upon it, from which Captain *Walton*, *Cromwel*'s Sister's Son, was wounded by a Shot in the Knee. Whereupon Colonel *Cromwel* commanded two Field-Pieces to be brought,

Marston-Moor Fight.

brought, in order to annoy the Enemy, appointing two Regiments ſo Foot to guard them; who marching for that purpoſe, were attaked by the Foot of Prince *Rupert*'s right Wing, that fir'd thick upon them from the Ditches. Upon this both Parties ſeconding their Foot, were wholly engaged, who before had only ſtood facing each other. The Horſe on each ſide behaved themſelves with the utmoſt Bravery; for having diſcharged their Piſtols and flung them at each others Heads, they fell to it with their Swords. The King's Party were encourag'd in this Encounter by ſeeing the Succeſs of their left Wing; and the Parliament's Foot that remain'd in the Field, were not diſcourag'd, becauſe they knew it not, both ſides contending for the Victory; which, after an obſtinate Diſpute, was obtained by *Cromwel*'s Brigade, Prince *Rupert*'s right Wing being totally routed and flying, the Parliament's Horſe purſuing and killing many of them in their Flight. And now the left Wing of the King's Army, who had been Conquerors, return'd to their former Ground, preſuming upon an entire Victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befel Prince *Rupert*; but before they could put themſelves into any order, they were charged and entirely defeated by the Reſerves of *Cromwel*'s Brigade. Prince *Rupert*, upon the routing of the Parliament's right Wing, concluding all to be his own, had ſent Letters to the King to acquaint him with the Victory; upon which the Bells were rung, and Bonfires made at *Oxford*. Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major-General *Porter*, Major-General *Tilyard*, with about a hundred Officers more, were taken Priſoners by the Parliament's Forces. All the Artillery, great Numbers of Arms, and a good quantity of Ammunition and Baggage, fell alſo into their Hands. The Prince's own Standard, with the Arms of the *Palatinate*, was likewiſe taken, with many others both of Horſe and Foot. 20 Car. I.

The next Morning after the Battel, the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* reſolv'd to leave the Kingdom; and with his two Sons and Brother, and Dr. *Bramhal* Biſhop of *London-derry*, Lord *Falconbridge*, Lord *Widdrington*, and others, took Ship at *Scarborough*, and arriv'd at *Hamburgh* on *July* 8. the Marquiſs not returning into *England* till the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second. Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* leaves the Kingdom.

An. 1644. Prince *Rupert* with ſome rallied Forces drew off into *Lancaſhire*, and left Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governor of *York*, to ſurrender that City upon Articles on *July* 16. After which, upon Conſultation between the Generals and Parliament Commiſſioners, it was agreed, 1. That the Lord *Fairfax* ſhou'd remain Governor of *York*, and ſend a thouſand Horſe into *Lancaſhire*, to join the Forces in thoſe Parts, and to attend the Motions of Prince *Rupert*. 2. That the *Scotch* Army ſhou'd march Northward to join the Earl of *Calendar*, who was advancing with additional Forces, and to reduce *Newcaſtle*. 3. That the Earl of *Mancheſter* ſhou'd march towards *Lincolnſhire*, and recruit his Army from his own Aſſociation.

After this Diſpoſition, the Earl of *Mancheſter* took in *Tickil-Caſtle*, *July* 26. and *Sheffield-Caſtle*, *Auguſt* 10. and Colonel *Fretchwell's-Houſe*, *Auguſt* 12. and *Welbeck-Houſe*, *Auguſt* 22. General *Leven* joined the Earl of *Calendar* in the Siege of *Newcaſtle*, and took the Town by Storm, *October* 19. So that all things in the *North* went moſt unhappily with the King's Party.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, *March* 26. was to have an Army conſiſting of ſeven thouſand five hundred Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, with which he kept his Head-Quarters, ſometimes at *Windſor*, and ſometimes at *St. Albans*. Sir *William Waller*, by the help of the aſſociated Counties of *Southampton*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Kent*, had another Army for the Parliament of 10000 Men, with which he fought the Lord *Hopton*, and the Earl of *Forth*, at *Cheriton-Down* in *Hampſhire*, *March* 29. And tho the King's Forces for a while ſeemed to have the better of it, they were afterwards defeated with very conſiderable Loſs. The two Houſes made an Ordinance for a Thankſgiving for this Victory, and took advantage of that Joy to ſend a Committee of Lords and Commons the ſame Day to *Guild-Hall*, who in ſet Speeches drew in the Citizens to advance Men and Money for the Cauſe, which they ſaid God had proſpered.

Waller routs L. *Hopton*.

The King providing now in Perſon to open the Campaign, iſſued out a Proclamation, dated *March* 22. commanding all his Subjects and Servants, that have any Office, Place, or Fees of his Gift or Grant, to attend his Perſon before *April* 20. And another dated

dated *April* 15. requiring the Country to bring in their Corn and other Proviſions to *Oxford*, for ready Money at a reaſonable Price, under pain of having it fetched away, or burnt upon approach of the Rebels. Againſt which the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* made a Declaration, *April* 22. promiſing Defence and Protection to thoſe Parts, if they wou'd refuſe to carry in their Proviſions as the Proclamation required. 20 Car. I.

The King's Affairs, by the coming in of the *Scots*, and the Defeat of *Bellaſis* at *Selby*, were under an ill Aſpect in the *North*; and the Blow given to the Lord *Hopton* by *Waller*, was a great damp to the King's Intereſt in the *South*; and the Eaſtern Counties were all aſſociated againſt him: His only Hopes were in the *Weſt*, where Prince *Maurice* lay with a conſiderable Army before *Lyme*; and therefore thoſe Parts were thought to be the ſafeſt Retreat for the Queen, who left *Oxford*, *April* 17. and came ſafe to *Exeter*; where on *June* 16. ſhe was deliver'd of the Princeſs *Henrietta*, and was forced to take Shipping at *Falmouth*, *July* 14. and to ſeek Refuge in *France*, never more ſeeing her Royal moſt affectionate Conſort. Queen leaves the Kingdom.

May 14. his Majeſty in Perſon at *Reading* drew out his Forces there quarter'd, and demoliſhed the Works, and marched away to *Oxford*. On the ſame Day, *Eſſex* ſet out from *London*, and came to his Army at *Beaconsfield*; and marched them ſlowly to *Abington*, *May* 26. to *Sanford*, *May* 28. and next Morning drew up his Army on *Bullington-Green*, within a Mile of *Oxford*, and marched that Night to *Iſlip*; from thence he ſent out a Party that gained the Paſs at *Ainſtow-Bridge*, in the way to *Woodſtock*, where the Body of the King's Army lay; And *Waller* had brought up his Army to *Newbridge*, ſo that the King muſt have been beſieged in *Oxford*, or have fought with two ſuperior Armies. But drawing up his Army at *North-Lye*, and finding them no more than three thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe, he marched away to *Eveſham*, and on *June* 6. to *Worceſter*. *Eſſex*'s Army follows the King.

Upon which the two Houſes determined, that *Eſſex* ſhou'd march down into the *Weſt* for Relief of *Lyme* and *Plymouth*, &c. and *Waller* ſhou'd attend the Motions of the King; and Major-General *Brown* with

An. 1644. with considerable Forces shou'd be employ'd for reducing *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Banbury*, and Parts adjacent. *Waller*, in pursuit of the King's March to *Stow on the Wold*, *June* 5. took *Shudeley-Castle*, *June* 9. and made his Approaches so far towards *Worcester*, that the King was obliged to leave that City on *June* 12. and marched his Army to *Bewdley*, where finding his Forces unequal, he resolved to return towards *Oxford*, and came to *Woodstock*, *June* 21. and next Day advanced to *Buckingham*. *Waller* followed after, augmenting his Forces all the Way, and quartered at *Hanwell* near *Banbury*, *June* 26. and came up to face the King's Army two Days after, on the Foot of *Crouch-Hill*, the River *Charwel* between them. The King drew off towards *Daventry*, leaving a Guard of Dragoons at *Cropredry-Bridge*, the only Pass between the two Armies. *Waller* ordered two Regiments of Horse, and some Companies of Foot, to make their Way over the Bridge, and fall on the King's Rear: But tho they got over, they were driven back again, and left the King to pursue his intended Retreat.

Essex's Army in the *West*.

Essex marching westward, received Orders to relieve *Lyme*, which had been besieg'd by Prince *Maurice* with a considerable Army, and had made a very wonderful Defence, till the Earl of *Warwick* riding before it with the Navy, and the Earl of *Essex* drawing his Army near it, the Prince rais'd the Siege *June* 5. and went to *Exeter*, sending part of his Army towards *Bristol*. Upon which *Essex* took in *Weymouth*, *June* 19. and held there a Consult with the Admiral Earl of *Warwick*. The King himself had intended to march Northward; but hearing of the Defeat of Prince *Rupert* at *Marston-Moor*, he resolv'd to march into the *West*, and upon that Design came to *Evesham*; whence, *July* the 4th, he sent a Message for Peace to the Earl of *Essex*, who communicated it to the Lords and Commons at *Westminster*, in which he has these Words: *We being deeply sensible of the Miseries and Calamities of this our Kingdom, and of the grievous Sufferings of our poor Subjects, do most earnestly desire, that some Expedient may be found out, which, by the Blessing of God, may prevent the further Effusion of Blood, and restore the Nation to Peace*, &c. To which, for several Reasons, the Houses thought not fit to return any Answer.

His

His Majeſty came to *Bath*, and ſummoning the Inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire* to *Kings-Moor*, *July* 23. made an affectionate Speech to them, to join with him in the Defence of their Religion, Liberty, and Property: Hence by their Aid, and a Conjunction of the Lord *Hopton*'s Forces, he advanced to *Ilcheſter*, and now formed a very conſiderable Army. 20 Car. I.

Eſſex in a Council of War concluded to relieve *Plymouth*, beſieged by Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and ſo march'd into *Cornwal*. Upon his Advance, Sir *Richard* was obliged to draw off his Forces, and to quit his ſmall Gariſons of *Mount-Stamford*, *Plympton*, *Salt-Aſh*, and his own *Greenvil-Houſe* at *Taviſtock*; and diſputing the Paſſage at *Newbridge* to no effect, ſaw the Parliament Army take an eaſy Poſſeſſion of the Shire Town of *Lanceſton*. The King came to *Exeter*, *June* 26. and being joined by Prince *Maurice*, followed *Eſſex* into *Cornwal*, and quarter'd his Army at *Liskard*, while the other Army was at *Leſtwithiel*; and wrote a Letter to General *Eſſex*, *To lay hold on this Opportunity of effecting the happy Settlement of this miſerable Kingdom, it being now in his Power to redeem his Country and the Crown, and to oblige his King in the higheſt Degree.* And a Day or two after, other Letters were ſent him by Prince *Maurice*, the Earl of *Brentford*, and the Lord *Hopton*; to all which he did at laſt return Anſwer to the Earl of *Brentford*, 'That he had received the ſeveral Letters, but it was not in his Commiſſion to be concern'd in any Treaty, nor could he betray the Truſt 'repoſed in him by the Parliament.' Upon this Denial, the King drew his Army from *Liskard*, and preſſed on upon *Eſſex*'s Army in their Quarters at *Leſtwithiel*; and being joined by Sir *Richard Greenvil*, he ſo encompaſſed, and in a manner beſieged them for ſeveral Days, and upon their attempting to retreat, he fell upon them to ſo great Advantage, that *Eſſex*, reduc'd to the utmoſt Difficulties, deſerted his Army, and ſhifted away in a ſmall Veſſel to *Plymouth*, *September* 1. leaving his Horſe entirely routed and diſperſed, and his Foot hemmed up under Major-General *Skippon*.

King marches into the *Weſt*.

Sends Offers of Peace to *Eſſex*.

Eſſex runs away from his Army.

Upon this glorious Succeſs, the King returned to *Taviſtock*, and ſent thence a Meſſage for Peace, dated *September* 8. with a Duplicate of his former Meſſage from

King ſends a Meſſage for Peace.

An. 1644. from *Evesham*: but being directed, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at* Westminster, the two Houses voted, 'That those Directions, 'and the Matter in them, did not sufficiently acknow-'ledge them to be the two Houses of Parliament of 'England; and therefore wou'd send no Answer.' His Majesty not discourag'd at this, declin'd to spend time in besieging of *Plymouth*; and taking in *Barnstaple*, *September* 17. he march'd Eastward to *Chard*, and publish'd there a Proclamation, declaring his Royal Resolution to draw towards *London*, in order to obtain a Treaty for Peace, and a good Accommodation; inviting all his Loyal Subjects to join in his Assistance for that necessary End. Upon which the Gentry and Freeholders of the County of *Somerset* addressed the King at *Sturminster*, *October* 9. for liberty to wait in Person upon his Majesty nearer *London*, to become Petitioners to the Lords and Commons at *Westminster*, to embrace his Majesty's Offers of Peace; and in case of Refusal, to spend their Lives in assisting his Majesty, to compass that by the Sword, which by fair and just Ways could not be effected. The King accepted their Service, and came to *Salisbury*, *October* 15. But the Parliament resolved to have a new Army to meet him, and therefore enabled *Essex* to take the Field from *Portsmouth*, *October* 17. and to join with two other great Bodies under the Earl of *Manchester* and Sir *William Waller* at *Basing*, *October* 21. who march'd from thence to *Newbury*, where the King was encamped, and cast up some Works to avoid Fighting, the Parliament's Army being very much superior in Numbers. *Essex* was indispos'd and absent from the Battel, which was forced upon the King on *October* 27. wherein by account of the Committee attending the Army, for three Hours the Fight was maintained with as much Resolution, Bravery, and Desperateness on both sides, as had been since the commencement of the War: But in conclusion, the Parliament's Forces beat the King's from their Works at *Speen*, and took nine Pieces of Cannon, among which, six were those they lost in *Cornwal*, which the Foot who had been there disarmed, and in Mercy dismiss'd by the King, ventur'd desperately to regain; and when they had got them, embraced

Newbury Fight.

braced them for Joy, and ſaid they muſt give them a *Corniſh* Hug. The King ſenſible of his Diſadvantage, marched from *Newbury* in the Night, and ſecuring his Cannon, Carriages and Baggage in *Denning-Caſtle*, he went off to *Wallingford*, and ſo to *Oxford*; and being ſoon reinforced by the Acceſſion of Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Northampton*, he came back and relieved *Dennington-Caſtle*, took out his Train, drew out his Army in the Field, and offer'd the Enemy another Battel. But they in a Council of War declin'd fighting, and left the King to march leiſurely away towards *Wallingford*; and when the bare Report of his going to relieve *Baſil-Houſe* had raiſed the Siege of it, the two Armies returned both to their Winter-Quarters; the King's to *Oxford*, *Marlborough*, *Baſing*, *Odham*, *Newbury*, &c. the Parliament's to *Reading*, *Henley*, *Abington*, *Farnham*, &c. 20 Car. I.

The two Houſes ſend Commiſſioners to the King.

And now the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, who had rejected ſeveral Meſſages of Peace from the King, thought fit to ſend him their own Terms by Commiſſioners, the Earl of *Denbigh* and Lord *Maynard* for the Peers; Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Whitlock*, and Lord *Wenman* for the Commons; the Lord *Maitland*, Sir *Charles Ereskin*, and Mr. *Barcley* for *Scotland*: who all came to *Oxford November* 23. and were very obligingly receiv'd by the King, who heard the Propoſitions read by the Earl of *Denbigh* with much Patience; and then asked the Commiſſioners, *If they had Power to treat?* They anſwered, *No, but their Commiſſion was to receive his Majeſty's Anſwer in Writing.* The King replied, *Then a Letter-Carrier might have done as much as you.* Says the Earl of *Denbigh*, *I ſuppoſe your Majeſty looks upon us as Perſons of another Condition than Letter-Carriers.* The King ſaid calmly again, *I know your Condition, but I ſay that your Commiſſion gives you Power to do no more than a Letter-Carrier might have done.* The King had ſoon after an Opportunity of a private Conference with two of the Commiſſioners, *Hollis* and *Whitlock*; and had ſuch Confidence in them and in his own Integrity, that he left it to them to draw up in writing what they apprehended might be fit to return in Anſwer to the Meſſage, The Reſult was, that *Uxbridge* was appointed a Place of Treaty, and Com-

An. 1644. Commissioners were nominated with Instructions; and safe Conduct on either Side.

Uxbridge Treaty. The Treaty begun on the thirtieth of *January*; but the Proposition concerning the Bishops being rejected, it came to nothing. During the Treaty Mr. *Love*, one of the Chaplains attending the Commissioners of Parliament, preaching before them, averred, 'That the King was a Man of Blood, and that it 'was a vain thing to hope for the Blessing of God 'upon any Peace to be made with him till Satisfac-'tion should be made for the Blood that had been 'shed.' For these Words the King's Commissioners demanded Satisfaction; but the Treaty breaking up, nothing was done in order thereunto.

At this Treaty, tho the Parliament's Demands were high, and the King shew'd a more than ordinary Aversion to comply with them, yet the ill Posture of the King's Affairs at this Time, and the fatal Consequences they feared would follow upon breaking off of the Treaty, obliged a great many of the King's Friends, and more particularly that noble Person the Earl of *Southampton*, who had gone Post from *Uxbridge* to *Oxford* for that Purpose, to press the King again and again upon their Knees, to yield to the Necessity of the Times, and by giving his Assent to some of the most material Propositions that were sent to him, to settle a lasting Peace with his People. The King was at last prevail'd with to follow their Counsel, and the next Morning was appointed for signing a Warrant to his Commissioners to that Effect. And so sure were they of a happy End of all Differences, that the King at Supper complaining his Wine was not good, one told him merrily, *He hop'd that his Majesty would drink better before a Week was over at* Guild-Hall *with the Lord-Mayor.* But so it was, *Is broke off.* that when they came early next Morning to wait upon him with the Warrant, that had been agreed upon over Night, they found his Majesty had chang'd his Resolution, and was become inflexible in those Points.

Occasion of it. The Occasion of this sudden Change in his Majesty's Mind is supposed to be a Letter from the Marquis of *Montross* in *Scotland*, relating the great Victories he had obtain'd for the King over the Inhabitants of that Nation, and deliver'd to the King during this Treaty; in which Letter the Marquis expres's'd

preſs'd *his utter Averſion to all Treaties with his Rebel-Parliament in* England, as he call'd them; tells the King *he is heartily ſorry to hear that his Majeſty conſented to treat, and hopes it is not true:* Adviſes him *not to enter into Terms with his rebellious Subjects, as being a thing unworthy of a King:* And aſſures him *that he himſelf was now ſo much Maſter of* Scotland, *that he doubted not but to be able within a few Months to march into* England *to his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance with a brave Army*; and concludes with this odd Expreſſion, *When I have conquer'd from* Dan *to* Beerſheba, *as I doubt not but I ſhall very quickly, I hope I may then have leave to ſay as* David's *General ſaid to his Maſter, Come thou, leſt this Country be called by my Name.* It is remarkable that King *Charles* takes notice of this Letter in one he wrote to the Queen at the latter End of this Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which was found among others at *Naſeby*; where he ſays, *Tho I leave News to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain Intelligence of a great Defeat given by* Montroſs *to* Argyle; *who upon a Surprize totally routed thoſe Rebels, and has killed fifteen hundred upon the Place.* And in the ſame Letter to the Queen, immediately after the mentioning *Montroſs*'s Victory, the King adds, *That as for truſting the Rebels, either by going to* London, *or diſbanding my Army before a Peace, do no ways fear my hazarding ſo cheaply or ſo fooliſhly; for I eſteem the Intereſt thou haſt in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more Wit (at leaſt by the Sympathy that's between us) than to put my ſelf into the Reverence of perfidious Rebels.* 20 Car. I.

The long impriſon'd Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had been brought upon his Trial before the Peers on *Tueſday March* 12. and arraigned in a long Speech by Mr. Serj. *Wild*, in which he us'd theſe Words, *It might be ſaid of the great Cauſe of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *as it was in a like Caſe*, Repertum eſt hodierno die facinus, quod nec poeta fingere, nec hiſtrio ſonare, nec mimus imitari potuerit. And concludes thus, *This Man, my Lords, is like* Naaman *the* Syrian, *a great Man but a Leper.* He had twenty ſeveral Days of hearing; and when all the Articles, and utmoſt Proof of them by the moſt prejudiced Parties, were not like- Trial of Archbiſhop *Laud.*

ly

An. 1644. ly to prevail with the Lords to find him guilty of the Impeachment, the Commons took the Judicature into their own Hands, had him brought to their Bar on ſeveral Days, and on *November* 16. paſſed an Ordinance to make him guilty of High Treaſon; which being tranſmitted to the Lords, they referred themſelves to the Judges, who unanimouſly anſwered, 'That nothing charg'd againſt him was Treaſon by 'any known and eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land.' Upon which the Lords, in a Conference with the Commons *December* 24. declared, 'That they had 'diligently weighed all things that were charged a-'gainſt him, but could not by any one of them, or all, 'find him guilty of Treaſon.' And yet notwithſtanding this, the Bill of Attainder paſſed the Houſe of Lords *January* 4. and a Scaffold being prepar'd for him on *Tower-Hill*, he was on the tenth of the ſame Month beheaded.

Is beheaded.

Obſervations on him.

There was one Thred run thro his whole Accuſation, and upon which moſt of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd, and that was his Inclination to Popery, and his Deſign to introduce the *Romiſh* Religion; of which his immortal Book againſt *Fiſher*, and his Declaration at his Death, do ſufficiently acquit him: And yet not Proteſtants only, but even *Roman* Catholicks themſelves were led into this Miſtake. The Introduction of a great many pompous Ceremonies into the Church, the licenſing ſome Books that ſpoke favourably of the Church of *Rome*, and the refuſing to licenſe others that were writ againſt it, were the principal Occaſion of his being thus miſrepreſented. And indeed his Behaviour in ſome of theſe Matters, as likewiſe in the *Star-Chamber* and High-Commiſſion Court, can hardly be accounted for.

An. 1645. This Year begun with an *Ordinance* for the new Model of an Army, conſtituting Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General, Colonel *Skippon* Major-General; and giving them Commiſſion *April* 1. to lead an Army againſt all Rebels, Traitors, and other common Enemies, and them to kill and ſlay, and to execute martial Law, and the Laws and Ordinances confirmed this preſent Parliament; to be read at the Head of the Army. After which, *April* 3. the Ordinance paſſed for the diſcharging of the Members of both Houſes from all

New Model of an Army.

Of-

Offices both military and civil, called the *Self-denying Ordinance*. The Lord General *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the Earl of *Denbigh*, having reſigned their Commiſſions the Day before; *Fairfax* appointed his general Rendezvous at *Windſor*, and ſoon modell'd an Army of twenty thouſand Men; who by Order of Parliament paſſed *April* 28. were to march weſtward for the Relief of *Taunton*. 21 Car. I. Self-denying Ordinance.

Cromwel came to *Windſor*, under pretence of taking leave of the new General, as if he now looked on himſelf as diſcharged from all military Employments by the late Ordinance: But he had made ſuch Intereſt in the Committee of both Kingdoms at *Weſtminſter*, that they had ſent Orders to their General *Fairfax* to detach a Party of Horſe to lie between *Oxford* and *Worceſter*, to intercept the Correſpondence between the King and Prince *Rupert*; and particularly recommended Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* for that Service; who went away with a good Party of Horſe and Dragoons, and engaged a Brigade of the King's Horſe at *Iſlip-Bridge April* 24. and routed them, and purſued them to *Blechington-Houſe*, gariſon'd for the King, and commanded by Colonel *Windebank*, who in a Surprize ſurrender'd it upon Articles the ſame Day; for which he was condemned in a Council of War at *Oxford*, and ſhot to Death. *Cromwel's* Induſtry and Succeſs.

The Lord General *Fairfax* began his March *April* 30. towards *Reading*, in order to relieve *Taunton*: But the Committee of both Kingdoms hearing of the Prince's Advance towards *Oxford*, order'd him *May* 4. to ſtop his March; and *May* 6. an Ordinance paſſed, That Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſhould only ſend a Party of about three thouſand Foot and fifteen hundred Horſe to *Taunton*, and he with the reſt of his Army ſhould march back to join *Cromwel* and *Brown*, and attend the King's Motions with their united Forces. Upon coming up of this Detachment near *Taunton*, the King's Forces raiſed the Siege; and the Parliament ſent a Letter of Thanks to the Town for their gallant Defence, and beſtowed two thouſand Pounds on the Soldiers of the Gariſon, and five hundred Pounds to Colonel *Blake* the Governour. General *Fairfax's* March. *Taunton* reliev'd.

The King took the Field from *Oxford* on *May* 7. and being joined by Prince *Rupert*, marched into *Worceſterſhire*, deſigning the Relief of *Cheſter*, which had been

An. 1645. been long beſieged by the Parliament's Forces under Sir *William Brereton*, who by that time his Majeſty came within twenty Miles of *Cheſter*, rais'd his Siege, and returned into *Lancaſhire*. Whereupon his Majeſty diverted his Courſe towards *Leiceſter*, and coming before the City *May* 29. took it by Storm.

King takes *Leiceſter*.

Fairfax beſieges *Oxford*.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons agreed with the Committee of both Kingdoms, that General *Fairfax* ſhould lay Siege to *Oxford*, and ſpeedily reduce that important Head-Quarter of the King. Accordingly *Fairfax* marched up with his Army near *Oxford*, and began to beleaguer it *May* 22. having his own Quarters at *Marſton*, *Cromwel* at *Wileham*, and *Brown* at *Wolvercot*. Fifteen Days were ſpent without Action, when the two Houſes being ſtartled with the Loſs of *Leiceſter*, ſent poſitive Orders to General *Fairfax* to bring away his Army: Who accordingly *June* 9. drew off all his Forces, and the next Day came before *Borſtal-Houſe*, gariſon'd for the King, commanded by Sir *William Campion*, and beſieged by Major-General *Skippon*. *Fairfax* ſent a Summons, and Sir *William Campion* return'd a ſtout Anſwer. *Skippon* that Night made a general Aſſault upon it, but was beaten off with great Loſs, and the next Day raiſed the Siege, and follow'd after the main Army to *Great Brick-Hill*.

But is call'd away.

King's March.

The King had marched from *Leiceſter* towards *Daventry*, with Intention to relieve *Oxford*: But hearing that Siege was raiſed, he returned to *Northampton*, and put the aſſociated Parts into great dread of being called to an Account for their Confederacy againſt their Prince. *Cromwel* had been called from the Siege of *Oxford* to the Iſle of *Ely*, to ſupport the Aſſociation, and was ſhortly to attend his Place in the Houſe of Commons: But being much more diſpoſed for the Camp, he prevail'd with the Council of War to reſolve, That General *Fairfax* ſhould write to the Parliament to diſpenſe with *Cromwel*'s Abſence from the Houſe, and to appoint him Lieutenant General of the Horſe; which was accordingly done. Upon this new Commiſſion *Cromwel* came out of the aſſociated Parts with ſix hundred Horſe and Dragoons, and join'd with General *Fairfax* and his main Army at *Gilsborough*, four Miles from *Northampton*, on *June* 12.

Cromwel made Lieutenant General of the Horſe.

12. the King having his Camp at *Borough-Hill*, and thence moving towards *Harborough*. 21 Car. I.

Fatal Battel at *Naſeby*.

Fairfax followed the Motions of the King, and came up to the Rear of the King's Army near *Naſeby* early in the Morning, *June* 14. Upon which both Armies were drawn into Battalia. On the King's Side Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* commanded the right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the left, and his Majeſty himſelf the main Body; the Earl of *Lindſey*, and *Jacob* Lord *Aſtley*, the right Hand Reſerve, and the Lord *Bard* and Sir *George Liſle* the left Reſerve. On the Parliament's Side, the right Wing was led by *Cromwel*, the left by Colonel *Ireton*, the main Body by General *Fairfax* and Major General *Skippon*; with Reſerves to be brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*.

Prince *Rupert* with his Majeſty's right Wing, firſt began the Charge on that Side againſt *Ireton*, who was ſoon diſordered and diſmounted, and run thro the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, and taken Priſoner, till afterwards on the Turn of the Battel he gain'd his Liberty. Prince *Rupert* purſued the Advantage, and chaſed the Enemy almoſt to *Naſeby* Town, and in his Return ſummon'd the Train, and was offering Quarter, not imagining that he ſhould come back too late to ſuccour his Friends: But *Cromwel* had charged Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with great Succeſs; and tho he met with gallant Reſiſtance, he broke thro all the Diviſions, and forced them to fly beyond all their Foot. The Encounter between the two main Bodies was fierce and doubtful; the Succeſs ſeeming at firſt to encline to his Majeſty, all the front Diviſions of *Fairfax* except his own Regiment of Foot, giving Ground, and in Diſorder falling behind the Reſerves: but the Colonels and Officers advancing with Colours, and all their Men whom they could poſſibly make to rally and ſtand, by degrees repelled the King's Forces, and at laſt put them to a diſorderly Retreat. Yet one Diviſion of the King's Foot ſtood like a Rock, and though twice deſperately charg'd, would not move an Inch; till *Fairfax* commanded a Captain to charge them once more in the Front, whilſt he himſelf with his own Regiment, and a commanded Party, fell on them in the Rear, to meet together in the Middle; which was done

An. 1645. done accordingly, and that last Body of the King's Foot put into Confusion and broken. The King with undaunted Courage rallied his Horse, and put them into tolerable Order, and was joined by Prince *Rupert*, returned from his fatal Success. *Fairfax* presently brought up a good Battalia of Horse, Foot, and Artillery, to charge the King's Troops, who were unwilling to venture another Shock upon such great Disadvantages. The King with the bravest Magnanimity endeavoured all that was possible to encourage them, crying out, *One Charge more, and we recover the Day*; but he could not prevail, for they returned in Disorder, and *Fairfax*'s Horse pursued them within two Miles of *Leicester*. The King gained nothing but the Characters of Courage and Conduct from all his Enemies. He lost in a manner his entire Army, his Artillery, Ammunition, Coaches, and what went nearest to his Heart, his Cabinet of Papers and Letters; and with some scattered Horse he was forced to fly from *Leicester* to *Ashby de la Zouch*, thence to *Litchfield*, and so for a safer Retreat into *Wales*: General *Fairfax* following to *Leicester*, and regaining that Town upon Articles *June* 18. and thence marching his Army to the Relief of *Taunton*.

Goring routed by *Fairfax*.

General *Goring*, who besieged *Taunton*, upon the News of the Advance of *Fairfax*, drew off his Army towards *Langport*; and being Master of the several Passes on the River, thought he could decline fighting, and secure his Retreat towards *Bridgewater*: But *Fairfax* drew down his Ordnance to such a Place of Advantage, that they did great Execution on *Goring*'s Army, while his Foot resolutely gained the Pass, and his Horse advanced over; and after some Disadvantage, being relieved by Major *Bethel* and Major *Desborough*, they gave such an effectual Charge as put *Goring*'s Horse to a Retreat, and his Foot into such Confusion, that *Fairfax* charged them almost to *Bridgewater*; and with the Slaughter of three hundred, took about fourteen hundred Prisoners, and twelve hundred Horses. After this Victory *Fairfax*, in a Council of War, resolved to storm the strong Garison of *Bridgewater*; and beginning the Assault *July* 22. forced a Surrender the very next Day. The taking of this Place was of very considerable Advantage to the Parliament; for by it a Line of

of Garisons was drawn over that Isthmus of Ground between the *South-Sea* and *Severn* by *Bridgewater*, *Taunton*, *Lime*, and *Langport*; by which the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, then wholly at the King's Devotion, except *Plymouth*, were in a manner blocked up from all Intercourse with the Eastern Parts. 21 Car. I.

The King, after the fatal Battel of *Naseby*, was driven into *Wales* to recruit his Army; from whence about the Beginning of *August* he advanced with a Body of three thousand Horse towards *Litchfield*. On *August* 15. he came to *Welbeck-House*, and was there reinforced with Horse and Dragoons from *Newark*; with which he was moving Northwards, with a Design, as generally believ'd, to join with *Montross*, who was Master of the Field in *Scotland*. But to prevent that Motion, Major General *Poyntz* was posted with about two thousand Horse near *Doncaster* and *Rotherham*; with whom Colonel *Rossiter*, and the *Staffordshire* and *Derbyshire* Horse were hastening to join. So that his Majesty finding his Passage that Way intercepted, turned back Southward, and fell into the associated Counties: And having lain one Night at *Belvoir-Castle*, made his Head-Quarters at *Stamford*, and took *Huntingdon* after some Opposition *August* 24. thence to *Woburn* and *Dunstable*, and thence to *Oxford August* 28. the Day after the Death of the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*.

King recruits his Army.

Marches to *Oxford*.

His Majesty taking out what Forces could be spared *August* 31. marched from *Oxford* to *Cambden*, with design, as the Parliament supposed, to raise the Siege of *Hereford*, then invested by General *Leven* and the *Scots*; or *Bristol*, then beleagur'd by General *Fairfax*. The *Scots*, upon the King's Advance, raised the Siege before *Hereford*, and began to march homewards; and soon after his Majesty received the unwelcome News of the Loss of *Bristol*: Upon which he visited *Hereford*, *Worcester*, and *Ludlow*, and advanced to relieve *Chester*. Major General *Poyntz*, who with Colonel *Rossiter* was commanded by the Parliament to attend the King in his Motions from *Oxford*, followed him with great Expedition; and on *Routon-Heath*, within two Miles of *Chester*, began to engage his Majesty's Forces, who received them so bravely that they routed the Major, and were in pursuit of him, till Colonel *Jones* and Adjutant

King unfortunate at *Routon-Heath*.

An. 1645. *Louthien*, having drawn out five hundred Horse and three hundred Foot from their Leaguer before *Chester*, came to his Assistance, and charging the King's Troops on the other Side, gave *Poyntz*'s Men an Opportunity to rally; whereby the King's Forces being oblig'd to fight in front and rear, were defeated, near six hundred slain upon the Place, among whom were *Bertue Stuart*, Earl of *Litchfield*, and many Officers and Persons of Quality, and above a thousand Soldiers taken, his Majesty, not without Difficulty, retiring with the Remainder into *Wales*. There he once more recruited, and brought back an Army of about three thousand fighting Men *October* 2. to *Litchfield*, next Day to *Melburn*, and the next to *Newark*: From whence on the twelfth he marched to *Welbeck*, and drew out twelve hundred Horse, commanded by the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with Orders to march into *Scotland*, and join *Montross*. They speedily advanced to *Doncaster*, took there many Parliament Soldiers, and beat up their Quarters in several other Towns: So they proceeded to *Sherborn*, where they routed Colonel *Wren*'s Regiment of Horse, and took almost a thousand Foot Prisoners. But Colonel *Copley*, with a Party of about thirteen hundred, came up to them; upon whose Approach the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke* drew out to meet them; and both Sides charged with extraordinary Gallantry, but *Copley* prevail'd, and recovered all the Foot and Arms, and took about 300 Prisoners, with the Lord *Digby*'s Coach, and his Letters and Papers, which were printed afterwards by Order of the two Houses. After this Misfortune, they still attempted to find a Way into *Scotland*, and got very near the Borders; when Sir *John Brown*, Governour of *Carlisle*, with a Party met them about *Carlisle-Sands*, and broke their whole Body, and took many Prisoners, and above two hundred Horse and Arms. After this second Defeat, they still press'd on towards *Dumfreeze*; but finding their Passage intercepted by *Lesley*, they were glad to get Vessels to transport themselves to the *Isle of Man*, and thence to *Ireland*.

King's Affairs in a desperate Condition.

The King's Interest was now sinking into Ruin and Despair in all Parts. After the taking of *Bristol*, nothing could stand before the Army of *Fairfax*. The Castle

Caſtle of *Devizes*, commanded by Sir *Charles Lloyd*, was taken by *Cromwel September* 23. and *Laycock-Houſe* the ſame Day by Colonel *Pickering*, and *Berkley-Caſtle* by Colonel *Rainsborough* on the twenty ſixth of the ſame Month, and *Wincheſter* by *Cromwel*, *October* 5. and *Baſinghouſe* on the fifteenth. *Tiverton-Caſtle* was taken on the nineteenth of the ſame Month by General *Fairfax*, who after an Attempt upon *Exeter*, help'd to raiſe the Siege of *Plymouth*, and took *Dartmouth* by Storm *January* 18. and then cloſely block'd up *Exeter*, leaving the Command of that Siege to Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, while he himſelf with the reſt of his Army marched off to watch the Motions of the Lord *Hopton*, who being Commander in chief under the Prince, had marched to *Torrington* with near four thouſand Horſe, and three thouſand Foot, expecting there ſome more Recruits from *Barnſtable*. Here *Fairfax* engaged them, and gave them an abſolute Defeat; and then purſued the only Remains of a Royal Army into *Cornwal*, where the Prince had his own Regiment and other *Corniſh* Troops, that made a Body of about five thouſand Horſe and one thouſand Foot: But not able to make a Stand againſt the Multitudes that *Fairfax* was pouring upon him, he embarked with ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, and found Refuge in the Iſle of *Scilly*. The Royal Army was left under Command of the Lord *Hopton*, who was ſo purſued and preſs'd upon by *Fairfax*, that he was glad to enter on a Treaty, and accept of Articles for disbanding all his Forces, *March* 14. 21 Car. I.

The Royal Cauſe was equally ſuffering and expiring in all other Parts of *England*. The City of *Hereford*, that had bore and eſcaped a Siege from the *Scots*, was ſurpriz'd by a Stratagem under the Conduct of Colonel *Morgan* and Colonel *Birch*, *December* 8. *Beeſton-Caſtle* had been ſurrender'd *November* 16. and the ſtrong City of *Cheſter* deliver'd up by the Lord *Byron* into the Parliament's Hands, *February* 3. *Newark* (to which the King had retreated at the Beginning of *October*) was commanded by the Parliament to be ſoon after beſieged by the *Scotch* Army; and the King was forc'd to leave the Town by Night, and to get privately to *Oxford*, where he had leiſure to reflect how fatal the whole Year had been to him. King driven back to *Oxford*.

An. 1645. And it concluded with one Blow that seem'd to cut off all Hopes of Recovery: This was the Defeat of the Lord *Astley*, who had the only Forces in the Field for the King, about three thousand, the greater Part Horse, with whom he was advancing from *Worcester* towards *Oxford*, to join with his Majesty for helping to make up an Army for the next Campaign. On these Troops the poor Royalists in *Oxford* built all their Hopes, and therefore sent out a good Party to meet them, and conduct them; but all Intelligence and Passages were so intercepted by the Enemy, that this Party from *Oxford* could have no account of the Lord *Astley*'s Motions, till they heard he was utterly defeated, *March* 22. near *Stow* in *Gloucestershire*, by Colonel *Morgan*, Sir *William Brereton*, Colonel *Birch*, &c. Very few escap'd towards *Faringdon* and *Oxford*, and many of them were taken in the Way by Colonel *Fleetwood*. The Lord *Astley* himself being taken Prisoner, was so sensible of the Consequences of this Defeat, that he told one of *Brereton*'s Officers, *You have now done your Work, and may go to play, unless you fall out among your selves.*

Lord *Astley* defeated.

Votes of the Commons.

On the seventh of *August* this Year the Commons at *Westminster* took into Consideration the sending of Propositions to the King; and voted, 'I. That in regard they had met with so many Delusions in the 'Way of Treaty, they would henceforth admit of no 'Treaty nor Debate by Commissioners. 2. That such 'Propositions as shall be sent shall be drawn up into 'Bills, that so the Royal Assent being desired and had 'thereunto, they may become Acts of Parliament.'

On the twentieth of the same Month it was order'd by the Commons, that no foreign Impression of *English* Bibles should be vended here without Perusal and Allowance of the Assembly of Divines. And upon occasion of the Penalties that were to attend a Suspension from the Sacrament, it was voted *September* 6. 'That the Presbytery should not meddle with 'any thing of *Meum* and *Tuum*, till it were deter-'min'd by the Civil Magistrate.' And they began now to be so jealous of a Presbyterian Discipline, that the House being informed of an intended *Petition for establishing Presbytery*, they voted it *scandalous* even before they receiv'd it. And *October* 15. they resolved, 'That the Presbytery should not suspend from 'the Sacrament at their own Discretion, but for such

Parliament jealous of a Presbyterian Discipline.

'Of-

'Offences only as ſhould be particularly expreſſed 21 Car. I.
'in an Ordinance made for that purpoſe:' Which
Ordinance was paſſed by the two Houſes on the twentieth of the ſame Month, giving *Power to the ſeveral Elderſhips to ſuſpend from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper all ignorant and ſcandalous Perſons, according to the Rules and Directions hereafter following, and not otherwiſe.* So that the Presbyterians, who had often objected to the Epiſcopal Clergy their Want of Power to ſuſpend unworthy Communicants, were now themſelves under greater Reſtraint.

On the eighth of *November*, an Ordinance long depending paſſed for the *Ordination of Miniſters*, declaring, 'That the Word *Presbyter* and the Word '*Biſhop* in Scripture ſignify one and the ſame Func-'tion; and therefore Presbyters being lawfully there-'unto appointed and authorized, may ordain other 'Presbyters, according to the Rules of Examination 'and Faſting and Praying, and Impoſition of Hands 'in this *Ordinance* preſcribed: Provided that this '*Ordinance* ſhall ſtand in force for twelve Months 'and no longer.' And indeed one twelve Months ſpace was the utmoſt Reign of Presbytery and all its Parts. Ordinance for the Ordination of Miniſters.

The Model of this Presbyterian Government was not yet eſtabliſhed, nor were the Lords or Commons much Friends to it, tho to pleaſe the *Scots* and humour the *Aſſembly*, they now had it under Conſideration, and framed it into an Ordinance before the End of the Year. But in the mean time, they often betray'd their Fears and Jealouſies of it: For when on the nineteenth of *November*, the Common-Council of *London* petitioned the Houſe of Commons, *That the Government of the Church might be ſpeedily ſettled and obſerved, and greater Power might be given to the Miniſters and Elders than was eſtabliſhed by the Parliament, according to the Word of God*; The Houſe order'd a ſharp Anſwer to be penn'd to this effect, *That the Houſe had taken much pains in debating and ſettling of Church Government, and they conceived the City and Common-Council were informed falſly of their Proceedings, or elſe they would not have precipitated the Judgment of the Parliament.* And when another Petition of the ſame purport was delivered from divers Miniſters of *London*, they referred it to a Committee to find out the Deſign of the Petition,

An. 1645. tition, and who were the Advancers thereof; and then sent out two of their Members to tell them, *They need not attend for any Answer, but should go home and look to the Charges of their several Congregations.*

Commons reward the Assembly of Divines.

However, to please the Assembly, the Commons ordered *December* 4. that one hundred Pounds should be given to the Prolocutor Dr. *Twiss* for a Gratuity, and that the Members should have all due Encouragement to meet daily, and proceed upon the Catechism. But the Faction within the Assembly it self between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, was now growing to such a height, that *December* 11. the Presbyterian Divines came to the House of Commons to inform them, that a printed Paper in the nature of a Remonstrance was publish'd by the Dissenting Brethren of their Assembly, which they conceiv'd to be scandalous to them, and therefore desired they might make an Answer to it. The House named a Committee to peruse the Remonstrance, and consider of the Scandal of it, and to enquire by what Authority it was publish'd. On the last Day of *December*, the Commons order'd Mr. *Strong*, one of the Preachers that Day before them, to be added to the Assembly, and gave one hundred Pounds to Mr. *Reynolds*; and on *February* 16. they appointed a Day to consider of the Petition of the Assembly for settling a Presbyterian Government; wherein they were quicken'd by a Letter from the Parliament of *Scotland*, read *February* 26. desiring the speedy settling of Religion, according to the Judgment and Request of the *Assembly of Divines*. Upon which the Commons proceeded in this Church Business *de die in diem*, and sent up to the Lords an Ordinance, *March* 5. which was passed on the fourteenth, wherein they declare, 'That by the merciful Assistance of God having 'remov'd the Book of Common-Prayer, and establish'd 'the Directory; and having abolished the Prelatical 'Hierarchy, and instead thereof laid the Foundation of 'a Presbyterial Government; they come now to sup-'ply the Defects of some former Ordinances and Presbytery established. 'Directions of Parliament; and do ordain, 1. That 'there be a Choice made of Elders throughout the 'Kingdom of *England*, according to the Directions 'of *August* 19. 2. That Notice of such Election 'be

'be given by the Miniſter in the publick Aſſembly. 21 Car. I.
'3. That ſuch Elections be made by the major Part
'of the Congregation, being ſuch as have taken the
'*Covenant*. 4. That there ſhall be Tryers of Elec-
'tions, to hear and determine all Controverſies thence
'ariſing.' And ſo on to three and twenty ſeveral Ar-
'ticles of Proviſion.'

Thus much we thought fit to take notice of in this Place concerning Religion, on this great Turn of Affairs in the Nation. But to return to civil Affairs; the King ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, on the fifth of *December*, to ſhew *The conſtant Application of his earneſt Endeavours to find ſome Expedient for the ſpeedy ending of theſe unhappy Diſtractions:* And for that purpoſe he deſir'd a ſafe Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, *John Aſhburnham* and *Jeffry Palmer* Eſquires, with *ſuch Propoſitions as his Majeſty is confident will be the Foundation of a happy and well-grounded Peace.* His Majeſty ſent another Meſſage in purſuance of the former, *December* 15. and again a third Meſſage with Propoſitions for committing the Militia into other Hands, and for having a perſonal Treaty with the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*. At laſt the Lords and Commons ſent Anſwer, *December* 25. to the two firſt Meſſages, denying ſafe Conduct and Treaty, and ſaying, *They had now under their Conſideration Propoſitions and Bills for ſettling a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, to be preſented with all ſpeed to his Majeſty.* Many other Meſſages, Anſwers and Replies, paſs'd between the King and the two Houſes, but to no effect. In the King's laſt Meſſage of this Year, *March* 23. his Majeſty propos'd, 'That if he may 'have the Faith of both Houſes of Parliament for 'the Preſervation of his Honour, Perſon and Eſtate; 'and that Liberty be given to his Adherents to go 'home and live quietly, enjoying their Eſtates with-'out Oaths impos'd upon them; he will immediately 'disband all his Forces, and diſmantle all his Gari-'ſons, and return to his two Houſes of Parliament, 'and paſs an Act of Oblivion; and will further do 'whatever they will adviſe him for the Good and 'Peace of this Kingdom.' But theſe condeſcending Offers ſerv'd only to animate the prevailing Party in Parliament, and were eſteem'd as out of Seaſon, and

King ſends ſeveral Meſſages to the Parliament.

Their Anſwer.

as

An. 1645. as proceeding from Neceſſity, by them who now look'd upon the King as their Priſoner, tho in his own Gariſon at *Oxford*.

An. 1646.

The King found he could not long continue ſafe in this Gariſon; for his ſtrong Caſtle of *Dennington* was ſurrender'd to the Parliament's Forces, *April* 1. and *Exeter*, beſieged by the Army of *Fairfax*, was glad to yield upon Articles *April* 9. and *Barnſtaple April* 12. and *Fairfax*, fluſh'd with irreſiſtible Succeſs, was now marching to beſiege *Oxford*. Under theſe Extremities his Majeſty reſolv'd to throw himſelf into the Hands of the *Scotch* Army that lay before *Newark*, communicating his Deſign to the Marquiſs of *Ormond* in a Letter dated *April* 13. in theſe Words: *Having lately received very good Security, that we, and all that do or ſhall adhere to us, ſhall be ſafe in our Perſons, Honours and Conſciences, in the* Scotiſh *Army; and that they ſhall really and effectually join with us, and employ their Armies and Forces to aſſiſt us to the procuring of a happy and well-grounded Peace, for the Good of us and our Kingdoms, in the Recovery of our juſt Rights; we have reſolved to put ourſelves to the Hazard of paſſing into the* Scotch *Army now lying before* Newark. The King had the greater Reaſon to truſt to this Security that he ſays was given him, becauſe the Animoſities between the *Engliſh* Parliament and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners and Army were very high. The *Scots* had in a manner proteſted againſt the Propoſitions which the two Houſes were ſending to the King, and had as it were appealed to the People, by printing their Papers: At which the Houſes were ſo incens'd, that they concurred in a joint Vote, 'That the Matter contained in 'the ſaid Papers was falſe and ſcandalous againſt the 'Parliament of *England*: That they ſhould be burnt 'by the common Hangman: That a Declaration 'ſhould be drawn up to hold forth to the whole World 'the Untruths therein contained, and the Innocency 'and Integrity of the Parliament; and that the Author or Publiſher was an Incendiary between the two 'Kingdoms.'

King reſolves to go to the *Scotch* Army.

Oxford beſieged.

The Parliament commanded their Army to beſiege *Oxford*, who in order to that Deſign blocked up *Faringdon*, *Wallingford*, and *Woodſtock*; but before they

they could form the Siege of *Oxford*, the King eſcaped from thence on the twenty ſeventh of *April*. He went away in Diſguiſe, in Company only of Dr. *Hudſon*, and Mr. *John Aſhburnham* riding as a Servant to the latter, with a Cloak-bag behind him. They went to *Henly*, *Brentford*, and *Harrow on the Hill*; thence toward St. *Albans*, making their Way to *Harborough*, where they expected Monſieur *Montril* the *French* Agent; who failing in his Appointment, his Majeſty went to *Stamford*, thence to *Downham* in *Norfolk*, then to *Southwell*, where meeting with the *French* Agent, he ſent to General *Leven*, and was conducted by a Troop of Horſe to Lieutenant General *David Leſly*'s Quarters on the fifth of *May*. 22 Car. I. The King eſcapes. He comes to the *Scotch* Army.

Notice was given to the Parliament of the King's Eſcape from *Oxford*, by Colonel *Rainsborough*, who lay before *Woodſtock*: They ſuſpecting that he deſigned to come to *London*, publiſh'd an Ordinance, declaring, 'That whoſoever ſhould harbour or conceal the King's Perſon, ſhould be proceeded againſt as a Traitor to the Commonwealth.' Within a few Days, they receiv'd a Meſſage from the *Scotch* Army, informing the Parliament of the King's coming to them, and pretending to be much ſurpriz'd at it. Upon this Notice, the Houſe of Commons ſent an Order to their Commiſſioners in the *Scotch* Army to demand the Perſon of the King, judging it unreaſonable that the *Scotch* Army being in their Pay, ſhould aſſume the Authoriry to diſpoſe of the King otherwiſe than by their Order; reſolving further that the King ſhould be conducted to the Caſtle of *Warwick*, and that thoſe who came out of *Oxford* with him ſhould be brought to *London*. The next Day they commanded their Army to advance, in order to hinder the Conjunction of the King's Forces with the *Scots*. The King ſoon after his Arrival at the *Scots* Quarters, gave Order for the Delivery of *Newark* into their Hands; which having received, they ſurrender'd to the *Engliſh*, and marched with the King to *Newcaſtle*: whereof the Houſe of Commons being informed, and that the Earl of *Leven* had by Proclamation forbidden his Forces to have any Communication with the King's Party, they deſiſted from their Reſolution of advancing their Army, and of conducting Notice given of it to the Parliament.

the

An. 1646. the King to *Warwick*, ordering the *Scots* to keep him for the Parliament of *England*. Mr. *Ashburnham* was permitted by the *Scots* to make his Escape, but Mr. *Hudson* was brought to *London*, and upon Examination at the Bar of the House of Commons, confess'd some things about the King's Journey from *Oxford*.

The *Scots* having the King in their Power, press'd him to write to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant in *Ireland*, and to the Governours and Commanders of Places that remain'd in Arms for him, to lay down their Arms, and to deliver the said Places to such as the Parliament of *England* should appoint to receive them; acquainting him that otherwise they could not protect him. Submitting to this Necessity, he sent Orders to that effect, which some obey'd, and others refus'd to comply with, looking upon him to be under a Force. Amongst those who yielded obedience to the King's Orders, was *Montross*, who disbanded the Forces he had left, and went beyond Sea.

Oxford surrender'd. The City of *Oxford* having been block'd up for some time, began to capitulate, lest their farther Obstinacy should prove prejudicial to them, particularly in the Matter of Compositions for their Estates, the most considerable of the Royal Party being there. Commissioners were appointed on both Sides to treat, and came to an agreement on the twenty second of *June*, upon such Terms as the Parliament were unwilling to confirm: but whilst they were in debate concerning the Articles, they understood that Prince *Rupert* and others of the King's Party were marched out of the Town in pursuance of them; and that the Garison would be entirely evacuated before they could signify their Pleasure to the Army. Wherefore tho they did not approve the Conditions, yet they thought not fit to do any thing in order to break them. The principal Reason given by the Army of their proceeding so hastily to the Conclusion of the Treaty, was, lest the King should make Terms with the *Scots*, and bring their Army to the Relief of *Oxford*.

Other Garisons surrender'd. The few remaining Garisons for the King soon after surrender'd to the Parliament; *Worcester* on *July* 19. *Wallingford July* 22. *Pendennis* Castle *August*

guſt 16. and *Ragland* Caſtle the Day after: So that there was not now one Gariſon in *England* or *Wales* remaining, but what was reduced to the Power of the two Houſes, ſave only thoſe in the *North*, which remain'd in the Hands of the *Scots*. 22 Car. I.

The *Scots* by their Commiſſioners preſs'd the Parliament to ſend Propoſitions of Peace to the King, wherein they were ſeconded by an Addreſs from the Mayor and Common-Council of the City of *London*: in which after ſome Acknowledgments of the Care and Courage of the Parliament in the Reformation of the Church, and Preſervation of the Laws, they deſired of them, that ſuch Aſſemblies as were privately held to introduce new Sects, might be ſuppreſs'd, leſt they ſhould breed Diſturbances in Church and State; that they would haſten the Eſtabliſhment of Peace in the three Kingdoms; that they would conſider the great Services of the *Scots*, and diſmiſs thoſe who were diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Independents* from all Imployments Civil and Military, eſteeming them to be Firebrands that might endanger the publick Peace; with other Particulars of the ſame Nature. The Anſwer of the Parliament to the ſaid Addreſs was not much to the Satisfaction of the Petitioners, being a poſitive Declaration *that they reſolved to preſerve their Authority entire to themſelves*. There were ſome in the Houſe of the ſame Mind with the Addreſſers, who earneſtly endeavour'd to break the Army, alledging the Neceſſity of relieving *Ireland*, the Loſs of which, they ſaid, would be infinitely prejudicial to *England*; and that the Way to prevent it was to ſend thither ſome Part of the Army, who being united in Affection, and of great Reputation both for Courage and Conduct, would ſtrike a Terror into the Enemy, and undoubtedly accompliſh that important Work; not forgetting to urge that the People of *England* were not able to bear their preſent Burdens, and therefore muſt be eaſed. To all this it was replied, 'That it could 'not conſiſt with the Honour or Safety of the Par- 'liament, to leſſen their Forces, whilſt they had an 'Army of another Nation in their Bowels; who tho 'they were united in the ſame Cauſe and Intereſt 'with them, yet the beſt way to continue them ſo, 'was to be in ſuch a Poſture as might ſecure them 'from

An Addreſs from the City of *London* to the Parliament.

Endeavours to break the Army.

An. 1646. 'from any Fear of their breaking with them; and 'that the more Reputation the Army had, the fitter 'they were to be kept together for that End.' After a long Debate, the Question was put, Whether two Regiments of the Army should be sent to the Relief of *Ireland*; and it was carried in the Negative by one Voice only.

Propositions for Peace.

On Monday *July* 13. the Propositions for Peace were sent to his Majesty at *Newcastle* by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *John Hippesley*, Mr. *Robert Goodwin*, and Mr. *Luke Robinson*. These Propositions were, 1. By Act of Parliament to make null all Oaths, Declarations, and Proclamations, against both or either of the Houses of Parliament, who have been necessitated to undertake a War in their just and lawful Defence. 2. That his Majesty swear and sign the late solemn League and Covenant. 3. That a Bill be pass'd for the utter abolishing of Episcopacy. 4. That the Ordinances for the Assembly of Divines be confirmed. 5. That Reformation of Religion be settled according to the Covenant. 6. That both Kingdoms be brought to Uniformity of Religion, according to the Covenant. 7. That an Oath be administer'd to all Papists to renounce the Doctrines of Supremacy, Transubstantiation, *&c.* 8. An Act for the Education of Children of Papists in the Protestant Religion. 9. An Act for the true Levy of all Penalties against Papists. 10. An Act to prevent saying Mass in the Court. —— That such and such Persons (to a very great Number) shall expect no Pardon: That the King shall part with the Power of the Militia, and the Custody of the Tower of *London*, &c.

The Commissioners brought these Propositions to *Newcastle* on *July* 23. and on the Day after were admitted to his Majesty's Presence, and kiss'd his Hand. The King first demanded, *If they had any Power to treat:* To which they answering *No*, his Majesty reply'd, *Then saving the Honour of the Business, an honest Trumpeter might have done as much.* Then Mr. *Goodwin* read the Propositions, to which his Majesty hearken'd attentively; and at the end of reading said, *Gentlemen, I hope you do not expect a very speedy Answer, because the Business is of high Concernment.* The Earl of *Pembroke* answer'd, *That*

they were limited not to ſtay above ten Days after their coming to that Town, and muſt then return. His Majeſty reply'd, *That he would diſpatch them in convenient Time:* and ſo for the preſent diſmiſs'd them. 22 Car. I.

On the firſt of *Auguſt*, his Majeſty delivered his Anſwer in Writing to the Commiſſioners, directed to the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated; wherein he told them, 'That 'the Propoſitions tender'd to him did import ſo great 'Alterations in Government both in the Church and 'Kingdom, that it was difficult to return a particular 'and poſitive Anſwer before a full Debate; to which 'end his Majeſty deſireth and propoſeth to come to '*London* or any of his Houſes thereabouts; where 'by his perſonal Preſence he may not only raiſe a 'mutual Confidence between him and his People, 'but alſo have thoſe Doubts cleared, and thoſe Diffi-'culties explained unto him, which he now conceives 'to be deſtructive to his juſt Regal Power, if he ſhall 'give a full Conſent to theſe Propoſitions as they 'now ſtand.' King's Anſwer to them.

This Anſwer was reported to the Houſe of Commons, *Auguſt* 12. And the Counſels to be now taken, were, how to bring up the King into ſafer Cuſtody, and how to ſend the *Scots* into their own Country; and therefore the Day following, the Houſe of Commons, upon Conſideration of a Paper deliver'd to the Lords by the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, voted, *That the Sum of a hundred thouſand Pounds ſhould be provided for the Advance of the* Scotch *Army into* Scotland; and did reſolve, *That this Houſe do well and thankfully approve of their good Affections and Zeal to this Kingdom, and their Offers to deliver up our Gariſons and depart the Kingdom: That their Arrears ſhall be audited, and in convenient time paid.* So they began to reckon with them: The *Scots* demanded two Millions from the eighteenth of *January* 1643. to the eighteenth of *September* 1646. The Parliament accounted for one Million four hundred thouſand Pounds already paid; but the *Scots* excepted to ſeveral Particulars in the Account, and offer'd to accept of a Sum in groſs for a full Diſcharge of their Arrears, to be agreed on by Commiſſioners, who concluded on four hundred thouſand Pounds; of which one Moiety to Mony voted for the *Scots*.

be

An. 1646. be paid before their going home, and the other within ſtated Terms.

The delivering up of the King was a tacit Condition of this Agreement; therefore *September* 18. the Commons took into Conſideration how his Majeſty's Perſon ſhould be diſpos'd of, and voted, 1. That whatſoever Conſultation and Debate the *Scots* Commiſſioners ſhould have concerning his Majeſty's Perſon, it ſhould not impede the March of the *Scotch* Armies out of this Kingdom, nor violate or trench upon the Treaties between both Nations. 2. That his Majeſty ſhall be diſpos'd of as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhould think fit.

Votes concerning the Diſpoſal of the King's Perſon.

By Loan from the City, upon the Credit of a Sale of Church-Lands, the Sum of two hundred thouſand Pounds was ready at *Goldſmiths-Hall* by *November* 27. and ſoon after Major General *Skippon*, with a conſiderable Body of Men, carried it down for the Payment of the *Scots* Army: And Commiſſioners of both Houſes were named to go down to receive the King from the *Scots*, and to bring him to *Holmby-Houſe* in *Northamptonſhire*; of the Lords, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and Lord *Mountague*; of the Commons, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cook*, Mr. *John Crew*, and Major General *Brown*; who ſet out from *London*, *January* 13. and came to *Newcaſtle* *January* 23. and having all kiſſed the King's Hand, the Earl of *Pembroke* told his Majeſty, *they were commanded by both Houſes of Parliament to attend him to* Holmby. The King betray'd no ill Reſentment, nor any Surprize; but only enquired of the Goodneſs of the Ways: Yet he could not but reſent the baſe Dealing of the *Scots*, and took Occaſion to tell the chief Leaders, *That he had often deſired to go into* Scotland, *and that he came into their Army for Protection; but now perceived they were not willing he ſhould go with them:* and he deſir'd to know *how they would diſpoſe of him, and to whom they would deliver him.* After withdrawing they came back, and told his Majeſty, 'They had conſider'd of his Speech, 'and ſince his Majeſty had refus'd to take the Cove-'nant and ſign the Propoſitions, they were to deliver 'him to the Commiſſioners of both Houſes of the 'Parliament of *England*, who were come to attend 'him

Mony carried down for the *Scots*.

Commiſſioners ſent to receive the King from them.

him to *Holmby*.' Accordingly, the *Scots* having received the Money that was ſent down for them, deliver'd the King into the Hands of the Parliament's Commiſſioners, who receiv'd him into their Charge, and conducted him to *Holmby*, where he arrived, *February* 16. At the ſame time the *Scots* began their March for *Scotland*, having deliver'd *Newcaſtle* to the *Engliſh*, and drawn their Men out of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, which two Places were agreed not to be gariſon'd without the Conſent of both Kingdoms. 22 Car. I. They deliver him up. He is brought to *Holmby*.

Some time before, the Earl of *Eſſex*, having overheated himſelf in the Chaſe of a Stag in *Windſor-Foreſt*, departed this Life. His Death was a great Loſs to thoſe of his Party, who, to keep up their Spirits and Credit, procured his Funeral to be celebrated with great Magnificence, at the Charge of the Publick; the Lords and Commons, with a great Number of Officers and Gentlemen, accompanying him to the Grave. Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

To return to the King, who was now a Priſoner at *Holmby*: One Day, as he was going to Bowls, Major *Boſvile*, ſtanding on a Bridge in a plain Country Habit, gave him a Packet from the Queen. The King told the Commiſſioners, *It was to obtain his Leave for the Prince to accompany* Monſieur *that Campaign in the* French *Army*: Upon which the Commiſſioners ſeem'd content to diſmiſs the Perſon in Diſguiſe; but he was ſent up to the Parliament, and committed to *Newgate*. This Accident being reported to the two Houſes, they ſent down Inſtructions to have a ſtricter Eye upon his Majeſty's Perſon, and to diſcharge thoſe Servants who had waited upon him at *Oxford*. The Commiſſioners ſoon acquainted the King with theſe Orders; who with great Expoſtulation for the Severity of them, was forced to diſmiſs all his old Attendants, except Mr. *James Maxwell*, and Mr. *Patrick Mawl*, Grooms of his Bed-Chamber; to whom the King was willing to join Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, and Mr. *James Harrington*, afterwards the Author of *Oceana*. An. 1647. Packet from the Queen.

Towards the End of *April*, Letters came from the Parliament's Commiſſioners at *Holmby*, acquainting the Houſe of Commons with the great Reſort of People Great Reſorts to *Holmby*.

An. 1647. to his Majesty to be touched for the King's-Evil: Upon which the House order'd a Declaration to be drawn up to inform the People of the silly Superstition of such a Practice; and renewed their Orders for the stricter Custody of his Majesty's Person.

At the beginning of *May*, his Majesty told the Commissioners about him, that he had long waited for Propositions to be sent him from *London*; but not receiving them, he had now prepar'd an Answer to those Propositions deliver'd at *Newcastle*, which, not being allowed a Secretary, he must scribble over himself. His Majesty sent this Answer in a Letter read in the House, *May* 18. wherein he consented to some of the Propositions in whole, to others in part, and gave his Reasons for whatever he dissented from, 'He was 'willing to have the Presbyterial Government settled 'for three Years; and consented to ratify the Assembly of Divines, proposing some other Ministers to be 'joined with them; the King and his Houshold only 'having liberty to use the Common-Prayer: As to 'the Militia, he wou'd yield it up for ten Years, provided it might then be restor'd to him and his 'Heirs: As to the *Covenant*, he could not be satisfy'd, but desir'd some of his own Divines might be 'sent to resolve his Scruples therein: The Great-'Seal he wou'd ratify, if put into his own Disposal: 'To the City of *London* he wou'd grant the *Tower*, 'and all that is desir'd: He wou'd consent to the 'Bill against Popery, and wou'd pass a general Act 'of Oblivion and free Pardon on all sides. For all 'which Purposes his Majesty desires to come to the 'Parliament, and confer and agree with them.' On *May* 20. the Lords voted for his Majesty's coming from *Holmby*, and removing to *Oatlands*; but the Commons did not concur in it.

King's Answer to the Propositions of *Newcastle*.

Difference between the Parliament and Army.

The King and his Party being subdu'd, the Parliament and Army began now to quarrel amongst themselves. A great Number in the Parliament being Presbyterians, they began to grasp at the whole Power, and were content to sacrifice all Civil Liberties to oblige the Presbyterian Clergy, and to vest them with a Power as great or greater than that which had been declared intolerable in the Bishops before. To this end they encourag'd the reduced Officers of the Earl of *Essex*, such as *Massey*, *Waller*,

Waller, *Pointz*, and other, to preſs the Parliament for their Arrears in a peremptory and ſeditious manner, that being furniſh'd with Money, they might be enabled to ſtand by thoſe their Patrons in whatſoever Deſign they had to carry on. And the better to facilitate the diſbanding of the Army, which they ſo much deſired, they reſolved to draw off a conſiderable Party of them for the Service of *Ireland*; and to render the Work more acceptable, voted Major-General *Skippon* to command them, joining the Earl of *Warwick* and Sir *William Waller* in Commiſſion with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, to draw out ſuch Forces as were willing to go, to continue ſuch as ſhou'd be thought neceſſary for the Service of this Nation, and to diſband the reſt. The Army being well inform'd of the Deſign, began to conſult how to prevent it: And tho many of the Officers were prevailed with to engage by Advancements to higher Commands, yet the greater part abſolutely refuſed. The Commiſſioners of the Parliament having done what they could in proſecution of their Inſtructions, ordered thoſe who had engaged in the *Iriſh* Service, to draw off from the Army, which then lay at *Saffron-Walden* and about *Newmarket*, and to be quarter'd in the way to *Ireland*; which done, they returned to *London* with an Account of their Proceedings. 23 Car. I.

The Parliament being informed of what paſſed, were highly diſpleaſed with the Carriage of the Army; but the Prudence and Moderation of Major-General *Skippon*, in his Report of that Matter to the Houſe, much abated the Heat of their Reſentment: Yet ſeveral menacing Expreſſions fell from ſome of them, which occaſion'd *Cromwel* to whiſper *Ludlow* in the Ear, ſaying, *Theſe Men will never leave till the Army pull them out by the Ears.* In this Conjuncture five Regiments of Horſe choſe their *Agitators*, who agreed upon a Petition to the Parliament, to deſire them, 'to ſettle the Affairs of the Kingdom, to provide for the Arrears of the Army, and 'to declare that they wou'd not diſband any of them 'till thoſe things were done;' deputing *William Allen*, afterwards Adjutant-General, *Edward Sexby*, afterwards Colonel *Sexby*, and one *Philips*, to preſent it; which they did accordingly at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons. After the reading of the Petition, Petition of the Agitators.

An. 1647. tion, ſome of the Members moved, that the Meſſengers might be committed to the *Tower*, and the Petition declared ſeditious; but the Houſe, after a long Debate, ſatisfied themſelves with declaring, That it did not belong to the Soldiery to meddle with Civil Affairs, nor to prepare or preſent any Petition to the Parliament without the Advice and Conſent of their General; to whom they ordered a Letter to be ſent, to deſire for the future his Care therein: with which acquainting the three Agents, and requiring their Conformity thereunto, they diſmiſs'd them. But this not ſatisfying, another Petition was carried on throughout the Army much to the ſame effect; only they obſerv'd the Order of the Parliament in directing it to their General, deſiring him to preſent it. The Houſe having notice of this Combination againſt them from Colonel *Edward Harley*, one of their Members who had a Regiment in the Army, expreſſed themſelves highly diſſatisfy'd therewith; and ſome of them moved that the Petitioners might be declared Traitors, alledging that they were Servants, who ought to obey, not capitulate: Others were for the ſecuring of Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, ſuſpecting he had underhand given Countenance to this Deſign; but he having notice of it, went that Afternoon towards the Army, ſo that they miſſed of him. The Debate continued till late in the Night; and the ſenſe of the Houſe was, that they ſhou'd be required to forbear the Proſecution of the ſaid Petition: But when the Houſe, wearied with long ſitting, was grown thin, Mr. *Denzil Hollis* taking that Opportunity, drew up a Reſolution upon his Knee, declaring the Petition to be ſeditious, and thoſe Traitors who ſhou'd endeavour to promote it after ſuch a Day, and promiſing Pardon to all that were concerned therein, if they ſhou'd deſiſt by the Time limited. Some of the Members fearing the Conſequence of theſe Diviſions, expreſſed their Diſſatisfaction at it, and went out; which gave the others Opportunity to paſs two or three very ſharp Votes againſt the Proceedings of the Army.

Parliament diſpleas'd at it.

Another Petition from the Army.

The Agitators of the Army, ſenſible of their Condition, and knowing they muſt fall under the Mercy of the Parliament, unleſs they could ſecure themſelves from their Power by proſecuting what they had begun, and

and fearing the Parliament wou'd now for their own Preſervation receive the King upon any Terms, or rather put themſelves under his Protection, that they might the better ſubdue the Army, and reduce them to Obedience by Force, ſent a Party of Horſe under the Command of Cornet *Joyce*, on the 4th of *June*, to bring away the King to the Army. So about Midnight, *Joyce* drew up his Horſe in Order before *Holmby-Houſe*, and demanded Entrance. Colonel *Graves* and Major-General *Brown*, who upon Alarm had doubled the Guards, ask'd him his Name and Buſineſs. He ſaid his Name was *Joyce*, a Cornet in Colonel *Whalley*'s Regiment, and his Buſineſs was to ſpeak with the King. Being ask'd from whom, he ſaid, *From my ſelf, my Errand is to the King, I muſt and I will ſpeak with him.* *Graves* and *Brown* bid their Soldiers within ſtand to their Arms, and be ready to fire at the Word given; but they finding them to be their Fellow-Soldiers of the ſame Army, opened the Gates and ſhook Hands with them as old Friends. *Joyce* ſet his Centinels at the Chamber-Doors of the Commiſſioners, and by the Back-Stairs went himſelf directly to the King's Bed-Chamber. The four Grooms were much amazed at his Rudeneſs, and deſired *Joyce* to lay aſide his Arms, and to forbear giving Diſturbance, aſſuring him, that the next Morning he ſhou'd have his Majeſty's Anſwer to his Errand. The Cornet with Sword and Piſtol inſiſted to have the Door opened, with ſo much Noiſe that it waked the King, who mildly ſent him out Word, *That he wou'd not riſe nor ſpeak with him till Morning*: Upon which the Cornet huff'd, and ſo retir'd. The King roſe early in the Morning, and after his Devotions ſent for *Joyce*, who came with great Confidence, and told his Majeſty he had Command to remove him. The King deſired the Commiſſioners might be ſent for. *Joyce* told him, *They had nothing to do but to return back to the Parliament.* The King then asked for a ſight of his Inſtructions. *Joyce* ſaid, *He ſhou'd ſee them preſently*; and ſo drawing up his Troop in the inner Court, *Theſe, Sir*, ſays he, *are my Inſtructions.* The King took a good View of them, and finding them proper Men, well mounted and armed, ſmilingly told the Cornet, *His Inſtructions were in fair Characters, legible without ſpelling.*

23 Car. I.

King carried from *Holmby*.

An. 1647. The Cornet then preſſed the King to go along with him. The King ſaid he would not ſtir unleſs the Commiſſioners might attend him. The Cornet reply'd, *He was very indifferent, they might go if they wou'd.* So at the King's Deſire, the Keepers of his Perſon being now themſelves made Priſoners, went along with his Majeſty, and were by *Joyce* conducted that Night to Colonel *Mountague*'s Houſe at *Hinchingbrook*, and the next Night to the Houſe of Sir *John Cutts* at *Childerſly* near *Cambridge*. Here *Fairfax*, *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, *Skippon*, and many other Officers came to wait upon the King, and kiſſed his Hand. The King took General *Fairfax* aſide, and diſcourſed with him about half an hour; he diſavow'd his Majeſty's Seizure at *Holmby*, as done without his Order or Approbation.

Eleven Members impeach'd by the Army.

About this time, a Charge of High-Treaſon was drawn up by the Army againſt eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons, who were Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Anthony Nichols*, Mr. *Walter Long*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, Commiſſary *Copley*, Colonel *Maſſey*, and Sir *John Maynard*, for betraying the Cauſe of the Parliament, endeavouring to break and deſtroy the Army, with other Particulars. This Charge they accompany'd with a Declaration, ſhewing the Reaſon of what they had done, affirming 'that they were oblig'd by their Duty ſo to do, as 'they tendered the Preſervation of the publick Cauſe, 'and ſecuring the good People of *England* from be-'ing a Prey to their Enemies.' The great End of this Charge of Treaſon being rather to keep thoſe Members from uſing their Power with the Parliament in oppoſition to the Proceedings of the Army, than from any Deſign to proceed capitally againſt them, they reſolved rather to withdraw themſelves voluntarily, than to put the Parliament or Army to any farther Trouble, or their Perſons to any more hazard.

King's Removals.

From *Childerſley* the King was removed to his Houſe at *Newmarket*, and was ſuffered to divert himſelf upon the *Heath*, ſometimes in his Coach, but for the moſt part on Horſe-back. His Preſence-Chamber was conſtantly crouded with People, eſpecially at Dinner and Supper; and when he withdrew, their

Prayers

Prayers and Acclamations always follow'd him. He was now to make his involuntary Progreſs according to the Motion of the Army; and ſo by ſome ſhort Stages he was brought to his Houſe at *Royſton*; and after a Stay of two Days he was carried, *June* 26. to *Hatfield*, a Houſe of the Earl of *Salisbury*'s in *Hertfordſhire*, where he ſtay'd till the 1ſt of *July*; then hurried to *Windſor*; two Days after to *Caverſham*, where the Prince Elector *Palatine*, many of the Nobility, General *Fairfax*, and ſeveral of the chief Officers waited upon him; thence, *July* 15. to *Maidenhead*; five Days after to *Woburne*; away again to *Latimer*'s; hence to *New-Park*; then to *Stoke*; *Auguſt* 14. to *Oatlands*; and from thence in a Day or two to *Hampton-Court*: where he was allowed to appear in State and Luſtre, his Nobility about him, his Chaplains in waiting, and all Servants permitted to attend in their proper Places; the Intercourſe was free between King and Parliament, the Army ſeeming to endeavour a right underſtanding between them. His Majeſty had the Favour to viſit his Children then at *Sion-Houſe*, under the Government of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who received the King and his Followers with a noble Treat. Here the King met the young Duke of *Gloceſter* and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and was overjoy'd to ſee them ſo well in Health, and ſo honourably regarded.

23 Car. I.

King at *Hampton-Court*.

The King being thus civilly us'd by the Army during his ſeveral Removals, occaſion'd the Queen and Prince of *Wales*, who were in *France*, to diſpatch Sir *Edward Ford*, Brother-in-Law to Commiſſary-General *Ireton*, to ſound the Deſign of the Army, and to promote an Agreement between the King and them. Soon after Mr. *John Denham* was ſent over on the like Errand. Sir *John Berkley* alſo upon his Return to the Queen from *Holland*, where he had been ordered to condole the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, came into *England* by the ſame Order, and to the ſame Purpoſe. It was in his Inſtructions to endeavour to procure a Paſs for Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, to come over and aſſiſt him in his Negotiation. Being at *Diepe*, in order to embark for *England*, he met with one Mr. *William Leg*, who was of the Bed-chamber to the King; and they two came over together into

Sir *John Berkley*'s Negotiation.

An. 1647. *England*. They landed at *Hastings*; and being on their Way towards *London*, were met by Sir *Allen Appesley*, who had been Lieutenant-Governor to Sir *John Berkley* at *Exeter*, by whom he understood that he was sent to him from *Cromwel*, and some other Officers of the Army, with a Letter and particular Instructions to Sir *John Berkley*, to remember his own Discourse at a Conference with Colonel *Lambert* and other Officers upon the Surrender of *Exeter*; wherein he had taken notice of the bitter Invectives of those of the Army against the King's Person; and presuming that such Discourses were encouraged in order to prepare Mens Minds to receive an Alteration of the Government, had said, 'That it was not only a most 'wicked, but difficult Undertaking, if not impossible, 'for a few Men not of the greatest Quality, to introduce a popular Government against the King, the 'Presbyterians, the Nobility, Gentry, and the Genius of the Nation, accustomed for so many Ages to 'a Monarchical Government; adviſing, that since the 'Presbyterians, who had begun the War upon divers 'specious Pretences, were discovered to have fought 'their own Advancements, by which means they had 'lost almost all their Power and Credit, the Independent Party, who had no particular Obligation to the 'Crown, as many of the Presbyterians had, wou'd 'make good what the Presbytery had only pretended 'to, and restore the King and People to their just 'and antient Rights, to which they were obliged 'both by Prudence and Interest, there being no Means 'under Heaven more likely to establish themselves, 'and to obtain as much Trust and Power as Subjects 'are capable of; whereas if they aimed at more, it 'wou'd be accompanied with a general Hatred, and 'their own Destruction.' He had Orders also to let him know, *That tho to this Discourse of his they then gave only the Hearing, yet they had since found by Experience, that all or the most part of it was reasonable; and that they were resolved to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already passed; desiring that he wou'd present them humbly to the Queen and Prince, and be a Suitor to them in their Names, not to condemn them absolutely, but to suspend their Opinion of them, and of their Intentions, till their future Behaviour had made full proof of their*

Account of his Discourse at the Siege of *Exeter*.

their Innocency, whereof they had already given ſome Teſtimonies to the World; and that when he had done his Office, he wou'd return to England, *and be an Eye-witneſs of their Proceedings.* 23 Car. I.

Thus did the Army Party endeavour to fortify their Intereſt againſt the Presbyterians, who tho they were very much weaken'd by the Abſence of the eleven Members, yet not to be altogether wanting to themſelves, paſſed a Vote that the King ſhou'd be brought to *Richmond*; whither he was inclined to go, having conceived a Diſtruſt of the Army, grounded chiefly upon the Refuſal of the Officers to receive any Honours or Advantages from him; and wou'd not be diſſuaded from his Reſolution till the Army had oblig'd the Parliament to recal their Vote. After which he inſiſted upon going to *Windſor* much againſt the ſenſe of the Army, and could not be prevail'd with to paſs by the Army in his Way thither. This cauſed them to ſuſpect that he hearken'd to ſome ſecret Propoſitions from the Presbyterians, and deſign'd to make an abſolute Breach between the Parliament and the Army; which Commiſſary General *Ireton* taking ſome notice of, ſaid thus to him, *Sir, you have an Intention to be Arbitrator between the Parliament and us, and we mean to be ſo between you and the Parliament.* But the King finding himſelf courted on all hands, became ſo confident of his own Intereſt as to think himſelf able to turn the Scale to what ſide ſoever he pleaſed. In this Temper Sir *John Berkley* found him when he deliver'd the Queen's Letters to him; which he did after Leave obtained from *Cromwel*, and a Confirmation received from his own Mouth of what had been communicated to Sir *John* before by Sir *Allen Appeſley*; with this Addition, *That he thought no Man could enjoy his Life and Eſtate quietly unleſs the King had his Right, which*, he ſaid, *they had already declared to the World in general Terms, and wou'd more particularly very ſpeedily, wherein they wou'd comprize the ſeveral Intereſts of the* Royaliſts, Presbyterians, *and* Independents, *as far as they are conſiſtent with one another.*

King ſuſpected by the Army.

Cromwel's Pretence of Zeal for the King.

Sir *John Berkley* endeavour'd to perſuade the King that it was neceſſary for him, who was now in the Power of the Army, to diſſemble with them; and propoſed that Mr. *Peters* might preach before him, that he

Sir *John Berkley's* Advice to the King.

An. 1647. he wou'd converſe freely with others of the Army, and gain the good Opinion of the Agitators, whoſe Intereſt he perceived to be very great amongſt them: But this Advice made no Impreſſion upon the King. He gave him alſo a Relation of what had formerly paſſed between himſelf and *Cromwel*, whom he met near *Cauſam*, when the Head-Quarters were at *Reading*; where *Cromwel* told him, *That he had lately ſeen the tendereſt Sight that ever his Eyes beheld, which was the Interview between the King and his Children*; and wept plentifully at the Remembrance thereof, ſaying, *That never Man was ſo abuſed in his ſiniſter Opinion of the King, who he thought was the moſt upright and conſcientious Man in his three Kingdoms; that they of the* Independent *Party had infinite Obligations to him for not conſenting to the Propoſitions ſent to him at* Newcaſtle, *which wou'd have totally ruin'd them, and which his Majeſty's Intereſt ſeemed to invite him to*: concluding with this Wiſh, *That God would be pleaſed to look upon him according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards the King.* With this Relation the King was no more moved than with the reſt, firmly believing ſuch Expreſſions to proceed from a Neceſſity that *Cromwel* and the Army had of him, *without whom*, he ſaid, *they could do nothing.* And indeed the King was not without Reaſon of that Opinion; for ſome of the principal Agitators with whom Sir *John Berkley* converſed at *Reading*, expreſſing to him their Jealouſy that *Cromwel* was not ſincere for the King, deſired of him, that if he found him falſe, he wou'd acquaint them with it, promiſing that they wou'd endeavour to ſet him right, either with or againſt his Will. Major *Huntington*, an Officer in *Cromwel's* Regiment, who was entruſted by him to command the Guard about the King, was wholly devoted to his Majeſty's Intereſt, and by his Order brought two General Officers to Sir *John Berkley*, recommending them to him as Perſons upon whom he might rely. Theſe two had frequent Conferences with Sir *John*, and aſſured him, 'That a 'Conjunction with the King was univerſally deſired 'by the Officers and Agitators, and that *Cromwel* and '*Ireton* were great Diſſemblers if they were not real 'in it; but that the Army was ſo bent upon it at 'preſent, that they durſt not ſhew themſelves other-

'wiſe;

Cromwel's Diſſimulation.

Sir *John Berkley's* Conference with two Officers.

'wiſe; proteſting that however things might happen 23 Car. I.
'to change, and whatſoever others might do, they
'would for ever continue faithful to the King.' They acquainted him alſo, 'That Propoſals were drawn up 'by *Ireton*, wherein Epiſcopacy was not requir'd to 'be aboliſhed, nor any of the King's Party wholly 'ruined, nor the *Militia* to be taken away from the 'Crown; adviſing that the King would with all Ex-'pedition agree to them, there being no Aſſurance 'of the Army, which they had obſerved already to 'have chang'd more than once.' To this End they brought him to Commiſſary General *Ireton*, with whom he continued all Night, debating upon the Propoſals beforementioned, altering two of the Articles in the moſt material Points: but upon his endeavouring to alter a third, touching the Excluſion of ſeven Perſons, not mentioned in the Papers, from Pardon, and the Admiſſion of the King's Party to ſit in the next Parliament; *Ireton* told him, 'That there 'muſt be a Diſtinction made between the Conquer-'ors and the Conquered, and that he himſelf ſhould 'be afraid of a Parliament where the King's Party 'had the major Vote; in Concluſion conjuring Sir '*John Berkley*, as he tender'd the King's Welfare, 'to endeavour to procure his Conſent to the Propo-'ſals, that they might with more Confidence be offer-'ed to the Parliament, and all Differences be accom-'modated.' *Cromwel* appear'd, in all his Confe-rences with Sir *John*, moſt zealous for a ſpeedy Agreement with the King, inſomuch that he ſometimes complain'd of his Son *Ireton*'s Slowneſs in perfecting the Propoſals, and his Unwillingneſs to come up to his Majeſty's Senſe: At other times he would wiſh that Sir *John Berkley* would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up by narrow Principles; always affirming, that he doubted the Army would not perſiſt in their good Intentions towards the King.

Debates with *Ireton*.

Shortly after the Propoſals of the Army were brought to the King to peruſe before they were offered to him in publick. He was much diſpleaſed with them in general, ſaying, That *if they had any Intention to come to an Accommodation, they would not impoſe ſuch Conditions on him*: To which Sir *John Berkley*, who brought them to him, anſwered, 'That he ſhould 'rather ſuſpect they deſign'd to abuſe him, if they 'had demanded leſs, it being not likely that Men

Army's Propoſals brought to the King.

'who

An. 1647. 'who had thro ſo many Dangers and Difficulties 'acquir'd ſuch Advantages, would content themſelves 'with leſs than was contained in the ſaid Propoſals; 'and that a Crown ſo near loſt was never recover'd ſo 'eaſily as this would be, if things were adjuſted up-'on theſe Terms.' But the King being of another Opinion, replied, *That they could not ſubſiſt without him, and that therefore he did not doubt to find them ſhortly willing to condeſcend farther.* Making his chief Objections againſt the three following Points: 1. The Excluſion of ſeven Perſons from Pardon. 2. The incapacitating any of his Party from being elected Members of the next enſuing Parliament. 3. That there was nothing mentioned concerning Church-Government. To the firſt it was anſwered, 'That 'when the King and the Army were agreed, it would 'not be impoſſible to make them remit in that Point; 'but if that could not be obtained, yet when the 'King was reſtored to his Authority, he might ea-'ſily ſupply ſeven Perſons living beyond the Seas, 'in ſuch a manner as to make their Baniſhment to-'lerable.' To the ſecond, 'That the next Parlia-'ment would be neceſſitated to lay great Burdens 'upon the People, and that it would be a Happineſs 'to the King's Party to have no Hand therein.' To the third, 'That the Law was Security enough for 'the Church, and that it was a great Point gained, 'to reduce Men who had fought againſt it, to be 'wholly ſilent in the Matter.' But the King breaking away from them, ſaid, *Well, I ſhall ſee them glad e'er long to accept of more equal Terms.*

Mr. *Aſhburnham's* Arrival.

About this Time Mr. *Aſhburnham* arriv'd, to the King's great Satisfaction; and his Inſtructions referring to Sir *John Berkley's*, which they were to proſecute jointly, Sir *John* gave him what Light he could into the State of Affairs: But he ſoon departed from the Methods propoſed by Sir *John Berkley*, and entirely agreeing to his Majeſty's Senſe of things, declar'd openly, That having always uſed the beſt Company, he would not converſe with ſuch ſenſeleſs Fellows as the Agitators; that if the Officers could be gained, there was no doubt but they would be able to command their own Army, and that he was reſolved to apply himſelf wholly to them. Upon this there grew a great Familiarity between him and *Whal-*

ley,

ley, who commanded the Guard that attended the King, and not long after a cloſe Correſpondence with *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, Meſſages daily paſſing from the King to the Head-Quarters. With theſe Encouragements, and others from the Presbyterian Party, (the Lord *Lauderdale*, and divers of the City of *London* aſſuring the King, that they would oppoſe the Army to the Death) his Majeſty ſeemed ſo much elevated, that when the Propoſals were ſent to him, and his Concurrence humbly deſired, he, to the great Surprize not only of *Ireton* and the Army, but even of his own Party, entertain'd them with very ſharp and diſreſpectful Language, ſaying, That no Man ſhould ſuffer for his ſake, and that he repented him of nothing ſo much as that he paſſed the Bill againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; and that he would have the Church eſtabliſh'd according to Law by the Propoſals. To which thoſe of the Army reply'd, That it was not their Work to do it, and that they thought it ſufficient for them to wave the Point, and they hop'd for the King too, he having already conſented to the Abolition of Epiſcopal Government in *Scotland*. The King ſaid, *He hoped God had forgiven him that Sin*; repeating frequently theſe or the like Words, *You cannot do without me, you will fall to Ruin if I do not ſuſtain you.* This Manner of Carriage from the King being obſerved with the utmoſt Aſtoniſhment by many Officers of the Army who were preſent, and at leaſt in appearance were Promoters of the Agreement, Sir *John Berkley* taking notice of it, looked with much Wonder upon the King, and ſtepping to him ſaid in his Ear, *Sir, you ſpeak as if you had ſome ſecret Strength and Power which I do not know of; and ſince you have conceal'd it from me, I wiſh you had done it from theſe Men alſo.* Whereupon the King began to recollect himſelf, and to ſoften his former Diſcourſe; but it was too late, for Colonel *Rainsborough*, who of all the Army ſeem'd the leaſt to deſire an Agreement, having obſerved theſe Paſſages, went out from the Conference, and haſtened to the Army, informing them what Entertainment their Commiſſioners and Propoſals had found with the King. 23 Car. I.

About this Time a Petition was preſented to the Parliament by a great Number of Citizens, young Men and Apprentices of *London*, to preſs them to a ſpeedy Parliament inſulted.

An. 1647. ſpeedy Agreement with the King. Whilſt the two Houſes were in Debate what Anſwer to give to this Multitude, ſome of them getting to the Windows of the Houſe of Lords, threw Stones in upon them, and threaten'd them with worſe Uſage, unleſs they gave them an Anſwer to their liking. Others knock'd at the Door of the Houſe of Commons, demanding to be admitted; but ſome with their Swords forced them to retire for the preſent, and the Houſe reſolved to riſe without giving an Anſwer, judging it below them to do any thing by Compulſion: Whereupon the Speaker went out of the Houſe; but being in the Lobby was forced back into the Chair by the Violence of the Multitude; whereof above a thouſand attended without Doors, and about forty or fifty were got into the Houſe. So that it was thought convenient to give way to their Rage; and the Speaker demanding what Queſtion they would have put, they anſwered, That the King ſhould be deſired to come to *London* forthwith: Which Queſtion being put, they were asked again, what further they would have: They ſaid, That he ſhould be invited to come with Honour, Freedom, and Safety. By theſe Votes, and the coming down of divers Citizens to appeaſe them, the Tumult was ſomewhat allay'd, and the Members of Parliament with their Speaker paſſed thro the Multitude ſafely. The next Morning Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, *Ludlow*, and other Members adviſed together, what was fitteſt to be done in this Conjuncture; and it was concluded, That they could not ſit in Parliament without apparent Hazard of their Lives, till they had a Guard for their Defence. Therefore they reſolved to betake themſelves to the Army for Protection, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* undertaking to perſuade the Speaker to go thither, to which he conſented with ſome Difficulty; and having cauſed a thouſand Pounds to be thrown into his Coach, went down to the Army, which lay then at *Windſor*, *Maidenhead*, *Colebrook*, and the adjacent Places. The next Day the Army rendevouz'd upon *Hounſlow-Heath*, where thoſe Members of Parliament, as well Lords as Commons, who could not with Safety ſtay at *Weſtminſter*, with their two Speakers, appeared at the Head of them; at which the Army expreſs'd great Joy, declaring themſelves reſolved to live and die

Several Members fly to the Army.

They with the two Speakers appear at the Head of them.

die with them. At Night the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Wharton*, and other Lords, the Speaker and Members of the Houſe of Commons aforeſaid, with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and many principal Officers of the Army met at *Sion-Houſe*, to conſult what was moſt proper to be done in this Conjuncture; which whilſt they were doing, an Account was brought of the Proceedings of thoſe at *Weſtminſter* that Day, by the Serjeant of the Houſe, who came with his Mace, to the no little Satisfaction of the Speaker. He acquainted them, that the remaining Members being met in the Houſe of Commons, had for ſome time attended the coming of their Speaker; but being inform'd he was gone to the Army, they made Choice of one Mr. *Pelham*, a Lawyer, and Member of the Houſe, to be their Speaker in the Room of Mr. *Lenthal*, (as the Lords choſe the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* for their Speaker, in the room of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who was alſo gone to the Army.) After which they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to join with the Directors of the *Militia* of *London*, in order to raiſe Forces for the Defence of the Parliament; the Succeſs of which Attempt they deſired to ſee before they would declare againſt the Army. To this End *Maſſey*, *Pointz*, *Brown*, and Sir *William Waller*, encouraged by the Common-Council, and others, uſed all poſſible Diligence to liſt Men, and prepare a Force to oppoſe the Army: but their Proceedings therein were much obſtructed by divers Citizens, who earneſtly ſollicited them to treat with the Army, and alſo by the News of the general Rendezvous on *Hounſlow-Heath*. 23 Car. I.

City in a Conſternation.

The Face of Affairs in the City was at this Time indeed very various, according to the different Advices they receiv'd; for upon the Report of the Advance of the Army towards *London*, and the taking of ſome of their Scouts, they cried out, *Treat, treat*; and at another Time being informed that Men liſted in great Numbers, the Word was, *Live and die, live and die*. But the General continuing his ſlow Marches towards the City, they ſent a very humble Meſſage to him, 'That finding his Deſign of marching ſo near, 'was to ſettle the Members of the Lords and 'Commons in their Privileges of Parliament, the 'City would contribute all their Power and Service

Army's Advance towards *London*.

'to

An. 1647. ‘ to it; and praying with all Submiſſion, that he ‘ would be pleas'd to ſend ſuch a Guard as might ‘ conduct them to the Parliament in Safety, and that ‘ the Paſſes and Ports ſhould be ſet open for them, ‘ and they would do what elſe his Excellency ſhould ‘ command.' In the mean time ſome Regiments of the Army under *Rainsborough*, *Hewſon*, *Pride*, and *Thiſtlewell*, croſſing over *Kingſton-Bridge*, marched without Oppoſition into *Southwark*, as far as *London-Bridge* Gate, which they found ſhut, and the Portcullis let down; therefore having planted two Guns on the one Side, and made a Stand, *Hewſon* marched into St. *George's Fields*, and ſummoned the great Fort in *Lambeth High-way*, which was immediately ſurrender'd to him. The General coming on ſlowly on the other Side on the fourth of *Auguſt* demanded all the Forts on the Weſt Side of the City to be ſurrendered to him: To which Summons the Common-Council then ſitting, return'd Anſwer, ‘ That they humbly ſubmitted to his Excel- ‘ lency's Command, profeſſing their Readineſs to com- ‘ ply with the Army; and that now, under Almighty ‘ God, they did rely only upon his Excellency's ho- ‘ nourable Word for their Safety and Protection.'

Army enters *London*. The whole Army was now advanced very near *London*; and at the End of the Town the General was met by the Commiſſioners of the City, who aſſured him, that the City was well ſatisfied with his Excellency's Advance. Next Morning the Members of Parliament who were driven away by Tumults from *Weſtminſter*, met the General at the Earl of *Holland*'s Houſe at *Kenſington*, and ſubſcribed the Declaration of the Army, and a farther Declaration of their approving and joining with the Army in their laſt Proceedings, making null all Acts paſſed by the Members at *Weſtminſter* ſince *July* 26. Then the General marched in great State to the Houſe of Sir *Abraham Williams* in *New Palace-Yard*; and both Houſes being ſat with their old Speakers, the Earl of *Mancheſter* and *William Lenthal* Eſq; they invited the General into each Houſe, and gave him ſolemn Thanks for his faithful Services to them and the Kingdom, and ordered *Thurſday* next for a *Day of Thankſgiving* for the great Mercies of God in reſtoring the Members of both Houſes to their juſt Privileges

vileges without the Effuſion of Blood, and for the Settlement of Peace. On the ſame Day they conſtituted the General Conſtable of the *Tower* of *London*, and order'd the Gratuity of a Month's Pay to the Officers and private Soldiers. As many of the eleven Members as had return'd to act, immediately withdrew; moſt of them retired beyond the Seas, and that courageous and governing Man, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, meeting with the Plague on Shipboard, dy'd in a Ditch near *Calais*, to the great Terror of his Collegues. 23 Car. I.

Sir *Philip Stapleton's* Death.

The *Scots* now began to repent of delivering up the King, and on *Auguſt* 13. publiſhed *a Declaration and Remonſtrance of the preſent Engagement of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *with their Reſolutions and Intentions (according to their ſolemn League and Covenant) to redeem his Majeſty from the Hands of Schiſmaticks, and to place him in his Parliament with Honour and Safety, to procure the Peace of the three Kingdoms, and to vindicate the worthy Members of Parliament falſly impeached by the Army, with the true Privileges of Parliament and Liberty of the Subject; all which are not only endanger'd, but by likelihood ready to be deſtroy'd by the Power of an over-awing, tyrannical Army, under the Conduct of Sir* Thomas Fairfax: *With an Oath taken by the Parliament of* Scotland, *and by them preſcribed to be taken by all his Majeſty's loyal Subjects.*

Engagement of the *Scots*.

About three Weeks after the Army enter'd *London*, the Parliament addreſs'd themſelves again to the King, in the old Propoſitions of *Newcaſtle*, ſome Particulars relating to the *Scots* only excepted. The King adviſing with ſome about him concerning this Matter, it was concluded to be unſafe for him to cloſe with the Enemies of the Army whilſt he was in it: Whereupon the King refuſed the Articles, and deſired a perſonal Treaty. The Officers of the Army having ſeen his Anſwer before it was ſent, ſeemed much ſatisfied therewith, and promiſed to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to procure a perſonal Treaty; and *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and many others in the Houſe, preſs'd the King's Deſires with great Earneſtneſs; wherein contrary to their Expectations, they found a vigorous Oppoſition from ſuch as had already conceived a Jealouſy of their private Agreement with the King, and were

Parliament ſends Propoſitions to the King.

Jealouſies of *Cromwel's* private Agreement with the King.

An. 1647. were now confirm'd in that Opinion: and the Suſpicions of them grew to be ſo ſtrong, that they were accounted Betrayers of the Cauſe, and loſt almoſt all their Friends in the Parliament. The Army that lay then about *Putney* were no leſs diſſatisfied with their Conduct, of which they were daily inform'd by thoſe that came to them from *London*; ſo that the Agitators began to change their Diſcourſe, and to complain openly in their Council, both of the King and the Malignants about him, ſaying, 'That ſince the 'King had rejected their Propoſals, they were not 'engag'd any further to him, and that they were now 'to conſult their own Safety and the publick Good; 'that having the Power devolved upon them by the 'Deciſion of the Sword, to which both Parties had 'appealed, and being convinced that Monarchy was 'inconſiſtent with the Proſperity of the Nation, they 'reſolved to uſe their Endeavours to reduce the Go'vernment of *England* to the Form of a Common'wealth.' Theſe Proceedings ſtruck ſo great a Terror into *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, that they thought it neceſſary to draw the Army to a general Rendezvous, pretending to engage them to adhere to their former Propoſals to the King; but it was indeed to bring the Army into ſubjection to them and their Party, that ſo they might make their Bargain by them; deſigning, if they could carry this Point at the Rendezvous, to diſmiſs the Council of Agitators, to divide the Army, and to ſend thoſe to the remoteſt Places who were moſt oppoſite to them, retaining near them ſuch only as were fit for their purpoſe. This Deſign being diſcovered by the Agitators, amongſt whom Colonel *Rainsborough* had the principal Intereſt, they uſed all poſſible Induſtry to prevent the general Muſter, which was appointed to be at *Ware*; ſuppoſing the Separation thereupon intended to be contrary to the Agreement made upon taking the King out of the hands of the Parliament, and deſtructive to the Ends which they thought it their Duty to promote.

Army prejudiced againſt the King.

In the mean time *Cromwel* having acquainted the King with his Danger, and proteſting to him, that it was not in his Power to undertake for his Security in the Place where he was, aſſured him of his real Service; and *deſiring the Lord to deal with him and his*

his according to the ſincerity of his Heart towards the King, prepar'd himſelf to act his Part at the general Rendezvous. The King being doubtful what to do in this Conjuncture, was adviſ'd by ſome to go privately to *London*, and appear in the Houſe of Lords: to which it was anſwered, That the Army being Maſters of the City and Parliament, would undoubtedly ſeize him there; and if there ſhould be any Blood ſhed in his Defence, he would be accus'd of beginning a new War. Others counſel'd him to ſecure his Perſon by quitting the Kingdom: Againſt which the King objected, that the Rendezvous being appointed for the next Week, he was not willing to quit the Army till that was paſt; becauſe if the ſuperior Officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their Engagement; if not, they muſt apply themſelves to him for their own Security. The *Scotch* Commiſſioners alſo, who had been long tampering with him, took hold of this Opportunity to perſuade him to their Terms, by augmenting his Fears as much as they could. It was alſo propos'd, that he ſhould conceal himſelf in *England*; but that was thought unſafe, if not impoſſible. Some there were who propos'd his going to *Jerſey*, which was then kept for him; but the King being told by the Earl of *Lanerick*, that the Ships provided by Sir *John Berkley* for that purpoſe, had been diſcovered and ſeiz'd, (tho Sir *John* affirms in his Papers that none were provided) that Deſign was laid aſide. At laſt the King reſolved to go to the *Iſle of Wight*, being, as is moſt probable, recommended thither by *Cromwel*, who, as well as the King, had a good Opinion of Colonel *Hammond* the Governour there, who was Brother to the famous Dr. *Hammond*. To this End the King ſent Mr. *William Leg* to Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, requiring them to aſſiſt him in his Eſcape: And Horſes were provided at *Sutton* in *Hampſhire* for that purpoſe.

23 Car. I.

King in great Straits.

On the Day following, Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham* waiting with Horſes, the King with Mr. *Leg* came out towards the Evening, and being mounted, they deſigned to ride thro the Foreſt, having the King for their Guide, but they loſt their Way; ſo that the Night proving dark and ſtormy, and the Ways very bad, they could not reach *Sutton*

King leaves *Hampton-Court.*

An. 1647. before Break of Day, tho they hop'd to have been there three Hours before. At *Sutton* they were inform'd that a Committee of the County was there sitting by Order of the Parliament: which when the King heard, he passed by that Place, and continued his Way towards *Southampton*, attended only by Mr. *Leg*, and went to a House of the Earl of *Southampton*, at *Titchfield*, having sent Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Ashburnham* to Colonel *Hammond* Governour of the *Isle of Wight*, with a Copy of a Letter left upon the Table in his Chamber at *Hampton-Court*, and two other Letters which he had lately receiv'd, one of them without a Name, expressing great Fears and Apprehensions of the ill Intentions of the Commonwealth Party against the King; the other from *Cromwel*, much to the same purpose, with this Addition, that in prosecution thereof, a new Guard was design'd the next Day to be placed about the King, consisting of Men of that Party. He also sent by them a Letter to Colonel *Hammond*, wherein after he had expressed his Distrust of the *Levelling* Part of the Army, and the Necessity lying upon him to provide for his own Safety, he assured him, 'That he did 'not intend to desert the Interest of the Army;' ordering his two Messengers to acquaint him, 'That 'of all the Army his Majesty had chosen to put 'himself upon him, whom he knew to be a Person of 'a good Extraction, and tho engaged against him in the 'War, yet without any Animosity to his Person, to 'which he was informed he had no Aversion; yet 'he did not think it fit to surprize him, and there-'fore had sent the two Persons before mentioned to 'advertise him of his Intentions, and to desire his 'Promise to protect the King and his Servants to the 'best of his Power; and if it should happen that 'he was not able to do it, then to oblige himself to 'leave them in as good a Condition as he found 'them.'

Being ready to depart with these Instructions, Sir *John Berkly* said to the King, that having no knowledge of the Governour, he could not tell whether he might not detain them in the Island; and therefore advis'd, if they returned not the next Day, that he would think no more of them, but secure his own Escape. Towards Evening they arriv'd at *Limington*, but

but could not paſs by reaſon of a violent Storm. The next Morning they got over to the Iſland, and went directly to *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, where the Governour reſided, who they were told was gone towards *Newport*. Upon this Notice they rode after, and having overtaken him, and acquainted him with their Meſſage, he grew pale, and fell into ſuch a trembling, that it was thought he would have fallen from his Horſe. In this Conſternation he continu'd about an Hour, breaking out ſometimes into paſſionate and diſtracted Expreſſions, ſaying, *O Gentlemen, you have undone me, in bringing the King into the Iſland, if at leaſt you have brought him; and if you have not, I pray you let him not come: for what between my Duty to the King, and Gratitude to him upon this freſh Obligation of Confidence, and the Diſcharge of my Truſt to the Army, I ſhall be confounded.* Upon this they took occaſion to tell him, *That the King intended a Favour to him and his Poſterity, in giving him this Opportunity to lay a great Obligation upon him, and ſuch as was very conſiſtent with his relation to the Army, who had ſolemnly engaged themſelves to the King; but if he thought otherwiſe, the King would be far from impoſing his Perſon upon him. But*, ſaid the Governour, *if the King ſhould come to any Miſchance, what would the Army and the King ſay to him who had refus'd to receive him?* To which they anſwered, *That he had not refus'd him who was not come to him.* Then beginning to ſpeak more calmly, he deſir'd to know where the King was, and wiſh'd that he had abſolutely thrown himſelf upon him; which made the two Gentlemen ſuſpect that the Governour was not for their turn: But Mr. *Aſhburnham* fearing what would become of the King if he ſhould be diſcovered before he had gain'd this Point, took the Governour aſide, and after ſome Conference prevailed with him to declare, *That he did believe the King rely'd on him as a Perſon of Honour and Honeſty; and therefore he did engage himſelf to perform whatſoever could be expected from a Perſon of that Character.* Mr. *Aſhburnham* reply'd, *I will ask no more:* Then ſaid the Governour, *Let us all go to the King, and acquaint him with it.* 23 Car. I.

An. 1647. When they came to *Cowes-Caſtle*, where a Boat lay to carrry them over, Colonel *Hammond* took Captain *Basket* the Governour of that Caſtle with him, and gave order for a File or two of Muſqueteers to follow them in another Boat. When they came to the Earl of *Southampton*'s Houſe, Mr. *Aſhburnham* leaving Sir *John Berkley* below with Colonel *Hammond* and Captain *Basket*, went up to the King, and having given an Account of what had paſſed between the Governour and them, and that he was come with them to make good what he had promis'd, the King ſtriking his Hand upon his Breaſt, ſaid, *What have you brought* Hammond *with you? O you have undone me, for I am by this means made faſt from ſtirring.* Mr. *Aſhburnham* then told him, *that if he miſtruſted* Hammond, *he would undertake to ſecure him.* To which the King replied, *I underſtand you well enough; but if I ſhould follow that Counſel, it would be ſaid and believed that he ventured his Life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him*; telling him further, *That it was now too late to think upon any thing but going thro the Way he had forced him upon, wondering how he could be guilty of ſo great Imprudence.* At which Expreſſion, Mr. *Aſhburnham* having no more to ſay, wept bitterly.

In the mean time, Colonel *Hammond* and Captain *Basket* beginning to be impatient of their long Attendance below in the Court, Sir *John Berkley* ſent a Gentleman of the Earl of *Southampton*'s to deſire that the King and Mr. *Aſhburnham* would remember they were below. About half an hour after, the King ſent for them up; and before Colonel *Hammond* and Captain *Basket* had kiſſed the King's Hand, he took Sir *John Berkley* aſide and ſaid to him, *Sir* John, *I hope you are not ſo paſſionate as* Jack Aſhburnham: *Do you think you have followed my Directions?* He anſwered, *No indeed; but it is not my fault, as Mr.* Aſhburnham *can tell you if he pleaſes.*

King goes to the *Iſle of Wight.*

The King perceiving that it was now too late to take other Meaſures, received Colonel *Hammond* chearfully; who having repeated to him what he had promis'd before, conducted them over to *Cowes*. The next Morning the King went with the Governour to *Carisbrook*, and on the way thither was met by divers Gentlemen of the Iſland, by whom he underſtood

ſtood that the whole Iſland was unanimouſly for him, except the Governours of the Caſtles, and Colonel *Hammond*'s Captains; that *Hammond* might be eaſily gained, if not more eaſily forced, the Caſtle being Day and Night full of the King's Party; and that the King might chuſe his own time of quitting the Iſland, having liberty to ride abroad daily; ſo that not only the King and thoſe that were with him, but alſo his own Party, approved of the Choice he had made. 23 Car. I.

The King immediately wrote a Letter to the two Houſes, *November* 16. ſignifying, 'That he was 'confident before this time they had received the 'Meſſage which he left behind him at *Hampton-'Court*, the eleventh of this Month; that he would 'ſtill have the ſame Endeavours for ſettling a ſafe 'and well-grounded Peace: And becauſe Religion 'would be the greateſt Foundation of Peace, he would 'begin with that Particular: and tho he could not, 'as a Chriſtian and a King, aſſent to aboliſhing E-'piſcopacy; yet he would be content, that the Pres-'byterial Government, as now in practice, ſhould 'continue for three Years: As to the Militia, tho 'by Right it was inſeparably inherent to the Crown 'by the Laws of the Nation, yet he would agree 'that during his whole Reign, it ſhould be ordered 'and diſpoſed by the two Houſes of Parliament. 'That he would concur in any thing for Payment of 'the Army and other publick Debts. And for the 'further ſecuring all Fears, he will conſent to an Act, 'that all the great Offices of State, and naming of 'Privy-Counſellors for his whole Reign, ſhall be diſ-'poſed by the two Houſes of Parliament: And to 'wipe away the Memory of all Diſtractions, there 'ſhould be an Act to ſuppreſs and annul all Declara-'tions againſt the Parliament, and an Act of Oblivion 'to extend to all Subjects. To which purpoſe his 'Majeſty earneſtly deſired a perſonal Treaty at *Lon-'don* with his two Houſes, in Honour, Freedom and 'Safety, as the only Means to a firm and ſettled 'Peace.' King's Letter to the Parliament.

The Time for the general Rendezvous of the Army being now come, the Commonwealth-Party among them declared to ſtand to their Engagement not to be diſperſed till the things they had demanded Rendezvous of the Army.

An. 1647. were effected, and the Government of the Nation eſtabliſhed. To make good which Reſolution, ſeveral Regiments appear'd in the Field with diſtinguiſhing Marks in their Hats: But *Cromwel* procur'd a Party to ſtand by him in the ſeizing of ſome of them. To this end, being accompanied with divers Officers whom he had preferred, and by that means made his Creatures, he rode up to one of the Regiments which had the diſtinguiſhing Marks, requiring them to take them out; which they not doing, he caus'd ſeveral of them to be ſeiz'd; and then their Hearts failing, they yielded Obedience to his Commands. He ordered one of them to be ſhot dead upon the Place, delivering the reſt of thoſe whom he had ſeized, being eleven in number, into the Hands of the Marſhal; and having diſperſed the Army to their Quarters, went to give an Account of his Proceedings to the Parliament; who being very deſirous to have this Spirit quell'd in the Army by any means, not only approv'd of what he had done, but gave him the Thanks of the Houſe for the ſame. But tho this Party was in appearance over-aw'd by this Action of *Cromwel*, yet they were ſo far from being ſo indeed, that two thirds of the Army went afterwards to *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, to tell them, that tho they were certain to periſh in the Enterprize, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole Army to their Senſe; and that if all failed, they would make a Diviſion in the Army, and join with any who would aſſiſt them in the Deſtruction of thoſe that ſhould oppoſe them. Upon this, they concluded, that if they could not bring the Army to their Senſe, it was beſt to comply with them, a Rupture being utterly deſtructive to both: And in purſuance of this Reſolution, *Cromwell* bent all his Thoughts to make his Peace with the Party that was moſt oppoſite to the King; ſaying, as he knew well to do on ſuch Occaſions, *That the Glory of this World had ſo dazzled his Eyes, that he could not diſcern the great Works the Lord was doing.* He ſent alſo comfortable Meſſages to the Perſons whom he had ſeized at the general Rendezvous, with Aſſurances that nothing ſhould be done to their prejudice; and by theſe and the like Arts he perfected his

Cromwel ſuppreſſes the Agitators.

But they ſtill prevail.

Cromwel reconcil'd to them.

his Reconciliation. And thus the whole Army ſeem'd confirm'd for the Deſtruction of the King. 23 Car. I.

On the fifteenth of *December* Commiſſioners were ſent to the King from the Parliament with Offers of a perſonal Treaty, on Condition that his Majeſty, in teſtimony of his future Sincerity, would give the Royal Aſſent to four preliminary Bills. The firſt of which was for revoking all Proclamations and Declarations againſt the Parliament: The ſecond, for making void all ſuch Titles of Honour as had been granted by the King ſince he had left the Parliament; and that for the future none ſhould be conferred upon any Perſon without the Conſent of the Parliament: The third, for excepting ſome Perſons from Pardon: And the fourth, for inveſting the Militia in the two Houſes. Parliament offers a perſonal Treaty.

The *Scotch* Commiſſioners being not included in this Treaty, ſent a large *Declaration* in very high Language to the Parliament, 'proteſting againſt the 'ſending of the four Bills, and preſſing for a perſonal 'Treaty with his Majeſty at *London*, upon ſuch 'Propoſitions as ſhall be agreed on by the Advice 'and Conſent of the two Kingdoms.' But the two Houſes were to be frighted only by the Army; and therefore they order'd the Printer of the *Scotch* Declaration to be committed, and then returned them an Anſwer full of Contempt and Reproof. *Scots* angry at their not being included.

The Parliament's Commiſſioners coming ſafe to the *Iſle of Wight*, preſented the Bills and the Propoſitions on them to his Majeſty, *December* 24. and he was pleas'd to ſay, *That he was aſſured they could not expect a preſent Anſwer, but he would take the ſame into Conſideration, and give his Anſwer in few Days.* The *Scotch* Commiſſioners came the next day to the King, and put in their Proteſtation to this effect, 'That they had endeavoured by all 'ways and means with the Parliament of *England* 'for furthering a happy Peace; but having ſeen the 'Propoſitions and Bills brought to his Majeſty, 'which they apprehended prejudicial to Religion, 'the Crown, and the Union between the Kingdoms, 'they therefore in the Name of the Kingdom of '*Scotland*, declared their Diſſent. Proteſtations of the *Scots*.

General *Fairfax* wrote to the Houſe of Commons, *December* 31. that there had been ſome meeting in the King deſigns an Eſcape.

An. 1647. the *Isle of Wight*, and a Design to carry away the King; for which reason he had given Orders to Colonel *Hammond* to have a strict Guard upon his Majesty's Person. Upon which both Houses agreed, that his Excellency be required to take special Care for securing the Person of his Majesty in *Carisbrook-Castle*, and that the Governour should obey his further Orders and Directions. On the same Day their Commissioners came back from the King, and brought but little Satisfaction with them, reporting, *that his Majesty shewed little Inclination to pass the Bills, or to make a Composure in that Way, but had barely offer'd a personal Treaty:* Upon which, after long Debate, *January* 3. the Commons upon the Question, *Whether any Addresses should be made hereafter to his Majesty*, did resolve, *That no more Addresses be made from the Parliament to the King, nor any Letters or Messages received from him by themselves, or any other Person, without the leave of both Houses; and that if any presume so to do, they shall incur the Guilt of Treason.* They also published a Declaration, prepar'd by Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes*, shewing the Reasons of their said Resolution, wherein amongst other things, his Majesty is charged with breaking of Parliaments, betraying *Rochel*, refusing to suffer any Enquiry to be made into the Death of his Father, sealing a Commission to the Rebels in *Ireland*, levying War against the People of *England*, and rejecting all reasonable Offers of Accommodation after six several Applications to him on their Part. And now Colonel *Ramsborough*, a chief Man among the Agitators, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet; and Mr. *Holland*, *Ludlow*, and another Member of the House of Commons sent down to the Head-Quarters at *Windsor*, with Orders to discharge from Custody Captain *Reynolds* and some others called *Levellers*, who had been imprisoned by the Army for attempting to bring about that which they themselves were now doing, and to exhort the Officers to contribute the best of their Endeavours towards a speedy Settlement.

King's Answer unsatisfactory.

No more Addresses to his Majesty.

Death of the Lord *Fairfax*.

Monday, *March* 13. *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, Father of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General, died at *York* of a Sickness occasion'd by a Bruise on his Foot where he had a Corn growing, which fester'd and turned to a Gangreen; and with the pain of this he fell into a Fever

Fever which took away his Life. Upon Information of his Death the Commons on *March* 16. ordered that his Excellency, the new Lord *Fairfax*, ſhould be Keeper of *Pontefract-Caſtle*, *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for *Yorkſhire*, and chief Ranger, &c. the Places before held by his deceaſed Father. 23 Car. I.

We have ſeen the Poſture of Affairs upon the Concluſion of the laſt Year; and this gave Occaſion to a ſecond Civil War in *England*. The Cavaliers began now to exert themſelves again, and the Presbyterians diſcourſed freely of great Hopes from *Scotland*. The *Scots* were making all poſſible Preparations to raiſe an Army for reſcuing the King; and Sir *Thomas Glemham* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* went to *Scotland* to join with them in that Enterprize, and drew what *Engliſh* they could to promote the Deſign. The firſt of theſe ſeized upon *Carliſle* by order of the *Scots*; whereupon the Parliament thinking it neceſſary to provide for the Security of *Berwick*, placed a good Gariſon therein, and reſolving to reinforce the Militia of each County, ſent down ſome of their Members to give Life to the Preparations. In the mean time, Colonel *Poyer* and others revolted from the Parliament: Being to be disbanded by order of the Council of War, they refus'd to obey, and the better to ſecure themſelves, declar'd for the King, and acted by Commiſſion and Powers from the Prince of *Wales*. Many Parts of the Kingdom prepar'd and encouraged Petitions to the Parliament for a perſonal Treaty with the King, of which the principal were *Surrey*, *Eſſex* and *Kent*. An. 1648. A ſecond Civil War.

Many of thoſe who had been for the Parliament in *South-Wales*, now joining with the King's Party, they grew to be a conſiderable Body; whereby Major General *Laughern*, who upon ſome ſuſpicion had been under Confinement, was encouraged to get away and join himſelf to them; Major General *John Stradling*, Sir *Henry Stradling*, Colonel *Thomas Stradling*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen of thoſe Parts falling in with them. Colonel *Horton*, with about two thouſand five hundred Horſe, Foot and Dragoons, was ſent into *Wales* to engage them; Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* following with as many more Forces as could be ſpared from the Army; who being within three or four Days Riſing in *Wales*.

march

An. 1648. Suppreſs'd by Colonel *Horton.*

march of Colonel *Horton*, received Advice that the Enemy, to the Number of about ſeven thouſand, had engaged the Colonel at *St. Faggons* in *Glamorganſhire*; that upon the firſt Attack his Forces gave ground, but conſidering the Danger they were in, the Country being full of Enemies, they charged the Enemy's Van conſiſting of the beſt of their Men, with ſo great Bravery and Reſolution, that they forced them to give way; which thoſe that were in the rear, who were for the moſt part new-rais'd Men, perceiving, they began to ſhift for themſelves. Upon this, the Colonel's Men followed their Charge with ſo much Vigour and Succeſs, that the whole Body of their Enemies was ſoon routed, many of them killed in the purſuit and many taken Priſoners; amongſt the latter was Major General *Stradling*, and divers other Officers.

Inſurrections in *Surrey* and *Kent.*

The Petitioners of *Surry* drew into a Body, and in Conjunction with the *Kentiſh* Men of the King's Party, appointed their Rendezvous upon *Black-Heath*: But General *Fairfax*, with that part of the Army which he had with him, diſappointed that Deſign, by poſſeſſing himſelf of that Ground before them. However, the King's Party had brought together a conſiderable Body of Men, many of whom were induced to come in upon Aſſurances that they ſhou'd be commanded by Mr. *Hales*, a Gentleman of a great Eſtate in *Kent*; tho afterwards the Lord *Goring* appear'd at the Head of them. Upon the Advance of *Fairfax*'s Army, the King's Party, who exceeded him in Number by one half at leaſt, divided their Body, ſending one Part to poſſeſs themſelves of *Maidſtone* and the adjacent Places, and another to block up *Dover* and other Forts upon the Coaſt; whilſt *Goring* remain'd with the reſt about *Rocheſter*. General *Fairfax* reſolving firſt to attack thoſe about *Maidſtone*, fell upon them and beat them into the Town, which they had fortified before; whereupon, tho the Numbers within the Town being at leaſt equal to thoſe without, made it a Work of great hazard and difficulty, yet conſidering that thoſe with the Lord *Goring* exceeded either, and might march to their Relief, *Fairfax* reſolved to ſtorm the Place, which he did the Night following, by his own Example encouraging the Men to fall on, who for a good while

Fairfax ſent to ſuppreſs them.

Fight at *Maidſtone.*

while were not able to make any conſiderable Progreſs; till Colonel *Hewſon* with his Regiment opened a Paſſage into one of the Streets, where the Diſpute growing hot, he was knocked down with a Muſquet; but recovering himſelf, he preſſed the King's Party ſo hard, that they were forced to retreat to their main Guard; and falling in with them at the ſame time, he ſo diſorder'd them, that they all began to ſhift for themſelves. 24 Car. I.

The General, as ſoon as he had refreſhed his Men, advanced towards the Body commanded by the Lord *Goring*, which was much increaſed in Number by the Addition of thoſe who eſcaped from *Maidſtone*, but not in Reſolution, being ſo diſcourag'd by their Relation of what had paſſed there, that immediately upon the Approach of the Parliament's Forces they began to retreat, many of them returning to their own Habitations. Notwithſtanding this, a conſiderable Body continuing with the Lord *Goring*, he ſent to the City of *London*, deſiring leave to march thro the City into *Eſſex*, deſigning to recruit his Men with ſuch of that Country as had lately expreſſed ſo much Affection to the King's Intereſt: But the City return'd him a poſitive Denial; So that he was neceſſitated to make uſe of Boats or other Means to tranſport his Men over the River into the County of *Eſſex*. A Party of Horſe was ſent from the Army to keep a Guard at *Bow-Bridge*, as well to prevent any in the City from running to them, as to hinder them from doing any thing to the Prejudice of *London*.

King's Party increaſe in *Eſſex*, and are beſieg'd in *Colcheſter*.

Goring's Men who fled into *Eſſex* grew to a conſiderable Body; but being new-rais'd Men, and not well acquainted one with another, upon the Advance of the Parliament's Army, they retreated to *Colcheſter*, with a Body ſo much exceeding their's which purſued and beſieged them in that Place, that Commiſſary-General *Ireton* compared the Town and thoſe therein to a great Bee-hive, and thoſe of his Party to a ſmall Swarm of Bees ſticking on one ſide of it: But the Number of the latter was ſoon increaſed by the Forces which their Friends in the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and *Cambridge*, ſent to their Aſſiſtance.

About

An. 1648. About this time also many of the Parliament's Ships revolted from them; the Seamen in particular on board the Ship commanded by Colonel *Rainsborough*, refused to receive him. The Earl of *Warwick*, as most acceptable to them, was appointed to go down to reduce them to Obedience; by which means part of the Fleet was preserved to the Parliament, who immediately issued out Orders for the fitting out of more Ships to reinforce them. With the revolted Ships Prince *Charles* block'd up the Mouth of the River; and about the same time his Brother the Duke of *York*, who upon the Surrender of *Oxford*, had been brought by Order of the Parliament to *St. James's*, escaped from thence to serve the King's Interest. The Castles of *Deal* and *Sandwich* declared also for the King, and Colonel *Rich* was sent with a Party of the Army to reduce them.

Ships revolt from the Parliament.

The Earl of *Warwick*, with the Fleet equipped for him by the Parliament, fell down the River towards the Ships commanded by Prince *Charles*, who presuming either that the Earl wou'd not fight him, or perhaps come over to him, lay some time in Expectation; but finding by the manner of his Approach that he was deceived in that Particular, he thought it convenient to make all the Sail he could for the Coast of *Holland*. *Deal* and *Sandwich* Castles were reduced by Colonel *Rich*; and many of the revolted Ships not finding Things according to their Expectation, being constrained to serve under Prince *Rupert* instead of the Lord *Willoughby*, who they desired might command them, returned to the Obedience of the Parliament.

But return again to their Obedience.

Earl of *Holland* declares against the Parliament.

The Earl of *Holland* form'd a Party of about a thousand Horse, with which he marched from *London*, and declar'd against the Parliament; accompany'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Francis* his Brother; prevailing also with *Dalbier*, formerly Quarter-Master-General to the Earl of *Essex*, to join with them. Their Rendezvous was appointed to be upon *Banstead-Downs*; but the Vigilance of the Parliament was such, that a Party of Horse and Foot was soon sent after them, commanded by Sir *Michael Livesey*, who without much Dispute put them to the rout near *Kingston*. The Lord *Francis* stay'd behind his Company, where unseasonably daring the Troops,

But is defeated

and refuſing to take Quarter, he was killed. The reſt fled towards *St. Neots* in *Huntingtonſhire*, where being fallen upon again, they were routed a ſecond time; in which Action the Parliament's Soldiers, to expreſs their Deteſtation of *Dalbier*'s Treachery, hewed him in pieces. The Earl of *Holland* was taken and ſent Priſoner to *Warwick-Caſtle*, but the Duke of *Buckingham* eſcaped, and went over to *France*. 24 Car. I. And taken Priſoner.

Pomfret-Caſtle being ſeized by ſome of the King's Party was beſieged by the Country, aſſiſted by ſome of the Army, Sir *Hugh Cholmley* commanding at the Siege; but the Army finding little Progreſs made therein, ordered Colonel *Rainsborough* with more Forces thither, appointing him to command in the room of Sir *Hugh Cholmley*. Whilſt the Colonel was preparing for the Service, being at *Doncaſter*, ten or twelve Miles from *Pomfret*, with a conſiderable Force in the Town, a Party of Horſe diſmounting at his Quarters, and going up as Friends to his Chamber, under pretence of having Buſineſs with him, ſeized him firſt, and upon his Refuſal to go ſilently with them, murder'd him. After his Death, another Commander being appointed in his Place to carry on the Siege, thoſe in the Caſtle were reduced to ſuch Extremities, that ſome of the moſt deſperate of them reſolved together with the Governor, one *Morris*, who had been Page to the Earl of *Strafford*, to endeavour the breaking thro the Parliament's Forces on Horſeback; which they attempted, and tho moſt of them were beaten back to the Caſtle by the Beſiegers, yet this *Morris* made his way thro; but was afterwards taken as he paſſed thro the Country in the diſguiſe of a Beggar, and carried to *York*, where he was condemn'd and executed as a Traitor. *Pomfret-Caſtle* beſieg'd. *Rainsborough* aſſaſſinated.

Twenty thouſand *Scots* being upon their March into *England* under the Conduct of Duke *Hamilton*, with about five thouſand *Engliſh* commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, the Houſe of Commons declared the *Scots* who invaded *England* to be Enemies, and ordered Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* to advance towards them, and fight them. The King's Party in *Colcheſter* were much encouraged with Hopes of Relief from the *Scotch* Army, who were very numerous, and every way well provided. To fight this formidable Army the Lieutenant-General could not make up above *Scots* invade *England*.

An. 1648. above seven thousand Horse and Foot, and those so extremely harass'd with hard Service and long Marches, that they seemed rather fit for an Hospital than a Battel. With this handful of Men he advanced towards the *Scots*, and about *Preston* in *Lancashire* both Armies met on the 17th of *August*. The *English* who were in the *Scotch* Army, had the honour of the Van, and for a time engaged the Lieutenant-General with much Bravery, but being vigorously press'd by his Men, they were forced to retreat to a Pass, which they maintained against them whilst they sent to their General for Succour; which he not sending, on purpose, as was said, that the *English* might be cut off, and his Party kept entire to enable him to set up for himself, and give Law to both Nations, they began to shift for themselves; which made such an Impression upon the *Scots*, that they soon follow'd their Example, retreating in a disorderly manner. *Cromwel* followed them so close, that some of their Foot threw down their Arms, and yielded themselves Prisoners. Many of the principal Officers of their Foot were taken, with all their Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage. *Hamilton* with four or five thousand Horse in a Body left the Field, and was pursued by Colonel *Thorney*, a Member of Parliament, and Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, who following them too close, unadvisedly run himself upon one of their Lances, wherewith he was mortally wounded. *Hamilton*'s Body of Horse kept themselves together for some Days, roving up and down the Country about *Leicestershire*, which County the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby* had raised, and brought together about three thousand Horse and Foot, to preserve the Country from Plunder, and to take all Advantages against the *Scots*. And tho a Body of Horse from the Army was in pursuit of the *Scots*, yet the *Leicestershire* Party came up first to them at *Utoxeter* in *Staffordshire*, where the Body of their Horse was; and whilst the *Scots* were treating with the other Party from the Army, the Lord *Grey*'s Men, observing no Guards kept, enter'd upon them before any Conditions were made: Whereupon *Hamilton* surrender'd himself to Colonel *Waite*, an Officer of the *Leicestershire* Party, delivering to him his Scarf, his George, and his Sword, which last he desired him to keep carefully, because it had belonged to his Ancestors.

Cromwel defeats them at *Preston*.

Hamilton taken.

ceſtors. By the two Parties the *Scots* were all made Priſoners, and all their Horſes ſeized: The Duke of *Hamilton* was carried Priſoner to *Windſor-Caſtle*; and all their Standards of Horſe and Foot were taken and ſent up to *London*, where the Parliament ordered them to be hung up in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. 24 Car. I.

Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* marched with part of his Army to *Edinburgh*; where he diſpoſſeſſed the *Hamiltonian* Party of their Authority, and put the Power into the Hands of the Presbyterians, by whom he was received with great Demonſtrations of Joy: and tho lately they looked upon the Independent Party as the worſt of their Enemies, yet now they owned and embraced them as their beſt Friends and Deliverers; and having notice given them, that the *Engliſh* Army was about to return into *England*, they prevailed with *Cromwel* to leave Major-General *Lambert* with a Body of Horſe, till they could raiſe more Forces to provide for their own Safety. *Cromwel* marches to *Edinburgh*.

The King's Party in *Colcheſter* held out to the utmoſt; but being in extreme want of Proviſion, and deſtitute of all hopes of Relief ſince the Defeat of the *Scots*, they were forced to ſurrender, *Auguſt* 28. upon Articles, whereby ſome of the principal of them being Priſoners at Diſcretion, the Court-Martial aſſembled and condemned Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Liſle*, and Sir *Bernard Gaſcoign* to die; the laſt of whom, being a Foreigner, was pardoned, and the other two were ſhot to death according to the Sentence. The Lord *Goring* and the Lord *Capel* were ſent Priſoners to *Windſor-Caſtle* by Order of the Parliament. And thus all Inſurrections were in a manner quell'd, and the ſecond Civil War ended in the ſpace of about five Months. *Colcheſter* ſurrender'd. The War ended.

When the Army was removed from *London* upon the account of the forementioned Inſurrections, *Cromwel* towards the *North*, and *Fairfax* into *Kent*, the Presbyterians began to lift up their Heads, and to appear more ſtrong and numerous in the Houſe of Commons than before; and the Common-Council of the City ventured to deliver a Petition to the Parliament for a Perſonal Treaty with the King, as the only way to reſtore the Kingdom to a happy Peace. This appeared to have ſo much the Concurrence of the City, that the Parliament durſt not give it a poſi- A Perſonal Treaty with the King promoted by the Presbyterians.

An. 1648. tive Denial; and in reality the major part at this time desired the same thing: Which forced Sir *Henry Vane* and his Party to contrive some specious Way to delay it, by seeming to consent to it. And therefore they appointed a Committee of the Commons to meet with a Committee of the City, to confer about Means to provide for the King's Security during the time of the Treaty; and being met, the Parliament's Committee perplexed the other with numerous Questions, and such as they knew the other could give no Answer to without first calling another Common-Council to receive further Directions. By this Artifice, and by starting of new Questions at every Meeting, they spent much time, and met with the Delays they desir'd. So that notwithstading the City's Earnestness for the Treaty, it was deferred till the Insurrection in *Kent*, and the Earl of *Holland*'s Designs were defeated and expired. However the Prince was still in the *Downs* with his Fleet, the Gentlemen in *Colchester* bravely defended themselves, and the *Scotch* Army was enter'd the Kingdom; all which supported their Spirits and Courage, insomuch that after all the Delays, the Parliament consented and declared, 'that they wou'd enter into a Personal 'Treaty with the King for settling the Peace of the 'Kingdom; that the Treaty should be in the *Isle* 'of *Wight*, where his Majesty shou'd enjoy Honour, 'Freedom, and Safety.'

Parliament declares for a Personal Treaty.

So notwithstanding all Endeavours to prevent it, in the beginning of *August* the Earl of *Middlesex* was sent by the House of Lords, and Mr. *John Hippesly* and Mr. *Bulkeley* from the House of Commons, to *Carisbrook-Castle*, where they deliver'd this Message, 'That the 'Houses desired a Treaty with his Majesty upon the 'Propositions tendered to him at *Hampton-Court*, and 'such others as shou'd be presented to him.' The Messengers were to return within ten Days, they not being very strict in the limitation of Time to a Day, because the Treaty was so much the longer kept off; which they still hoped wou'd be prevented by some intervening Accident. The King received them chearfully, and told them, 'He could not believe any 'Man could desire a Peace more heartily than him-'self, since no Man suffer'd so much by the want of 'it; that tho he was without any Man to consult 'with,

Their Message to the King.

'with, and without a Secretary to write what he 24 Car. I.
'ſhould dictate, yet they ſhould not ſtay long for an
'Anſwer.' Accordingly within two or three Days he gave them one, all written with his own Hand; in which after he had lamented his own preſent calamitous Condition, he ſaid, 'He very chearfully em-
'braced their Motion, and accepted a Treaty they pro-
'miſed ſhould be with Honour, Freedom and Safe-
'ty, which he hoped they would make good; for
'that in his confined Condition, he was ſo totally
'ignorant and uninformed of the preſent State of his
'Dominions, that a blind Man was as fit to judge of
'Colours, as he to treat of the Peace of the Kingdom,
'except they firſt revoked their Votes, by which all
'Men were prohibited to write or ſpeak to him. He
'nam'd *Newport* in the Iſland for the Place of the
'Treaty, and deſired that ſuch Perſons might have
'Liberty to repair to him, whoſe Advice and Aſſiſ-
'tance he ſhould want in the Treaty.' He ſent a Liſt of ſuch of the Nobility and Biſhops, Lawyers and Civilians, whoſe Attendance would be moſt uſeful to him; and deſired he might be in the ſame State of Freedom as while he was at *Hampton-Court*.

Cromwel oppoſes the Treaty.

The Commiſſioners had no ſooner returned from the Iſle of *Wight*, and delivered the King's Anſwer to the Houſes, but News was brought of the Defeat of the *Scotch* Army; and *Cromwel* had written to his Friends, 'That it would be ſuch a perpetual Igno-
'miny to the Parliament, that no Body would ever
'give Credit to them, if they ſhould recede from
'their former Votes of No Addreſſes to the King;
'and conjured them to continue firm in that Reſo-
'lution.' But they had now made too great a Step to recede; and ſince the firſt Motion for a Treaty, many abſent Members had flocked to the Houſe, and advanced that Overture: So that they were much more numerous than thoſe who endeavoured to obſtruct a Treaty. And the great Victory and other Succeſſes of the Army, made them more preſſing for a Treaty, as the only Hopes left to prevent the Confuſion they ſaw threatning the Kingdom; and ſo with more Vigour they urged that Satisfaction might be given to the King in what he had propoſed in his Anſwer; and notwithſtanding the moſt vehement Oppoſition, it was declared, 'That the Votes of No-Ad-
'dreſſes

Votes of No-Addreſſes repealed.

An. 1648. 'dreſſes ſhould ſtand repealed; that the Treaty 'ſhould be at *Newport*, that his Majeſty ſhould be 'there with the ſame Freedom he was at *Hampton-'Court*; that the reſtraining Inſtructions given to 'Colonel *Hammond* ſhould be recalled; that all thoſe 'Perſons named by the King ſhould have free Li-'berty to repair to him, and remain with him with-'out Trouble.'

Commiſſioners appointed.

Having thus far proceeded, they appointed for their Commiſſioners five Lords and ten Commoners, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Middleſex*, and the Lord *Say*; the Lord *Wenman*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *H. Vane* junior, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. Recorder *Glyn*, Sir *John Potts*, and Mr. *Bulkeley*; who were enjoined to haſten the Treaty with all poſſible Expedition. Thoſe allowed to the King, were the Duke of *Richmond*, Marquiſs of *Hertford*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Biſhop *Juxon*, Biſhop *Duppa*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Henchman*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, Dr. *Turner*, and ſome other Divines; Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Sir *Robert Holborn*, and Sir *Jeffry Palmer*, Lawyers; Sir *Thomas Reeves*, and Dr. *Duck*, Civilians; Sir *Edward Walker*, Mr. *Whitaker*, Mr. *Oudart*, and Mr. *Philip Warwick*; beſides the Grooms of the Bedchamber and other Servants. Theſe having repair'd thither to the King's great Satisfaction, and hearing the Parliament's Commiſſioners were on their Way, his Majeſty remov'd from *Carisbrook-Caſtle* to Sir *William Hopkins*'s at *Newport*, the Place appointed for the Treaty.

The Parliament's Commiſſioners arriv'd at *Newport* on the fifteenth of *September*, and on the eighteenth the Treaty began; in which tho the King did indeed make very large Conceſſions, yet the Commons voted, *October* 27. 'That his Majeſty's An-'ſwer concerning the taking of the *Covenant* was *un-'ſatisfactory*; and that his other Anſwers concerning 'the taking away Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, &c. 'concerning the aboliſhing of Popery, and concerning 'the alienating of Biſhops Lands were all *unſatiſ-'factory*:' and within few Days after, 'That his Meſ-'ſage as to Delinquents, his Anſwer concerning the

King's Anſwers voted unſatisfactory.

'Church,

Church, and concerning *Ireland*, were likewiſe unſatisfactory.' 24 Car. I.

The forty Days appointed for the Treaty being expired, which was on the fourth of *November*, the King in Concluſion earneſtly deſired the Commiſſioners, *That ſince he had parted from ſo much of his own Right, to give his two Houſes Satisfaction, they would be a Means that he might be preſſed no further, ſince the few things he had not ſatisfied them in, had ſo near a Relation to his Conſcience, that, with the Peace of that, he could not yield further:* And then begg'd of them *to uſe the ſame Eloquence and Abilities, by which they had prevailed with him, in repreſenting to the two Houſes the deplorable Condition of the Kingdom, if it were not prevented by this Treaty.* But when all Men thought the Treaty had been at an End, the Commiſſioners received new Orders and Inſtructions to enlarge it fourteen Days longer, and after that to continue it four Days more, and laſt of all one Day more. Treaty prolong'd.

During this Time that the Treaty was prolonged, the Army, inſtructed by their Leaders, drew up a large *Remonſtrance*, wherein they declared, 'That 'the Parliament have abundant Cauſe to lay aſide 'any further Proceedings in this Treaty, and to re'turn to their Vote of No-Addreſſes, that the King 'may come no more to Government, but be brought 'to Juſtice, as the capital Cauſe of all the Evils in 'the Kingdom.' In this was the Hand of *Cromwel*, who being at the Leaguer before *Pomfret*, in his return from *Scotland*, induced all the Regiments under him to petition againſt the Treaty, and for Juſtice on the King. Army's Remonſtrance.

The Report of the Commiſſioners from the Iſle of *Wight* was under Conſideration, when this Remonſtrance was brought to the Houſe by ſix Officers from the Head-Quarters at *Windſor*; which put all into a great Confuſion. But that which moſt terrified them, and indeed awaken'd them to the moſt diſmal Apprehenſions, was the News from the Iſle of *Wight*, That Colonel *Hammond* was diſcharged, and Colonel *Ewer* had carried away the King to *Hurſt-Caſtle*, a Sort of a Blockhouſe in the Sea, not far from the Iſle of *Wight*, in a cold and unwholeſome Air. His Majeſty had been lately adviſed by Mr. *Warwick* to take King carried to *Hurſt-Caſtle*.

An. 1648. care of himself, 'That *Hammond* was likely to leave 'the Island, and that *Rolph*, and other ill Spirits of 'the Army hung about the Place.' To which the King reply'd, *That the Governour was grown such a Rogue, that he could not be in worse Hands.* The Night before his Seizure, which was *November* 29. when such a thing was strongly suspected by the King and those about him, he was urged by the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Lindsey*, to make his Escape; which was thought very practicable by the Assistance of Colonel *Cook*, and the Advantage of a dark rainy Night. But the King had some Scruple upon him on account of his Promise, and after the Matter was debated, he said, *They have promised me, and I have promised them; and I will not break first.* And after they had distinguished between the Parliament and the Army, and that Promises made to one did not bind with respect to the other, he declared, *He would not do any thing that should look like breaking of his Word.* And so tho the Danger was apparent, and the Escape feasible, he yielded to his Fate, and was the next Morning not only seized, but hurried away with great Precipitation from the Island, after he had been a little above a Year in the Place.

This News being brought to the Commons when they were in the Heat of the Debate upon the King's Answer, they immediately desisted, and voted, 'That 'the carrying the King to *Hurst-Castle* was without 'their Advice and Consent;' and ordered a Letter to be written to the General, 'That the Orders and 'Instructions to Colonel *Ewer* were contrary to those 'given to Colonel *Hammond*; and therefore it was 'the Pleasure of the House, that he should recal 'those Orders, and that Colonel *Hammond* should 'again resume the Care of the King's Person.' But the General, without taking notice of their Complaints or Commands, demanded the Arrears due to the Army, declaring, 'That unless there were present 'Money sent to that purpose, he should be forced to 'remove the Army nearer to *London*.' And at the same Time a new *Declaration* was sent to the House from the Army in pursuance of their late *Remonstrance*, which was so far from being allowed, that some resolute Members moved, 'That the Army 'might be declared Traitors, if they presumed to 'march

Declaration of the Army.

'march nearer *London* than they were at preſent; 24 Car. I.
'and that an Impeachment of High Treaſon might
'be drawn up againſt the principal Officers of it.'
This haſtened the *Criſis*, and the General marched directly to *London*, and quartered at *Whitehall*; and other Officers with their Troops in *Durham-Houſe*, the *Meuſe*, *Covent-Garden*, and St. *James*'s; and to prevent further Inconveniencies, they ſent to the City for forty thouſand Pounds to ſatisfy the Army. Notwithſtanding this ſtrange Proceeding, the Houſe of Commons reſolved to exert it ſelf, and boldly aſſert the Treaty; and accordingly there happened a violent Struggle between the two Parties in the Houſe, for the Space of a whole Day and Night together. About five a Clock on *Tueſday* Morning, the fifth of *December*, they firſt put the Queſtion, *Whether the Queſtion ſhould be put*, and carried it by a hundred and forty Voices againſt a hundred and four: So that they paſſed the grand Queſtion, and voted without dividing, namely, *That his Majeſty's Conceſſions to the Propoſitions upon the Treaty, are ſufficient Grounds for the Houſes to proceed upon for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom.* And to prevent further Strokes, they appointed a Committee to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good Intelligence and Correſpondence between the Army and the Parliament; and ſo adjourned till the next Morning.

Army enters the City.

Upon this the Officers reſolved to exert themſelves, and make one brave and deſperate Puſh; and accordingly they ſent certain Regiments of Horſe and Foot to *Weſtminſter*, who ſetting Guards upon all the Avenues to the Parliament-Houſe, ſeized upon one and forty of the Members, as they were entering the Houſe; who were conveyed into their great Victualling Houſe near *Weſtminſter-Hall*, called *Hell*; where they kept them all Night without any Bedding; whence being driven as Priſoners thro Snow and Rain to ſeveral Inns in the *Strand*, the Soldiers upbraided them in their Paſſage, *That they were the Men who cozened the State of their Money, and kept back the Army's Pay.* And as they made Priſoners of theſe, ſo they denied Entrance into the Houſe to about a hundred more; whereupon the reſt of the Preſbyterian Party being terrified with the Uſage of

Seizes on ſeveral Members.

And denies Entrance to others.

An. 1648. their Fellow-Members, declined the House, leaving it to the Possession of about a hundred and fifty, who being most of them Officers of the Army, performed every thing according to the Direction of their Leaders. This great Change and Reformation was called by the Name of *Colonel* Pride's *Purge*.

Proposals of the Army to the House.

The House being thus purged, Lieutenant Colonel *Axtel* came in and presented the Proposals of the Army, setting forth, *That they had for a long while sadly beheld and tasted in their Proceedings the miserable Effects of Counsels divided and corrupted by Faction and personal Interest; that all faithful Members must acquit themselves by a Protestation of their not concurring in the late Proceedings, and must then speedily and vigorously proceed to take Order for the Execution of Justice.* Next Day Lieutenant General *Cromwel* came into the House, and received their hearty Thanks for his great and faithful Services. On *December* 13. the Remnant of the Commons voted,

Votes of No-Addresses resumed.

'That they will make no further Addresses or Applications to the King; and that the late Treaty 'with him was highly dishonourable and destructive 'to the Good of the Kingdom.' On *December* 16. a Party of Horse was sent over to *Hurst-Castle*, to

King brought to *Windsor*.

bring the King to *Windsor*, where *Cromwel* was ready to receive him. He lay at *Farnham December* 22. and was delivered up at *Windsor-Castle* the next Day, Col. *Thomlinson* commanding the Guards about him. The Council of War ordered *December* 27. *That all Ceremonies of State, used to the King, should be left off, and his Attendance be with fewer Persons and at less Charge.* Next Day a Committee of the Commons, appointed to draw up a Charge against the King, reported an Ordinance *for attainting* Charles Stuart *of High Treason, and for trying him by Commissioners to be nominated in the said Ordinance*; which was tumultuously agreed to, and carried up to the Lords *January* 2. But they not concurring, the Commons declared, *That the People are, under God, the Original of all just Power: That the House of Commons being chosen by and representing the People, are the supreme Power in the Nation: That whatsoever is enacted or declared for Law by the Commons in Parliament, hath the Force of a Law, and the People are concluded thereby, tho the Consent of the King and Peers be not had thereunto.*

Ordinance for trying the King.

Votes of the Commons.

Jan.

Jan. 10. the Commiſſioners appointed to try the King met in the *Painted-Chamber*, and nominated Serjeant *Bradſhaw* to be Preſident of their Court, Mr. *Steel* to be Attorney-General, Mr. *Cook* Sollicitor, Dr. *Doriſlaus* and Mr. *Ask* to be Pleaders againſt him. On *Jan.* 13. they agreed that *Weſtminſter-Hall* ſhould be the Place of Trial; and that in order thereunto the King ſhould be brought up from *Windſor* on *Monday* next. On *Wedneſday January* 17. they ordered he ſhould be brought to the Houſe of Sir *Robert Cotton*, for the better Conveniency of his Trial in the Hall adjoining. 24 Car. I. Commiſſioners for trying the King meet.

The Commiſſioners that actually ſat or aſſiſted as Judges upon the King's Trial, were ſeventy nine in Number, namely, Serjeant *Bradſhaw* Preſident; Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Commiſſary General *Ireton*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Colonel *Harriſon*, Colonel *Whalley*, Colonel *Pride*, Colonel *Ewer*, Colonel *Ingoldsby*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Lord *Munſon*, Sir *John Danvers*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Sir *John Bowcher*, Sir *James Harrington*, Mr. *Henningham*, Alderman *Pennington*, Colonel *Harry Marten*, Colonel *Purefoy*, Colonel *Barkſtead*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Colonel *Ludlow*, Colonel *Hutchinſon*, Colonel *Titchborne*, Colonel *Roe*, Colonel *Scroop*, Colonel *Okey*, Mr. *Holland*, Mr. *Allen*, Mr. *Pelham*, Mr. *T. Challoner*, Mr. *J. Challoner*, Colonel *Moore*, Mr. *Alured*, Colonel *Laſſels*, Mr. *H. Smith*, Mr. *Edwards*, Mr. *Fray*, Mr. *Clement*, Mr. *Wogan*, Sir *Gregory Norton*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Colonel *Harvey*, Mr. *Dove*, Colonel *Wenn*, Alderman *Scot*, Alderman *Andrews*, Mr. *Cawley*, Colonel *Stapley*, Mr. *Liſle*, Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Colonel *Fleetwood*, Colonel *J. Temple*, Colonel *P. Temple*, Colonel *Wayte*, Colonel *Walton*, Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Say*, Colonel *Thomlinſon*, Mr. *Blackiſtone*, Mr. *Millington*, Colonel *Downes*, Colonel *Horton*, Colonel *Hammond*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Potter*, Mr. *Garland*, Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Mr. *Dixwell*, Mr. *Mayne*, Mr. *Blagrave*, Colonel *R. Lilburne*, Colonel *Deane*, Colonel *Hewſon*, Lieutenant Colonel *Goffe*, Mr. *Carew*, and Mr. *Jones*. There were many Commiſſioners nominated that refuſed to act or ſit in Judgment, to the Number of fifty two, *viz.* the Speaker *Lenthal*, General *Fairfax*, Major-General Names of the Commiſſioners who acted. Of thoſe who did not act.

An. 1648. General *Skippon*, Alderman *Fowlks*, Alderman *Atkins*, Sir *William Allison*, Sir *William Armyn*, Mr. *Aislaby*, Sir *John Barrington*, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *Godfrey Bosvile*, Mr. *Burrel*, Sir *Edward Bainton*, Mr. *Berners*, Mr. *Bond*, Mr. *Boone*, Mr. *J. Corbet*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Colonel *Duckenfield*, Mr. *Darley*, Colonel *Desborough*, Colonel *Fenwick*, Serjeant *Thorp*, Mr. *Fagge*, Mr. *Gratwick*, Mr. *Gourdon*, Sir *Thomas Honywood*, Mr. *Hill*, Lord *Liste*, Colonel *Lambert*, Mr. *Lawry*, Mr. *Mildmay*, Sir *William Masham*, Colonel *Manwaring*, Mr. *Nelthorp*, Serjeant *Nicholas*, Colonel *Overton*, Sir *William Roberts*, Mr. *Nut*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Colonel *Rigby*, Mr. *R. Salway*, Mr. *H. Salway*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Skinner*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Thorp*, Sir *Peter Temple*, Mr. *Weaver*, Colonel *Wilson*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, and Mr. *Weston*.

High Court of Justice, before whom the King is brought.

The Commissioners that acted being set in *Westminster-Hall*, under the Name and Title of the *High Court of Justice*, commanded the Serjeant at Arms to send for their Prisoner, who was brought up in the Face of the Court by Colonel *Thomlinson*, under a strong Guard, and deliver'd to the Serjeant at Arms, who conducted him to the Bar, where a crimson Velvet Chair was set for him. After looking upon the Court with a stern Countenance, and upon the People in the Galleries on each Side of them, he placed himself in the Chair without moving his Hat, all the Judges sitting covered, and fixing their Eyes upon him without the least Shew of Respect. The King presently rose up again and turned about, looking downwards on the Guards and Multitude of Spectators. Being again placed in his Chair, and Silence proclaimed, the President *Bradshaw* acquainted him, 'That the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the Evils and 'Calamities that had been brought upon the Nation, 'and of the innocent Blood that had been spilt in it, 'which was fixed upon him as the principal Author, 'had resolved to make Inquisition for this Blood; and 'according to the Debt they owed to God, to Justice, 'to the Kingdom, and to themselves, and according 'to the fundamental Trust reposed in them by the 'People, had resolved to bring him to Trial and 'Judgment; and had therefore constituted that *Court*

'of

'*of Juſtice*, before which he was then brought, 24 Car. I.
'where he was to hear his Charge, upon which the
'Court would proceed according to Juſtice.' Upon which Mr. *Cook* the Sollicitor offered to ſpeak; but the King holding up his Cane, and ſoftly laying it on *Cook*'s Shoulders two or three times, bid him *Hold:* But at the Command of the Preſident, *Cook* proceeded, and in the Name and Behalf of the People of *England* exhibited a Charge of High Treaſon and other High Crimes, and did therewith accuſe the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, praying that the ſaid Charge might be received and read, and due Proceedings had thereupon. The King interrupted the reading of it; but the Clerk, at the Command of the Court, read out the Charge, concluding, 'That the ſaid *Charles* '*Stuart* hath been and is the Occaſion, Author, and 'Continuer of the ſaid unnatural, cruel, and bloody 'War, and therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Mur-'ders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Deſolations, Damages, 'and Miſchiefs to this Nation, acted and committed in 'the ſaid Wars, or occaſion'd thereby.

Bradſhaw asked the King, *What Anſwer he had to make to that Impeachment?* The King, without any Alteration in his Countenance, told them, 'He 'would firſt know of them by what Authority they 'preſumed by Force to bring him before them, and 'who gave them Power to judge of his Actions, for 'which he was accountable to none but God; tho 'they had been always ſuch as he need not be aſha-'med to own before all the World.' He told them, 'That he was their King, they his Subjects, who 'owed him Duty and Obedience; that no Parliament 'had Authority to convene him before them; but 'that they were not the Parliament, nor had any 'Authority from the Parliament to ſit in that man-'ner:' concluding, 'That he would not ſo much 'betray himſelf and his Royal Dignity, as to anſwer 'any thing they objected againſt him; which were 'to acknowledge their Authority: Tho he believed 'that every one of themſelves, as well as the Specta-'tors, did in their own Conſcience abſolve him from 'all the material things, which were objected againſt 'him.' *Bradſhaw*, in a very bold manner, adviſed him 'Not to deceive himſelf with an Opinion, that 'any thing he had ſaid would do him any good; that

'the

An. 1648. ‘ the Parliament knew their own Authority, and ‘ would not have it ſuffered to be called in queſtion ‘ or debated; therefore he required him to think bet- ‘ ter of it againſt he ſhould be next brought thither, ‘ and that he would anſwer directly to his Charge; ‘ otherwiſe he could not be ſo ignorant as not to ‘ know what Judgment the Law pronounced againſt ‘ thoſe who ſtood mute, and obſtinately refuſed to ‘ plead.’ Then the Guard carried his Majeſty back to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe.

Second Day of the Trial. The *Monday* following the King was brought to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, as before; where the Sollicitor moved the Court, ‘ That the Priſoner might give a ‘ poſitive Anſwer to his Charge; or otherwiſe that ‘ the Court would take the Matter of it *pro confeſ- ‘ ſo*, and proceed thereupon according to Juſtice:’ Which was preſſed upon the King by *Bradſhaw*, and their Judgment made known to him, ‘ That he was ‘ to anſwer to his Charge; otherwiſe that his Con- ‘ tumacy would be recorded.’ The King ſtill inſiſted upon his former Plea, ‘ That the Court had no Pow- ‘ er, nor the Commons of *England*, if they had con- ‘ ſtituted it, to proceed againſt him.’ Then he told them, ‘ That he pleaded the Cauſe of the People of ‘ *England*, as well as of himſelf; and therefore de- ‘ ſired to be heard; declaring, *That Power without ‘ Law could never make a Law:*’ And going to give his Reaſons, which he had in Writing, he was inter- rupted by *Bradſhaw*, who boldly requir'd *his entire Submiſſion to the Court, whoſe Authority might not be diſputed.* The King inſiſted upon the Laws of the Land, and told them, *That he knew as much Law as any Gentleman in* England, *and pleaded for the Li- berties of the People more than they did.* Then be- ing again interrupted by *Bradſhaw*, he bid him *re- member that he refuſed to hear his King*, and asked him, *What kind of Court that was where Reaſon could not be heard:* And ſtill refuſing to anſwer to the Charge, and inſiſting *that the Houſe of Commons not being a Court of Judicature, could not erect one*; his Contempt was recorded, himſelf ſent back, and the Court adjourn'd till the next Day.

Third Day of the Trial. On the ſaid Day the King was again brought be- fore the Court, many crying out for Juſtice and Exe- cution, as before; and *Cook* addreſſing himſelf to the Court,

Court, repeated the former Delays and Contempts of the Priſoner, ‘ ſo that no more needed on his Part ‘ but to demand Judgment, yet offered, notwithſtanding the Notoriety of the Facts charged in the Impeachment, to prove the Truth of the ſame by Witneſſes, if thereto requir'd; and therefore prayed, ‘ and yet not ſo much he as the innocent Blood that ‘ had been ſhed, the Cry whereof was very great, ‘ that a ſpeedy Sentence might be pronounced againſt ‘ the Priſoner at the Bar according to Juſtice.' Hereupon *Bradſhaw*, with uncommon Aſſurance, put the King in mind of former Proceedings; ‘ and tho by the ‘ Rules of Juſtice, if Advantage was taken of his ‘ paſt Contempts, nothing could remain but to pronounce Judgment againſt him, they had nevertheleſs determin'd to give him leave to anſwer to his ‘ Charge;' and plainly told him, ‘ That Juſtice ‘ knew no reſpect of Perſons, therefore he muſt plead ‘ guilty or not guilty to the Charge.' The King ſaid, *As to the Charge he valued it not a Ruſh; it was the Liberty of the People of* England *he ſtood for:* And complained, ‘ That when he was in Treaty upon the publick Faith of the Kingdom, with ‘ the two Houſes of Parliament, he was hurried away and brought thither.' *Bradſhaw* twice interrupted him, and arrogantly told him, *That the Court craved it not of him, but once more commanded him to give his poſitive Anſwer:* And he ordered the Clerk to do the ſame. The King ſtill denied the Juriſdiction of the Court, and declared it ‘ to be againſt the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; and ‘ that he had done nothing againſt the Truſt that ‘ had been committed to him.' At laſt the Preſident told him, ‘ That he had now a third Time publickly diſown'd and affronted the Court; that how ‘ good a Preſerver he had been of the fundamental ‘ Laws and Freedoms of the People, his Actions had ‘ ſpoken; that he had written his Meaning in bloody ‘ Characters throughout the Kingdom, and that he ‘ ſhould find at laſt, tho at preſent he would not underſtand it, that he was before a Court of Juſtice.' Hereupon he ordered the Clerk to record the Priſoner's Default, and ſo the Court adjourn'd, and ſat in private in the *Painted-Chamber*.

24 Car. I.

On

An. 1648. On *Wednesday*, *January* 24. the Court sat in the painted Chamber upon Examination of Witnesses against the King; and three Days after, they had their fourth and last Meeting in *Westminster-hall*: Where their Lord-President *Bradshaw* was now array'd in a Scarlet Gown, the sight of which gave the King a plain View of his ensuing Fate; which was further manifested to him by the more vehement Cries of the Soldiers for Justice and Execution. *Bradshaw* stood up with an Intention to address the People, and not the King, who had so often declin'd the Jurisdiction of the Court: Which the King observing, 'earnestly mov'd he might be heard before 'Judgment was given; for a hasty Judgment was not 'soon recall'd.' Upon which the other bad him *hear the Court first*; but at last allowed he should be heard after he had heard them. Then he fell to enumerating the Prisoner's several Contempts and Defaults; yet notwithstanding they did allow he should be heard what he had to say in defence of himself, concerning the Matters charged upon him, provided he did not call in question the Jurisdiction of the Court. Whereupon the King declar'd, *That if he had had respect to his Life more than to the Peace of the Kingdom and the Liberty of the Subject, he certainly should have made a particular Defence; for by that at least he might have delay'd a hard Sentence, which he believed would pass upon him: But now having something to say that concerned both, he desired before Sentence to be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons.* He insisted *that this Delay could not be prejudicial to them; and if they refused this, he protested that those fair Shews of Liberty and Peace were but Shews, and that they would not hear their King.* *Bradshaw* told him, 'That 'this was declining the Jurisdiction of the Court; 'which was *supreme*, and tended to set up another, 'or a *co-ordinate* Jurisdiction, in Derogation of the 'Power whereby the Court sat, and to the manifest 'Delay of their Justice.' The King answer'd to that particular, and declared, *That if he did say any thing before the Houses, that was not for the Peace of the Kingdom, and Liberty of the Subject, then the Shame should be his:* And pressing this his Request with great earnestness, and desiring that the Court would

The fourth and last Day.

King desires to be heard before the Lords and Commons.

would take it into Conſideration, they at laſt withdrew for half an hour into the Court of Wards; which was to prevent diſturbance from one of the Commiſſioners, Colonel *John Downes*, who upon the King's urging his Deſires ſo earneſtly, declar'd himſelf unſatisfied. 24 Car. I.

Being returned into the Court, the Preſident told the King, 'That he had in effect receiv'd his Anſwer 'before the Court withdrew; and that their Judg-'ment was, as to his Motion, the ſame as to him be-'fore declared: That the Court acted and were 'Judges appointed by the higheſt Authority; and 'that Judges were no more to delay than to deny 'Juſtice, according to a Maxim in the old *Charter* 'of *England*: That their Duty call'd upon them to 'avoid further Delays, and to proceed to Judgment; 'which was their unanimous Reſolution.' To which the King replied, and ſtrongly inſiſted upon his former Deſires, *to be heard before the Lords and Commons*, (which was very probably with Deſign to reſign his Kingdoms to his Son the Prince of *Wales.*) He confeſs'd it to be *a Delay, but it was a Delay very important for the Peace of the Kingdom; which he look'd upon as much as his own Perſon; therefore he required them, as they would anſwer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, that they would conſider it once again.* In anſwer to this, *Bradſhaw* poſitively told him, 'That they had fully before 'conſider'd of his Propoſal, and muſt give him the 'ſame Anſwer to his renewed Deſires; and that they 'were ready to proceed to Sentence, if he had no-'thing more to ſay.' Whereupon the King told him, *That he had nothing more to ſay, but deſir'd that what he had ſaid might be entered.* Then the Preſident proceeded in a long Harangue, and ſaid, 'That 'they were not there met *jus dare*, but *jus dicere*, 'to do that which the Law preſcribes; that they could 'not be unmindful of what the Scriptures ſay, *That* 'to acquit the Guilty is of equal Abomination as to 'condemn the Innocent; that they may not acquit 'the Guilty, and therefore what Sentence the Law 'affirm'd to a Traitor, Murderer, and a publick Ene-'my to the Country, that Sentence he was now to 'hear read unto him.' Then the Clerk read the Sentence, concluding, *For all which* Treaſons, *and* Crimes,

But is deny'd.

King condemn'd.

An. 1648. Crimes, *this Court doth adjudge, That he the said* Charles Stuart, *as a* Traitor, Tyrant, Murderer *and a* publick Enemy, *shall be put to death by the severing of his Head from his Body.* And the President added, *The Sentence now read and publish'd, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment, and Resolution of the whole Court:* To which they all express'd their Assent by standing up, as was before agreed. After this, when the King offer'd to speak, he was interrupted and hurried away; and in his Passage to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s House, he was entertain'd with new Cries of Justice, Scoffs and Affronts by the Soldiers, and some of them blew the Smoke of Tobacco in his Face, which was very distastful to him; all which he bore with great Calmness and Patience.

Names of the Judges who condemn'd the King.

The Judges who sat when the King was condemn'd, were, besides *Bradshaw*, sixty six in Number, *viz. Cromwell, Ireton, Lisle, Say, Waller, Bourchier, Heveningham, Pennington, Marten, Purefoy, Barkstead, Thomlinson, Blackistone, Millington, Constable, Ludlow, Hutchinson, Livesey, Titchborn, Roe, Lilburn, Scroop, Deane, Okey, Hewson, Goffe, Holland, Carew, Jones, Corbet, Allen, Pelham, Blagrave, Walton, Harrison, Whalley, Pride, Ewers, Grey* of *Groby, Danvers, Maleverer, Moore, Alured, Smith, Edwards, Clement, Wogan, Norton, Harvey, Venn, Scot, Andrews, Cawley, Stapley, Downes, Horton, Hammond, Love, Potter, Garland, Dixwell, Fleetwood, Mayne*, the two *Temples* and *Wayte*.

The King's Desire.

In the Evening, a Member of the Army acquainted some Members with his Majesty's Desire, 'That 'seeing they had pass'd a Sentence of Death on him, 'and his Time drew nigh, he might see his Children, 'and Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London* might be ad-'mitted to assist him in his private Devotions, and 'receiving the Sacrament;' both which were granted. Then 'twas ordered, *That all the Members meet in their Places on* Monday *Morning by eight a Clock; there being much Business to be offered to the House on that Day.* Next Day being Sunday, the King was attended by the Guards to St. *James*'s: where the Bishop preach'd before him on these Words, *In the Day when God shall judge the Secrets of all Men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.* The King spent the Remainder of the Day in Prayer and Meditation,

King carried to St. *James*'s.

ditation, and pious Conference with the good Biſhop, avoiding all Interruptions, and for that reaſon refuſing to admit the Prince Elector, the Duke of *Richmond*, Marquiſs of *Hertford*, Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, and ſome others, who came to offer their laſt Duties to him: But the King ſaid, *My Time is ſhort and precious, and I am deſirous to improve it the beſt I may in Preparation; I hope they will not take it ill that none have acceſs to me but my Children: The beſt Office they can do now, is to pray for me.* 24 Car. I.

Monday *January* 29. the Houſe ſat early as was appointed; and one of the late ſecluded Members coming in, occaſion'd them to conſider that Buſineſs: whereupon they agreed, 'That ſuch as voted on the 'fifth of laſt *December*, *that the King's Conceſſions were* 'a *Ground of Peace*, ſhould not be re-admitted, but 'diſabled to ſit any longer Members.

King ſees his Children.

On the ſame Day, the King's Children coming from *Sion-Houſe* to viſit him, he took the Princeſs in his Arms, and kiſs'd her, and gave her his Bleſſing, and two Seals wherein were two Diamonds: He bid her *remember to tell her Brother* James, *it was his Father's laſt Deſire, that he ſhould no longer look on* Charles *as his elder Brother only, but be obedient to him as his Sovereign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies, but not truſt them, ſeeing they had been falſe to him, and he feared alſo to their own Souls.* He bid her read Biſhop *Andrews*'s Sermons, *Hooker*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and Biſhop *Laud*'s Book againſt *Fiſher*, to ground her againſt Popery. He wiſh'd her not to grieve and torment her ſelf for him; *for it would be a glorious Death that he ſhould die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true* Proteſtant *Religion.* He bid her tell her Mother, *That his Thoughts had never ſtray'd from her, and that his Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt.* Then taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* on his Knee, he ſaid to him, *Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head* (upon which the Child look'd very earneſtly on him) *Mark Child what I ſay, they will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee King: But mark what I ſay, You muſt not be King ſo long as your Brothers* Charles *and* James *live; for they*

An. 1648. *will cut off your Brothers Heads when they can catch them, and cut off thy Head too at last; and therefore I charge you not to be made a King by them.* At parting, the King commanded them both to be obedient to their Mother, and bid the Lady *Elizabeth* send his Bleſſing to the reſt of her Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all his Friends.

The Prince, then in *Holland*, had contrived to ſend a Letter to his Majeſty by Mr. *Seamour*, and by the *States* Ambaſſadors had interceded with the Parliament, and uſed all poſſible Means with the Army, to prevent, or at leaſt defer the Execution: but all in vain. For a Warrant was this day ſigned and ſealed by fifty nine of the Commiſſioners, directed to Colonel *Hacker*, Colonel *Hunckes*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Phayer*, and to every of them, *Willing and requiring them to ſee the ſaid Sentence executed in the open Street before* White-hall *upon the morrow, being the thirtieth of this Inſtant* January, *between the Hours of ten in the Morning, and five in the Afternoon of the ſame day, with full effect.*

Warrant for the King's Execution.

He is brought from St. *James's*.

Tueſday *January* 30. his Majeſty was brought from St. *James's* about ten in the Morning by a Regiment of Foot, with Colours flying, Drums beating, a Guard of Halberdiers before and behind, and Biſhop *Juxon* and Colonel *Thomlinſon*, who had the Charge of him, walking on each ſide bare-headed. The King walked apace, and bidding them go faſter, ſaid, *That he now went before them to ſtrive for a heavenly Crown, with leſs ſollicitude than he had oft-times encouraged his Soldiers to fight for an earthly Diadem.* Being come to the Gallery in *White-hall*, he went into the Cabinet-Chamber, where he us'd to lie; and finding an unexpected Delay, the Scaffold not being fitted, he paſs'd the time at convenient Diſtance in Devotion, refuſing to dine, (having before taken the Sacrament) only about twelve at Noon he drank a Glaſs of Claret and eat a Piece of Bread.

Led to the Scaffold.

Hence he was accompanied by Biſhop *Juxon*, Colonel *Thomlinſon*, Colonel *Hacker*, and the Guards before-mentioned, thro the *Banquetting-Houſe*, at the Window of which the Scaffold was erected, between *White-hall* Gate and the Gate leading into the Gallery from St. *James's*. The Scaffold was hung round and the Floor cover'd with Black, and the Ax and Block

Block laid in the middle of the Scaffold. Many Companies of Foot and Troops of Horſe were placed to keep off the Spectators; whereby his Majeſty was diſappointed of ſpeaking to the People, and therefore directed himſelf chiefly to Colonel *Thomlinſon* in the following Speech. 24 Car. I

His laſt Speech.

'I ſhall be little heard of any; I'll therefore ſpeak 'a Word to you here. Indeed I could hold my Peace 'well, if I did not think it would make ſome think 'that I ſubmit to the Guilt as well as to the Puniſh-'ment. But I think 'tis my Duty to God firſt and 'to my Country, to clear my ſelf as an honeſt Man, 'a good King, and a good Chriſtian. I will begin 'firſt with my Innocency: In troth I think it not 'needful to inſiſt long on this; for all the World 'knows I never began the War with the two Houſes; 'and I call God to witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly 'give an account, that I never intended to incroach 'on their Privileges: They began with me; 'tis the 'Militia they began upon; they confeſs'd the Militia 'was mine, but they thought fit to have it from me: 'And to be ſhort, if any body will but look to the 'Dates of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe 'to the Declarations, they will ſee clearly that they 'began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I. So that as 'to the Guilt of thoſe enormous Crimes laid againſt 'me, I hope God will clear me of it. I will not, I 'am in Charity, God forbid that I ſhould lay it on 'the Parliament, there is no Neceſſity of either; I 'hope they are free of this Guilt, for I believe ill 'Inſtruments between them and me have been the 'chief Cauſe of all this Blood-ſhed. So that as I 'find my ſelf clear of this, I hope and pray God they 'may too. Yet for all this, God forbid I ſhould be 'ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay his Judgments are 'juſt upon me. Many times he pays Juſtice by an 'unjuſt Sentence; that is ordinary: I only ſay that an 'unjuſt Sentence, which I ſuffer'd to take effect; '(*meaning that againſt the Earl of* Strafford) is pu-'niſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence on me. So far I 'have ſaid to ſhew that I am an innocent Man. Now 'to ſhew that I am a good Chriſtian, I hope there 'is a good Man (*pointing to Dr.* Juxon) who will 'bear me witneſs, that I have forgiven all the World; 'and even thoſe in particular who have been the

An. 1648. ‘ chief Causers of my Death; who they are God
‘ knows, I do not desire to know: I pray God for-
‘ give them. But this is not all, my Charity must
‘ go further; I wish they may repent, for indeed
‘ they have committed a great Sin in this particu-
‘ lar. I pray God with St. *Stephen*, that it be not
‘ laid to their Charge: Nay, not only so, but that
‘ they may take the right way to the Peace of the
‘ Kingdom; for Charity commands me not only to
‘ forgive particular Men, but to endeavour to the last
‘ gasp the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I wish
‘ with all my Soul, and I hope some here will carry
‘ it further, (*turning to some who were writing*) that
‘ they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.
‘ Now, Sirs, I must both shew you how you are out of
‘ the Way, and I will put you in the Way. First, you
‘ are out of the Way; for certainly all the Way you
‘ ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is the
‘ Way of Conquest: Certainly this is an ill Way;
‘ for Conquest, Sirs, in my opinion, is never just, except
‘ there be a good just Cause, either for matter of
‘ Wrong or just Title; and then if you go beyond it,
‘ that makes it unjust at the end, which was just at
‘ first. But if it be only matter of Conquest, then
‘ 'tis a great Robbery, as a Pirate called *Alexander*
‘ the Great the great Robber, whilst he was but a
‘ petty Robber. So, Sirs, I think the Way you are
‘ in, is much out of the Way. Now, Sirs, to put you
‘ in the Way; believe it, you will never do right, nor
‘ will God ever prosper you, till you give him his Due,
‘ the King his Due (namely my Successors) and the
‘ People their Due, I am as much for them as any
‘ of you. You must give God his Due, by regulating
‘ rightly his Church according to his Scriptures, which
‘ is now out of order; for to set you in a Way parti-
‘ cularly, now I can't; but only this: A national Synod
‘ freely call'd, freely debating among themselves,
‘ must settle this, when every Opinion is freely and
‘ clearly heard. For the King indeed, I will not
‘ (*then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Ax,*
‘ *he said*, Hurt not the Ax that may hurt me) As
‘ for the King, the Laws of the Land will clearly
‘ instruct you for that: Therefore because it concerns
‘ my own Particular, I only give you a touch of it.
‘ For the People, and truly I desire their Liberty and
‘ Freedom

'Freedom as much as any body; but I muſt tell you 24 Car. I.
'that their Liberty and Freedom conſiſts in having
'the Government of thoſe Laws by which their Life
'and their Goods may be moſt their own; 'tis not
'for having a ſhare in Government, Sirs, that is no-
'thing pertaining to them; a Subject and a Sovereign
'are clean different things; and therefore till they do
'that, I mean that you put the People in ſuch Li-
'berty as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy them-
'ſelves. Sirs, 'twas for this I am now come hither.
'If I would have given way to an arbitrary Way,
'for to have all Laws changed according to the Power
'of the Sword, I needed not to have come here.
'And therefore I do now tell you (and I pray God
'it be not laid to your Charge) that I am the *Martyr*
'*of the People.* In troth, Sirs, I ſhall not hold you
'much longer; for I only ſay this to you, that in
'troth I could have deſired ſome little time longer,
'becauſe I would have put this which I have ſaid, in
'a little more order, and a little better digeſted, than
'I have done; and therefore I hope you'll excuſe me.
'I have deliver'd my Conſcience, I pray God that
'you take thoſe Courſes which are beſt for the Good
'of the Kingdom, and your own Salvation.'

Then ſaid Biſhop *Juxon* to him, Tho your Majeſty's Affections to Religion may be very well known, yet it may be expected you ſhould ſay ſomewhat for the World's Satisfaction in that Particular. The King anſwer'd, *I thank you heartily, my Lord, for I had almoſt forgot it: In troth, Sirs, my Conſcience in Religon I think is very well known to the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Chriſtian, according to the Profeſſion of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father; and this honeſt Man* (meaning the Biſhop) *I think will witneſs it.* Then turning to the Officers, he ſaid, *Sirs, excuſe me for this ſame; I have a good Cauſe, and I have a gracious God, I will ſay no more.* Then turning to Colonel *Hacker*, he ſaid, *Take care that they do not put me to pain; and Sir, this and it pleaſe you* —— But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King ſaid, *Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax.* Then the King ſpeaking to the Executioner ſaid, *I ſhall ſay but very ſhort Prayers, and when I thruſt out my Hands* —— Then he called to

An. 1648. *Juxon* for his Cap, and having put it on, he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?* who deſir'd him to put it all under his Cap; which the King did by the help of the Biſhop and Executioner. Then turning to Biſhop *Juxon*, he ſaid, *I have a good Cauſe, and a gracious God on my ſide.* The Biſhop anſwer'd, There is but one Stage more; this Stage is turbulent and troubleſome, 'tis a ſhort one; but you may conſider, 'twill ſoon carry you a very great Way, it will carry you from Earth to Heaven, and there you will find to your great Joy, the Prize you haſte to, a Crown of Glory. The King replied, *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no diſturbance can be.* The Biſhop added, You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal Crown, a good Exchange! Then the King taking off his Cloke and George, gave the latter to the Biſhop, ſaying, *Remember.* Then being in his Waiſtcoat, he put on his Cloke again, and looking on the Block, ſaid to the Executioner, *You muſt ſet it faſt.* The Executioner telling him it was faſt, the King ſaid, *It might have been a little higher.* And the Executioner anſwering, that it could now be no higher, the King ſaid, *When I put out my Hands this Way, then* ——— Then having ſaid a few Words to himſelf, with his Hands and Eyes lifted up, he ſtooping down laid his neck on the Block; and the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King thinking him about to ſtrike, bid him *ſtay for the Sign.* The Executioner ſaid, Yes I will, and it pleaſe your Majeſty. After a very ſhort Pauſe, the King ſtretching forth his Hands, the Executioner at one Blow ſevered his Head from his Body; which being held up and ſhewed to the People, was with the Body put into a Coffin covered with black Velvet, and carried into his Lodgings.

His Execution.

Thus fell King *Charles* the Firſt in the forty ninth Year of his Age, after a Reign of twenty three Years, ten Months and three Days, which was partly quiet and partly turbulent. None of the Kings of *England* ever left the World with more open Marks of Sorrow and Affliction: The venerable Archbiſhop *Uſher* was ſaid from a Window to ſwoon at the ſight of the fatal Blow; and as the Rumour of his Death ſpread throughout the Kingdom, all ſorts of Perſons where

were overwhelm'd with Grief. The Pulpits every where reſounded with Sighs and Lamentations, whilſt the Congregations of Men, Women and Children, were diſſolv'd in Tears. 24 Car. I.

There is Reaſon to believe that General *Fairfax* never conſented to the King's Death; but was amuſed by *Cromwel* to the very Day of Execution, and even then drawn by him into *ſeeking God by Prayer*, till the Blow was over. Sir *Thomas Herbert* aſſures us, that while the Biſhop and he were going with the King's Body to be embalmed, he ſtepped into the long Gallery; and the General there meeting him, aſked him how the King did; which he at firſt thought ſtrange, but afterwards perceived that the General knew not what had paſſed, being all that Morning uſing his Power and Intereſt to have the Execution deferred for ſome Days, forbearing to come among the Officers, and fully reſolving with his own Regiment to prevent the Blow, or to get it deferr'd till he had made a Party in the Army to ſecond his Deſign: But being with the Officers of the Army then at Prayer in Colonel *Harriſon*'s Apartment, he came from thence without knowing the Matter, and was much ſurprized when Mr. *Herbert* told him of it. *Fairfax* clear'd.

The King's Body being embalm'd and laid in a Coffin of Lead to be ſeen for ſome Days, on *February* 7. was delivered to four of his Servants, *Herbert*, *Mildmay*, *Preſton* and *Joyner*; who with ſome others in Mourning Equipage attended the Hearſe that Night to *Windſor*, and placed the Body in the Room, which was formerly the King's Bed-Chamber. Next Day 'twas removed into the Dean's Hall, which was hung with Black and made dark, and Lights were ſet burning round it. About three in the Afternoon, the Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſs of *Hertford*, Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, and the Biſhop of *London* came thither, with two Votes paſſed that Morning, whereby the Ordering of the King's Burial was committed to the Duke, provided the Expence thereof exceeded not five hundred Pounds. Theſe Lords agreed that the King's Body ſhould be interred in a Vault in St. *George*'s Chappel, about the middle of the Choir over-againſt the eleventh Stall upon the Sovereign's Side, in which Vault King's Funeral.

An. 1648. were laid the Bodies of King *Henry* the Eighth and Queen *Jane Seymour*. This Vault being opened, the King's Body was brought from the Hall with a ſlow and ſolemn Pace, carried by Gentlemen, the Lords following, and was ſilently depoſited therein, having no other Epitaph but theſe Words on a Plate of Lead fix'd to the Coffin, KING *CHARLES*, 1648.

His Character.

As to his Character: He was a Prince of a comely Perſon, of a ſweet, grave, but melancholy Aſpect. His Face was regular, handſome and well-complexioned; his Body ſtrong, healthy and well-made, and tho of low Stature, was capable to endure the greateſt Fatigues. In his Temper he was brave, magnificent, and liberal; but more affable to Strangers than his own Subjects. Of his Compoſure of Mind in time of Danger, he gave a noble Inſtance in his Behaviour in the midſt of a great Storm in the Road of St. *Andrews*, which was worthy the antient Philoſophers: Nor did he fall ſhort of the braveſt in perſonal Courage, having expos'd his Perſon in every battel he was in, and oft-times charging at the Head of his Squadrons. He had a good Taſte of Learning, and a more than ordinary Skill in the liberal Arts, eſpecially Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Medals. It's ſaid, notwithſtanding his natural Generoſity, that he beſtowed Favours with a worſe Grace, than his Son King *Charles* II. denied them; and many times obliterated the Senſe of the Obligation by the Manner of it: But indeed he had ſeldom much to give, being kept ſhort of Money a great Part of his Reign. He was as much Maſter of Divinity as ever his Father had been, but without the Allay of Pedantry: Of this, among other things, the Papers that paſs'd between him and Mr. *Henderſon* at *Newcaſtle*, will be a laſting Monument. He was a great Patron of the Clergy; but his employing them in the higheſt Offices in State-Matters created Envy againſt them, and leſſened the Love of the Nobility towards him. He was a paſſionate Lover of his Queen, who was a beautiful Lady, and in all things very well accompliſhed; inſomuch that his Friends regretted the Aſcendant ſhe had over him on ſome Occaſions, whilſt others taxed him with the Character of an uxorious Husband.

He

He was fond of his Children, and kind to his Servants, tho theſe laſt felt ſometimes the haſty Sallies of his Paſſion. He was not miſtaken of himſelf, when he ſaid before the *High Court of Juſtice, that he underſtood as much Law as any private Gentleman in* England: And pity it was that any of his Miniſters ſhould have advis'd him, and that he himſelf ſhould have been ſo much inclin'd to make Breaches in what he ſo well underſtood. He ſpoke ſeveral Languages very well, and with a ſingular good Grace; tho now and then, when he was warm in diſcourſe, he was inclinable to ſtammer. As to his Religion, he was certainly a Proteſtant, and in the ſtricteſt Senſe of the Church of *England*, and for the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy; and was a Prince of very great Devotion and Piety. If he had any perſonal Faults, they were much overweigh'd by his Virtues; but an immoderate Deſire of Power beyond what the Conſtitution allow'd, was the Rock on which he ſplit. And yet he might have been happy, if he had truſted more to his own Judgment than that of thoſe about him; for he was very apt to ſubmit his own Reaſon to theirs in things of the greateſt Conſequence. There was another Error that run thro the whole Management of his Affairs, both domeſtick and publick, and which occaſion'd a great Part of his Misfortunes: He appear'd many times ſtiff and poſitive in denying at firſt that which he granted afterwards out of time, and too late to give Satisfaction; which probably encouraged ambitious and intereſted Perſons to aſk more than they thought of at firſt, and loſt him the fruits of his former Conceſſions. So that in the whole Conduct of his Life, he verified this Maxim, That Errors in Government have ruined more Princes than perſonal Vices. 24 Car. I.

The End of the Reign of King CHARLES *the Firſt.*

THE

THE REIGN OF King *CHARLES* II.

An. 1648. 1 Car. II.

AFTER the Death of King *Charles* the First, there was a total Eclipſe of the Royal Family for near twelve Years, during which time the Government of *England* underwent various Forms and Shapes. The firſt thing the Houſe of Commons did, after the Death of the King, was to paſs an Act, ordaining, 'That no Perſon whatſoever do preſume to proclaim, 'declare, publiſh, or any ways to promote *Charles* 'Stuart, Son of the ſaid *Charles* late King of *Eng-* 'land, commonly called Prince of *Wales*, or any o- 'ther Perſon, to be King or chief Magiſtrate of 'England and *Ireland*, or of any Dominions belong- 'ing to them, under pain of being adjudged a Trai- 'tor.' Soon after, they voted, 'That the Houſe of 'Peers in Parliament was uſeleſs and dangerous, and 'ought to be aboliſh'd; and that an Act ſhould be 'brought in to that purpoſe.' Then they reſolved upon the Queſtion, 'That it had been found by Ex- 'perience, and this Houſe doth declare, That the 'Office of a King in this Nation, and to have the 'Power

An Act forbidding to proclaim K. *Charles* the ſecond.

Houſe of Peers aboliſh'd.



KING CHARLES THE II.D

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MUSEUM

'Power thereof in any ſingle Perſon is unneceſſary, 1 Car. II.
'burdenſome, and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety,
'and publick Intereſt of the People of this Nation;
'and therefore ought to be aboliſhed; and that an
'Act be brought in to that Purpoſe.' Then the Form of Government was declared to be a *Commonwealth*, and the executive Power was put into the Hands of a *Council of State*, conſiſting of thirty eight Perſons, to act with full Power for one Year. The Qualification of every Member of this Council of State, or Committee of Eſtates, was to ſubſcribe unto approving the King's Execution. Common-wealth ſet up.

After this another High Court of Juſtice was erected for Trial of Delinquents: Before whom the Duke of *Hamilton*, under the Title of Earl of *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Goring*, and Sir *John Owen*, were condemned to Death for adhering to the King. After Sentence, their Reprieve or their Execution was put to the Vote of the Commons, who voted by a great Majority, That the Earl of *Cambridge* and the Lord *Capel* ſhould not be reprieved, and Sir *John Owen* ſhould be reprieved: And on the like Queſtion of Life or Death to the Earl of *Holland* and the Lord *Goring*, the former was caſt, and the latter ſaved by one ſingle Vote, which was that of the Speaker. Upon which the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel* were all beheaded in the *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, on the ninth Day of *March*. Trial of D. *Hamilton*, &c. They are beheaded.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel* was now appointed to be Commander in chief of all the Forces in *Ireland*, and the Lord *Fairfax* was continued General of all the Forces in *England*: *Whitlock* and *Liſle* were made Commiſſioners of the new Republican Broad-Seal; and an Act was made to remove all malignant and diſaffected Magiſtrates, and to make them incapable of bearing any Office in the Commonwealth. An. 1649.

The Houſe of Lords being aboliſhed, the Earl of *Pembroke* ſubmitted to be choſen Knight of the Shire for *Berks*, and was admitted a Member of the Houſe of Commons, after he had ſigned an *Engagement*, as the reſt of the Members who ſat there had done, the Contents of which was, *To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, as it was eſtabliſhed with-* Peers choſen to ſerve in the Houſe of Commons.

An. 1649. *without a King or House of Lords:* The same *Engagement* was taken by the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Edward Howard*, when they took their Places in the House, after they had been elected to serve there.

New Money was ordered to be coined, on one Side the Arms of *England* between a Laurel and a Palm with this Inscription, *The Commonwealth of* England; on the other Side the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inscription, *God with us*. They also ordered all Writs formerly running in the King's Name, to be issued out *in the Names of the Keepers of the Liberty of* England.

Dr. *Dorislaus* murdered.

The Parliament (for so the House of Commons were now called) much inclining to preserve a good Correspondence with the States General of the united Provinces, sent Dr. *Dorislaus* into *Holland*, to be their Agent there; who a little after his Arrival at the *Hague*, was assaulted by about ten Assassins, *English* and *Scots*, who broke into his Lodgings, and murder'd him. And tho this Action was so infamous and contrary to the Right of Nations, yet the *Dutch* were not very forward to find out the Criminals in order to bring them to Justice.

Murmurs and Complaints were so very high, that the Powers in being made an Act *May* 14. to declare it Treason to affirm the present Government to be tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful, or to endeavour to alter the said Government, or to kill any Member of Parliament or Judge in their Duty.

June 1. Upon a Report of fit and trusty Persons to be Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, it was voted by the Commons, That Serjeant *Nicholas* and Mr. *Ask* be Judges of the upper Bench; and Serjeant *Puleston* and *Peter Warburton* Esq; be Judges of the *Common Pleas*; and Serjeant *Thorp*, and Mr. *Rigby* be Barons of the *Exchequer*.

Parliament and Army feasted at *London*.

To promote a lasting Union between the three Principles of Power, the Parliament, the Army, and the City of *London*, it was contrived, that the Speaker with the House, the General with the chief Officers, and the Council of State, should, after hearing two Sermons, be feasted at *Grocers-Hall*, by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, on *June* 7. This settled such a Friendship, that the House referr'd it

it to a Committee to conſider what Marks of Honour and Favour the Parliament ſhould beſtow upon the City for their great Affection; and the City preſented to the Lord General a large Baſon and Ewer of beaten Gold, and to the Lieutenant General Plate to the Value of 300 *l.* and two hundred pieces of Gold. 1 Car. II.

By this and other Arts of Policy and Popularity, *Cromwel* began to make the firſt Figure in the Nation, having more and more obliged the Houſe by reducing of the Levellers, by accepting the difficult Poſt of *Ireland*, and by ſuppreſſing the Mutinies of the Soldiers who refuſed to go upon that Service. So that on the twenty ſecond of *June* he had a pompous Commiſſion in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, to command all Forces to be ſent into *Ireland*, and to have all the civil and military Power of that Kingdom for three Years: And *July* 10. he went out of Town with a very noble Equipage and Life-Guard. *Cromwel* popular. He goes for *Ireland*.

Before *Cromwel* could land his Forces in *Ireland*, the Buſineſs was in effect over: For Colonel *Jones*, who had kept Poſſeſſion of *Dublin* till it was in a manner blocked up by the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, ſallying out fell upon *Ormond*'s Army with that Advantage, that he put them to an entire Rout; and the Marquiſs himſelf narrowly eſcaped: So that *Cromwel* landed and enter'd *Dublin* without any Oppoſition, with a mighty Concourſe of People, to whom he made a long Speech with his Hat in his Hand; and they all cried out, that they would live and die with him. He immediately publiſhed a Proclamation for a Thankſgiving for the late Defeat given to the Rebels, and commanded the Magiſtrates to execute the Laws againſt Swearing and Drunkenneſs. Soon after, with his Army of fifteen thouſand Men, he marched towards *Tredagh*, the ſtrongeſt Gariſon of the Enemy: and after a ſhort Siege took the Town by Storm, and for a Terror put all the Men of Arms, who were near three thouſand, to the Sword, with Sir *Arthur Aſhton*, Governour. Afterward *Cromwel* marched toward *Wexford*, and took in many Gariſons by the Way; giving a conſtant Account of his Proceedings to the Parliament and Council of State, with the Art of aſſuming greater Glory to himſelf, by exhorting them in all his Letters *to give the Glory unto God*: And he carried all things now with that abſolute Command, Takes *Tredagh*.

that

An. 1649. that there was printed and dispersed a Book, entitled, *The Character of King* Cromwel; which tho suppress'd for a Libel, was even received as a kind of Prophecy. Before the End of *March* he made the Lord *Inchequin* desert his Remains of an Army, and forced the Marquiss of *Ormond* to fly into *France*; so that he had little to do but to sail home in Triumph. Yet some time after his Departure he had one Mortification, in the Death of his Son-in-law *Ireton*, who was made Deputy of *Ireland*, and died at the Siege of *Limerick* of a pestilential Fever.

Ireton's Death.

Low Condition of the King.

Prince *Charles* at the Death of his Father, took his Titles on him, but had nothing more: Yet he kept up a sort of Court at the *Hague*, and received Commissioners from *Scotland*, not to submit to him as their King, but to treat with him as a late Enemy coming into Alliance with them: But he had no Prospect except towards *Scotland*; and yet the Commissioners were so imposing in their Terms, that he was forced to remonstrate against them, and give Reasons why he could not comply with their high Demands. However, with the little Supply he had from a few of his faithful Subjects, and from some generous Princes, he made Preparations for an Army in *Scotland*, and sent *Montross* before with some Men and Money, intending to follow after in Person: But the States refused him necessary Shipping, and *Montross* was so hated and persecuted by the Kirk, that his Majesty thought fit to decline the Expedition; and instead of going to *Scotland*, he was content to take some Refuge in the Isle of *Jersey*, where he was invited and loyally receiv'd by the Governour *George Carteret*.

As soon as it was known in *Scotland*, that the King was arrived at *Jersey*, Mr. *Windram Layds* of *Libberton* was dispatched away with a Message to him; who being admitted to the King's Presence, presented these Desires and Offers of the States of *Scotland*: 'I. That he would sign the Covenant, and 'pass an Act for all Persons to take it. 2. That he 'would pass the Acts of Parliament in *Scotland*, which 'were ratified by their two last Sessions. 3. That he 'would withdraw his Commission from *Montross*. 4. 'That he would put away all Papists from about him. '5. That he would appoint some Place in *Holland* to 'treat with Commissioners from the States of *Scotland*.

'6.

'6. That he would give a ſpeedy Anſwer.' Some of the King's Council were for rejecting theſe Propoſitions, as hard and diſhonourable; others were for accepting of them, as in a Caſe of Neceſſity: Of this latter Opinion was the Queen Mother, who by her Letters urged a Compliance to the preſent Exigency of Affairs; and even *Montroſs* adviſed the King to yield to their Deſires, and to make his perpetual Baniſhment one Condition of Agreement. 1 Car. II.

The Parliament, about this Time, had prepar'd a Fleet againſt the Iſle of *Jerſey*; ſo that it was thought proper for the King to leave that Place, and return thro *France* to *Breda*; where he fell into new Treaties with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, who ſtill inſiſted upon the moſt rigorous Terms, as, That he ſhould diſclaim all Perſons excommunicated by the Kirk, meaning *Montroſs*, and others of his loyal Subjects; That he ſhould take, and enforce the taking of the national Covenant, and ratify all Acts concerning Preſbyterian Government; and conſent to all Matters Civil, as determin'd by the preſent and ſubſequent Parliaments, and to all Matters Eccleſiaſtical, as ordered by the General Aſſembly of the Kirk. King treats with the *Scots*.

Cromwel having further enlarged his Conqueſts in *Ireland*, and left his Army under true Diſcipline, came over into *England*; and towards the End of *May* was met on *Hounſlow-Heath* by the prime Members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army. At *Hide-Park* he was ſaluted with the great Guns, and with a Volley of Shot from Colonel *Barkſtead*'s Regiment, and ſo conducted, like a King, to *Whitehall*; where he next Day received the Viſits and Compliments of all the People in Authority, who are ſaid to congratulate his ſafe Arrival, after ſo many Dangers both by Sea and Land, wherein God had preſerved him, and the wonderful Succeſſes which the great God had given to him. An. 1650. *Cromwel* returns, and is joyfully received.

Montroſs had his Majeſty's Commiſſion to prepare a little Army for him: But becauſe he would not ſubmit to the Sentences of the Kirk, they purſued him as a common Enemy; and getting him into their mercileſs Hands, they brought him before the Parliament, and accuſed him of nothing but Covenant-breaking. He made a ſtout Defence, and told them *his Cauſe* *Montroſs* betray'd in *Scotland*.

An. 1650. *was good: He had not only a Commission, but particular Orders for what he did from his Majesty, to whom he was engaged to be a loyal Subject, and they themselves professed to be so: That if they would take away his Life for doing his Duty, the World knew he did not regard it: It was a Debt that must once be paid, and now in good Season, when he should rejoice to go the same Way his Royal Master had lately done; and for his present Majesty, it would be another Joy of his Heart, not only to do but to suffer for him.* But at the Instigation of the Assembly-Men, the Parliament gave Sentence beyond all Precedent, 'That he should 'be hanged upon a Gibbet of six Ells and a half 'high, and when dead, his Head to be severed from 'his Body, and set upon the *Tolbooth* at *Edinburgh*, 'his right Hand to be cut off, and sent to *Glascow*, 'his left Hand to *Aberdeen*, his right Foot to St. '*Johnstown*, and his left to *Dundee*:' All which was executed on him.

His cruel Sentence.

Some others were executed only for joining with *Montross*. These Indignities and Cruelties might have justly provoked the King to break off the Treaty, and desert a People given up to Bigotry and Blood: Yet such were his Majesty's Necessities, and so great the Importunities of his Relations and Friends to comply at any rate, that he was forced to connive at all this Insolence, and to write to *Edinburgh* in no harder Words than these: *That he was very sorry at a Report he had heard, that there was some Blood of his good Subjects shed of late; but not knowing how it is, he desires to understand the Business more fully.* To which the Parliament answered, *That they hoped for a happy Agreement with his Majesty, and desired him not to be discouraged at some seeming Obstacles, such as the Death of* Montross, *and some few others; they doing nothing therein but to accomplish his Interest.* And his Majesty was bound to seem as if he did believe them; tho they were so conscious of their own Guilt, as to question the King's Forgiveness of it: so that after long Negotiations, in the Month of *June* they put it to the Vote in Parliament *Whether they should make any more Addresses to the King:* But with some Difficulty it was carried, 'That 'they should desire the King's speedy coming thither, 'and would promise to endeavour to set him on his 'Throne,

King invited into *Scotland*.

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'Throne, and would paſs by many things contrary to 2 Car. II.
'his Agreement in the Caſe of *Montroſs*, provided he
'would now come in and comply with them.'

Reſolutions in *England* to invade *Scotland.*

A Junćto of the Council of State having Intelligence of the Dangers from *Scotland*, were adviſed by *Cromwel* not to wait the coming of the *Scots*, nor to truſt to any after-Game; but rather to prevent their Invaſion of *England*, by carrying the War directly into *Scotland*. Some ſcrupulous Men did object, *That to begin a War upon* Scotland *would be contrary to the Covenant:* But it was anſwered, *That the* Scots *had already broken the Covenant, and that therefore it was not now binding on the one Side after it had been diſſolved on the other.* So it was reſolved, 'That 'having a formed Army, and well provided and ex-'perienced, they would march it forthwith into *Scot-'land*, to prevent the *Scots* marching into *England*, 'and the Miſeries that might from thence enſue.' The Lord General *Fairfax* was taught by the Preſbyterian Divines, and his own Lady, a great Patroneſs of them, and perhaps by *Cromwel* himſelf, to object, *That he was unſatisfied whether there was a juſt Ground for the Parliament of* England *to ſend their Army to invade* Scotland; *but in caſe the* Scots *ſhould firſt enter* England, *he was then ready to oppoſe and engage them, in defence of his own Country.* The Council of State were ſo much diſturbed about theſe Scruples in the General, that they appointed a Committee to give him Satisfaction, *Cromwel*, *Whitlock*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, and *St. John*. The Debates of this Conference were publiſhed by one of the Committee, the General concluding thus: *What would you have me do? As far as my Conſcience will give way, I am willing to join with you ſtill in the Service of the Parliament; but when the Conſcience is not ſatisfied, none of you, I am aſſured, will engage in any Service: And that is my Condition in this, and therefore I muſt deſire to be excuſed.* So the General laid down his Commiſſion; and by good Contrivance an Act was immediately paſſed for conſtituting and appointing *Oliver Cromwel* Eſq; to be Captain-General in chief of all the Forces raiſed and to be raiſed, by Authority of Parliament, within the Commonwealth of *England:* And on *June* 29. this new General marched his Army Northwards, to the great

Fairfax lays down his Commiſſion.

Cromwel made General.

An. 1650. Alarm of the *Scots*, who in vain alledged, that by the Covenant and Articles of Pacification they ought not to be invaded without three Months Warning.

King lands in Scotland. The King landed in *Scotland*, *June* 16. after a Demand from the Council, *That he wou'd ſign the* Covenant *before he ſet his Foot on ſhore.* He ſtay'd many Days at *Dundee*, attended with one Committee from the Parliament, and another from the Kirk, who were preſſing his Majeſty to ſign ſeveral Propoſitions, and before his doing ſo, wou'd not agree for his coming to *Edinburgh* in order to his Coronation. His Majeſty ſubmitted to all their Demands, and was proclaimed King, but not yet crown'd. Towards the end of *July*, *Cromwel* with his Army enter'd *Scotland*, and without Oppoſition advanced to *Haddington* within twelve Miles of *Edinburgh*, not above ſix Miles from the *Scotch* Army, now encreaſed to about thirty thouſand. *Cromwel* reſolutely marched on, and drew up his whole Army before *Edinburgh*, and beat the Enemy from *King Arthur's Hill*, but could not force them out of their Trenches, till by fall of Rains and want of Victuals he was conſtrain'd to retreat to *Muſcleburgh.* When the Army was refreſh'd, *Cromwel* march'd back to the View of *Edinburgh*, and pitched his Tents on *Pentland Hills*, being well furniſh'd with Proviſion by the Parliament's Ships that attended his Motions.

Cromwel enters Scotland.

The *Scots* ſending out a Party to take in *Muſcleburgh*, *Cromwel* to prevent it, decamped from the Weſt ſide of *Edinburgh*, *Auguſt* 31. and came next Day to *Dunbar*, cloſely followed by the *Scotch* Army. Here a Fight began early on *Tueſday* Morning, *September* 3. wherein the divided *Scots* ſoon threw down their Arms and ran away, loſing in the Battel and Purſuit above four thouſand ſlain, and ten thouſand taken Priſoners. *Cromwel* himſelf drew up a Narrative of this great Victory, and ſent it by a Courier to the Council of State, who order'd it to be read in all the Churches of *London* with ſolemn Thankſgiving.

Dunbar Fight.

The *Engliſh* Army the ſame Day poſſeſſed themſelves of *Edinburgh* and *Leith*; the King, whom the *Scots* wou'd not ſuffer to be in the Battel, retiring to *St. Johnſtown*, and the Lieutenant-General *Leven* endeavouring to rally his Forces about *Sterling*, the *Scotch* Presbyters preaching it up, *That their late Overthrow*

Overthrow was owing to their too much complying with the King, whose ill Treatment made him incline to escape privately from *St. Johnstown*; for which purpose he had sent to *Orkney* for Shipping; and the Earl of *Cleveland* and many of his best Friends, for refusing the Covenant, were forced to run away from him; and the King himself, with the Duke of *Buckingham* and some few Servants, was in the way of Escape: but being discover'd was brought back again, and to atone for many Indignities, was crowned at *Scone*. But soon after, the Commissioners of the Kirk presented a Remonstrance to him, pressing him *to humble himself, and to repent of his own and his Father's Sins, that he might be thereby able to quit the Nation of their Enemies now in the Bowels of the Kingdom*; and set forth an Exhortation to their Brethren, *not to communicate with any who deserted the Kirk*: And the King coming to *Aberdeen* about the end of *February*, to hasten his Levies, the Presbytery there openly oppos'd his Proceedings, and wou'd not suffer him to receive the Marquis of *Huntley*, nor to erect the Office of a Lord-Chancellor. 2 Car. II. King crown'd at *Scone*.

At the King's Coronation before mentioned, the *National Covenant* of *Scotland*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant*, were distinctly read, and an Oath administer'd to him, in these Words: *I* Charles, *King* of Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *do assure and declare, by my solemn Oath, in the Presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, my Allowance and Approbation of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant, and faithfully oblige my self to prosecute the Ends thereof in my Station and Calling; and that I my self and my Successors shall consent and agree to all Acts of Parliament enjoining the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establish* Presbyterian *Government, the* Directory *of* Worship, Confession of Faith, *and* Catechisms *in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *as they are approved by the general Assemblies of this Kirk, and Parliament of this Kingdom; and that I will give my Royal Assent to Acts and Ordinances of this Parliament, passed or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other Dominions; and that I will observe these in my own Practice and Family, and shall never make Opposition to any of them, or endeavour any* King's Oath at his Coronation.

An. 1650. *Change thereof.* This done, the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, and the King's Oath ſubjoin'd to both, being drawn up in a fair Parchment, the King in the Preſence of all ſubſcribed the ſame.

Parliament courts the City.

The Parliament of *England* were not wanting in the Politicks of ſecuring the City of *London* to a faſt Friendſhip with them; and for a Token of Reſpect, they preſented *New-Park*, a fair Lot of the Crown Lands, to the City for ever in their Term of Conveyance, with ſeveral Houſes and Appurtenances, and one thouſand Pounds for diſtributing to the Poor; for which the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council were taught to come to the Parliament-Doors, with their Addreſſes of Thanks, *declaring and reſolving, thro God's Aſſiſtance, with the hazard of their Lives and Eſtates, to ſtand and fall with the Parliament, againſt all wicked Practices and oppoſite pretended Powers whatſoever.* To which the Speaker was inſtructed to anſwer, *That the Houſe took notice of this their good Reſolution, and of the Seaſonableneſs of it; and the Houſe kindly accepted of it, and gave them their Thanks for it.*

Project for altering the Forms of Law.

The Matter that occaſioned moſt Debates in the Houſe, was the Project of altering the Forms of Law, and making all Writs and Proceedings to run only in the *Engliſh* Tongue. This was the Subject of ſeveral Petitions from the Soldiers and Country Farmers; who indeed had reaſon to think themſelves impoſed upon by Languages which they did not underſtand. Hence it was at laſt enacted, *November* 22. 'That 'all Report-Books of the Reſolutions of Judges, and 'other Books of the Law, ſhou'd be tranſlated into 'the *Engliſh* Tongue; and all Writs, Proceſs, and 'Returns thereof, Pleadings, Rules, Orders, Indict-'ments, Inquiſitions, Certificates, Patents, and all 'Acts, Deeds, and Proceedings whatſoever, ſhall be 'only in the *Engliſh* Tongue, in the ordinary uſual 'Hand, and not in Court-hand.'

Aſcham kill'd at *Madrid*.

Mr. *Aſcham* was ſent by the Parliament into *Spain* to be their Agent there; but he was no ſooner arriv'd at *Madrid*, than he was murder'd by three Perſons coming to his Houſe, who pretending to be *Engliſh* Merchants, were admitted; but as he ſaluted the firſt of them, he was ſtruck into the Head by him with

with a Poniard; and his Secretary endeavouring to make his Eſcape, was killed with him. The Murderers took Sanctuary in a Church, but by an Order of State they were forced from thence and committed to Priſon; of which the Church-men loudly complained after their uſual manner, as an injurious Violation of their Immunities. 2 Car. II.

Council of State chang'd.

The Council of State, who had the executive Power under Direction of the Parliament and Army, was on *February* 11. voted to be altered for the Year enſuing; twenty one of the old Members to continue, and twenty new ones to be choſen. The old Members continued in, were *Cromwel*, *Bradſhaw*, *Rolles*, *St. John*, *Skippon*, &c. The new Members taken in, were Major-General *Harriſon*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Prideaux*, *Strickland*, &c.

Death of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*.

On the 8th Day of *September* this Year, died the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, ſecond Siſter to the preſent King, in the fifteenth Year of her Age. She was ſent Priſoner to *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, the tedious Priſon of her Royal Father, where being ſenſibly touch'd with the Remembrance of his Death, ſhe waſted away and expired with the Extremity of Melancholy and Grief.

An. 1651.

King heads an Army in *Scotland*.

The King was at the head of a conſiderable Army in *Scotland*, but had not the proper Command of them; for a ſelect Committee of Sixty was appointed to manage the Affairs of the War with the Conſent of the Kirk. *Cromwel*, after his Victory at *Dunbar*, gained ſeveral Advantages over this Army, much divided by the Factions of *Hamilton* and *Argyle*; and eſpecially in the Battel of *Fife*, where two thouſand of the *Scots* were ſlain, and fourteen hundred taken Priſoners: by which *Cromwel* got between the King and the North parts of *Scotland*, and ſo cutting off all Communication, forced the King with his Army upon the Neceſſity of marching into *England*: But he ſent after them Major-General *Lambert*, with a conſiderable Body of Horſe, to attend their Rear; and he himſelf followed ſoon after, having left behind him a ſufficient Force under Major-General *Monk*, to keep *Scotland* in awe.

Battel of *Fife*.

King marches into *England*.

During the various Tranſactions in *Scotland*, before the King arrived in *England*, the Rulers at *Weſt-*

An. 1651. *minſter* were buſily employ'd both in ſecuring their own Authority, and proſecuting a Plot, which occaſioned ſome new Struggles between the Presbyterians and Independents. The former meeting with no ſmall Grievances from the latter, began this Spring to have ſome conſiderable hopes from their *Scottiſh* Brethren; and for their ſakes and their own Recovery, were inclined to help forward the Reſtoration of their Sovereign, as a King under ſufficient Limitations, and now in Covenant with them. This Zeal for their own Cauſe carried many of the Presbyterian Miniſters in *London* into a Correſpondence with the Kirk, and ſo into a Plot for the King, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Presbyterian Plot*. This was ſoon diſcovered by the Vigilance of the Government, and by the Forwardneſs of the Men concerned in it: So that Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Caſe*, and Mr. *Drake*, very eminent Presbyterian Divines, beſides ſome others of the Laity, were ſeized by Order of the Council of State, and in order to their Tryal, were on *May* 7. brought before the High Court of Juſtice. Mr. *Love* was firſt charged with High-Treaſon againſt the State and Common-wealth of *England*, for holding Correſpondence with the King and his Party, and ſupplying them with Arms and Money, contrary to an Act of Parliament in that Caſe provided. He at firſt diſputed the Authority of the Court, and then inſiſted on his own Merits in promoting the Cauſe of the Parliament, and terrified Mr. *Jackſon* a Miniſter from giving in Evidence againſt him; for which obſtinate Refuſal he was fin'd by the Court five hundred Pounds, and committed to the *Fleet*. At another Appearance, *June* 25. he did at laſt confeſs, That the Conſpirators met at his Houſe for furthering the *Scotch* Deſigns, and that Letters were receiv'd and Anſwers ſent from thence, but ſaid in excuſe, that he did not do it himſelf, and that he did not perſonally act any thing. But in ſhort, tho he had Mr. *Matthew Hale* for an Advocate, and the whole Party for Sollicitors, on *July* 5. he was condemned to be beheaded, and the Day of Execution was appointed to be on the 15th. Before the Time came, very fervent Petitions were preſented from himſelf and his Friends to the Parliament, for

Presbyterian Plot.

Mr. *Love* condemn'd.

ſaving

ſaving his Life; which after a long Debate paſſed in the Negative: And on the very Day appointed for Execution, ſeveral Miniſters in and about *London* came with a moſt importunate Petition to the Houſe, 'praying earneſtly, and in the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, 'who when we were Sinners died for us, if not totally to ſpare the Life of our *Dear Brother*, that yet 'you wou'd ſay of him, as *Solomon* of *Abiathar*, *That* 'at this time he ſhall not be put to Death.' Upon which the Parliament granted him a Reprieve for one Month. Within this time, all poſſible Sollicitations were uſed to the Men in Power; and particular Application was made to *Cromwel*, then in *Scotland*, who ſent back a Letter of his free Conſent to the Pardon of him: But the Poſt-Boy being ſtopp'd by ſome Cavaliers, they ſearch'd his Packet, and with great Indignation tore the Letter relating to Mr. *Love*, as thinking him not worthy to live, who had been ſuch a Fire-brand in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. 3 Car. II.

The Council of State and Leaders in the Parliament hearing nothing from *Cromwel*, and not finding the ingenuous Diſcovery and humble Submiſſion which they expected from Mr. *Love*, after the Condemnation of two other of his Accomplices, Mr. *Potter* and Mr. *Gibbons*, they vacated his Reprieve, and recommitted him to the High Court of Juſtice; by whoſe Order he was executed on *Tower-Hill*, with Mr. *Gibbons*, on *Auguſt* 22. He is executed.

This Blow helped to widen the Breach between the Presbyterians and the prevailing Powers: And from this time the Presbyterians were always ſuſpected of Loyalty to the King, and the Parliament and the Army were always jealous of them; tho 'twas their Policy to make them eaſy, by granting a Pardon upon humble Acknowledgment and Submiſſion, to Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Drake*, and others who had confeſs'd themſelves guilty of Mr. *Love*'s Conſpiracy.

To return to the King, who being deſerted by many of the *Scotch* Nobility, and great Numbers of common Soldiers, made rather a flying Retreat than a regular March to *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, hoping his *Engliſh* Subjects wou'd have come in to his Aſſiſtance: But all thoſe Parts had either ſuch an Averſion to the *Scots*, or ſuch a Terror from the cloſe Purſuit, that *Cromwel*, and *Lambert*, and *Harriſon* made after the King marches to *Preſton*.

An. 1651. King, that no Succour came in to him; which Disappointment the King took with Patience, and marched his poor Army of twelve thousand without committing any Violence, or doing any Injury to the Country.

Earl of *Derby* defeated. The brave Earl of *Derby* was the only *Englishman* who made any attempt to support the King: He got together a Body of one thousand five hundred Men; but before he could join the Royal Army, he was set upon by Colonel *Lilburn* near *Wiggan*, and entirely routed; he himself wounded, retreated to *Cheshire* with about eighty Horse, and from thence to the King at *Worcester*; and being after the Fight there taken Prisoner upon Quarter given, was sentenced to Death, and lost his Head at *Bolton*.

King comes to *Worcester*. The King had brought his Army much fatigu'd to *Worcester*; from whence he sent a Letter to the City of *London*, but it was burnt by the Common Hangman; and a Declaration of the Parliament was published by Beat of Drum and Sound of Trumpet throughout all the Streets, 'proclaiming all those to be Traitors, who 'do or shall adhere to the King and his Party.' The King sent out a Summons to all the adjacent Country, That all his loving Subjects within the Age of sixteen and sixty should come in to him at *Worcester*; but few or none came: So that finding himself not able to take the Field, he fortified the Town as well as the Time would allow, and kept up a strict Discipline; and when any *English* Prisoners were brought to him, he treated them courteously, and gave them his Hand to kiss, and so discharged them.

Worcester Fight. Before the end of *August*, *Cromwel* was got up with his Foot and Baggage, and had his Head-Quarters within two Miles of *Worcester*. And on *September* 3. the same Day twelvemonth that he obtained the Victory at *Dunbar*, he storm'd the City, entered it, and gave the King's Army an absolute Defeat; and sent this Account of it in a Letter to the Parliament.

Cromwel's Account of it. 'I am not able yet to give you an Account of 'the great things the Lord hath done for this Com-'monwealth and for his People; and yet I am un-'willing to be silent, but according to my Duty shall 'represent it to you as it comes to hand. This Bat-'tel was fought with various Success for some Hours, 'but still hopeful on your side, and in the end be-'came an absolute Victory, and so full a one as proved

'a

'a total Defeat and Ruin of the Enemy's Army, 3 Car. II.
'and a poſſeſſion of the Town. Our Men enter'd at
'the Enemy's Heels, and fighting with them in the
'Streets with very great Courage, took all their Bag-
'gage and Artillery. What the Slain are I can give
'you no Account, becauſe we have not taken an
'exact View; but they are very many, and muſt
'needs be ſo, becauſe the Diſpute was long and very
'near at Hand, and oft-times at puſh of Pike, and
'from one Defence to another. There are about ſix
'or ſeven thouſand Priſoners taken here, and many
'Officers and Noblemen of Quality, Duke *Hamilton*,
'the Earl of *Rothes*, and divers other Noblemen;
'I hear, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, many Officers of
'great Quality, and ſome that will be fit Subjects of
'your Juſtice. The Dimenſions of this Mercy are
'above my Thoughts; it is for ought I know a *Crown-*
'ing Mercy: ſurely, if it be not, ſuch a one we ſhall
'have, if this provoke thoſe that are concerned in it
'to Thankfulneſs, and the Parliament to do the Will
'of him who hath done his Will for it and for the
'Nation; whoſe good Pleaſure is to eſtabliſh the
'Nation and Change of the Government, by making
'the People ſo willing to the Defence thereof, and
'ſo ſignally to bleſs the Endeavours of your Servants
'in this great Work. I am bold humbly to beg,
'that all Thoughts may tend to the promoting his
'Honour, who hath wrought ſo great Salvation, and
'that the Fatneſs of theſe continued Mercies may
'not occaſion Pride and Wantonneſs, as formerly the
'like hath done to a choſen People; but that the
'Fear of the Lord, even for his Mercies, may keep
'an Authority, and a People ſo proſpered, and bleſſed,
'and witneſſed to, humble and faithful; that Juſtice
'and Righteouſneſs, Mercy and Truth, may flow
'from you, as a thankful Return to our glorious God.
'This ſhall be the Prayer of your moſt humble and
'obedient Servant, *O. Cromwell.*

In this Defeat the King could provide for no ſafety but that of his own Perſon; nor could he have done this without a wonderful Providence. He went out at St. *Martin's* Gate about ſeven at Night in the Duſk with the Earl of *Derby* before he was taken; by whoſe Direction he got to an obſcure Houſe, called *Whiteladies*, twenty five Miles from *Worceſter*, between three and four

King's wonderful Eſcape.

An. 1651. four the next Morning, and there committed himſelf to the Fidelity of the *Penderils*, two Brothers, who put him immediately into the Habit of a Woodcutter, and ſent him to work in an adjoining Coppice all that Day; and in the Night following *Richard Penderil* carried him to the Houſe of Mr. *Wolfe* of *Medeley*, and there lodged him in a Barn, and thence guided him to *Boſcobel*, where he hid himſelf in an Oak in the Day-time, and ſtole into the Houſe at Night. Hence *John Penderil*, ſent hither by the Lord *Wilmot*, brought him in the Habit and on the Horſe of a Miller, to Mr. *Whitgrave*'s Houſe, at *Moſeley*, and ſo by the Lord *Wilmot*'s Advice to *Bentley*; where Colonel *Lane* contrived that the King ſhould ride as a Servant before his Siſter, Mrs. *Jane Lane*, to *Briſtol*. Upon the Road the King was very near being diſcover'd, upon ſhooing his Horſe at a Forge; but hapned to paſs free to *Eveſham* and *Cirenceſter*, and ſo to the Houſe of Mr. *Norton* at *Leigh*, within three Miles of *Briſtol*, where he was known by the Butler *John Pope*, a Soldier formerly in his Majeſty's Army, but he did not diſcover him. The King was conducted thence by the Lord *Wilmot* to the Houſe of Colonel *Windham* at *Trent* in *Dorſetſhire*; where he continued three Weeks, not without the Privity of ſix or ſeven Perſons in the Family, in expectation of a Paſſage from *Lime*; but being diſappointed of theſe Hopes, he was forced to wander on to *Bridport*, where an Oſtler ſaying he knew him, he haſted away to *Broad-Windſor*, and hurried back again to Colonel *Windham*'s; thence to the Houſe of Mr. *Hide* at *Heal*, and after ſtrange Eſcapes came to *Brightham-ſtead* in *Suſſex*; where Colonel *Gunter* and Mr. *Maunſel* hired a Ship to carry him over to *France*. The Maſter, one *Tetherſhal*, knew his Majeſty, having ſeen him in the *Downs*, where he had obtained a Releaſe of his Veſſel bound for *Newcaſtle*; but encouraged with Money, and proſpect of Honour, he promis'd to tranſport his Royal Paſſenger: But going home for a Bottle of ſtrong Water, his Wife was acquainted with the Secret; yet for Loyalty or Lucre ſhe encouraged her Husband to perform the Contract; ſo that the King landed ſafely at *Diep* in *France* on the twelfth of *October*.

Crom-

Cromwel, in triumph, ordered the Walls of *Worceſter* to be levelled with the Ground, and the Dykes filled up; and then marched up to *London*, driving his Priſoners like Sheep before him, and making Preſents of them on occaſion, as of ſo many Slaves, and ſelling the reſt for that purpoſe into the Plantations. He was met beyond *Ailesbury* by four Members of Parliament ſent from the Houſe to pay him all the Marks of Favour and Honour. When he came to *Acton*, he was met by the Speaker and Members, and within the City Liberties, by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; and on *September* 16. he took his Place in Parliament, and had exceſſive Compliments from the Speaker in the Name of the Houſe; and was the ſame Day feaſted in the City of *London* with all poſſible State and Pomp; and two Acts were drawn up in honour of him, one for a ſolemn Thankſgiving Day, and another for a yearly Obſervation of the third Day of *September* in all the three Kingdoms, with a Narrative of the Grounds thereof. 3 Car. II. *Cromwel* triumphs. And returns to *London*.

Major General *Monk*, who was left by *Cromwel* in *Scotland* with a Piece of an Army, ſoon took *Sterling* the *Scots* chief Strength, and not long after, ſurpriz'd a Convention of the *Scotch* Nobility, old General *Leſly* among them, and went on to the abſolute Reduction of that Kingdom, which *Cromwel* kept in Subjection as a conquered Province. *Scotland* reduced by *Monk*.

Soon after *Worceſter* Fight, the *Iſle of Man* generouſly defended by the Counteſs of *Derby*, and the *Iſle of Jerſey* bravely maintained by Sir *George Carteret*, were both reduced under the Power of the Parliament; ſo that the new Commonwealth extended now as far as the late Monarchy. Iſles of *Man* and *Jerſey* reduced.

Cromwel's great Care was, to improve his Victories to his own Intereſt; and for this purpoſe, he deſired a Meeting with divers Members of Parliament and ſome chief Officers of the Army, at the Speaker's Houſe: Where (as *Whitlock*, one of the Number, tells us) he propos'd to them, *That now the old King being dead, and his Son defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a Settlement of the Nation; and in order thereunto he had requeſted this Meeting, that they together might conſider and adviſe what was fit to be done, and to be preſented to the Parliament.* When the Speaker and Colonel *Harriſon* had delivered themſelves *Cromwel* thinks of reigning.

An. 1651. ſelves in general Terms, *Whitlook*, who was ſuppos'd to know *Cromwel*'s Mind, offer'd a Queſtion, *Whether the Settlement deſigned ſhould be by way of an abſolute* Republick, *or with any Mixture of* Monarchy. *Cromwel* took the Hint, and anſwered, *My Lord Commiſſioner* Whitlock *hath put us upon the right Point; and indeed it is my Meaning, that we ſhould conſider whether a* Republick *or a mix'd* monarchical *Government will be beſt to be ſettled; and if any thing monarchical, then in* whom *that Power ſhall be plac'd.* When he had heard Colonel *Desborough* and *Whalley* declaring for a ſtrict Republick, and Sir *Thomas Widdrington* pleading for a mix'd monarchical Government to be placed upon Terms in one of the King's Sons, *Cromwel* replied, *That will be a Buſineſs of more than ordinary Difficulty: but really I think, if it may be done with Safety and Preſervation of our Rights, both as* Engliſhmen *and as Chriſtians, that a Settlement with ſomewhat of* monarchical *Power in it would be very effectual.* In concluſion, after a long Debate, the Company parted without coming to any Reſolution at all; only *Cromwel* diſcovered by this Meeting the Inclinations of the Perſons who ſpoke, which was his great Buſineſs, and of which he afterwards made an extraordinary uſe.

He is weary of the Parliament.

Cromwel made another Step towards his Deſigns, by bringing the Houſe into a Vote, *November* 18. *That the time for Continuance of this Parliament, beyond which they reſolve not to ſit, ſhall be the third Day of* November 1654. Which helped much to draw off the Eyes and Hearts of the People from a Parliament near unto Extinction, and fixed them upon the General and his Army, that were not likely to be diſſolved. So that from this time all Petitions and other Applications were to the General and his Officers, not to the Speaker and the Commons; who did little in the Remainder of this Year, but appoint a Committee to conſider of the Inconveniencies and Delays in the Proceedings of Law; wherein one of the Council to this Committee informs us, 'That 'none of them was more active in this Buſineſs than 'Mr. *Hugh Peters* Miniſter, who underſtood little 'of the Law, but was very opinionative, and would 'frequently mention ſome Proceedings of Law in *Hol-* '*land*, wherein he was altogether miſtaken.' This Com-

Committee for regulating the Law preſented to a Committee of Parliament to be reported to the Houſe, the Draughts of ſeveral Acts: 1. 'For taking away 'Fines upon Bills, Declarations and original Writs. '2. Againſt cuſtomary Oaths of Fealty and Homage 'to Lords of Manors. 3. For taking away com-'mon Recoveries, and the unneceſſary Charge of 'Fines, and to paſs and charge Lands entailed, as 'Lands in Fee ſimple. 4. For aſcertaining arbitrary 'Fines upon Deſcent and Alienation of Copyholds of 'Inheritance. 5. For the more ſpeedy Recovery 'of Rents. 6. Touching Pleaders and their Fees. '7. For the more ſpeedy regulating and eaſy Re-'covery of Debts and Damages, not exceeding 4 *l.* 'and under. 8. For Marriages to be made before 'Juſtices of the Peace.' 3 Car. II.

The *Scots* finding their Army in *England* ſwallowed up, and their own Country ravaged and reduced to a Conqueſt by the *Engliſh* Arms; the Deputies of their Shires and Boroughs drew up their Form of Conſent, required from them by the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, *to a Union with* England *in one Commonwealth, without a King or Houſe of Lords; and to live peaceably in Submiſſion to the Authority of the Parliament of* England. And an Act was ſoon after prepared at *Weſtminſter*, *For incorporating* Scotland *into one Commonwealth and Free State with* England; *and for aboliſhing the Kingly Office in* Scotland. An. 1652. *Scotland* to be united with *England* in one Commonwealth.

Lieutenant General *Ireton* being dead, a Vote of Parliament was obtained, *June* 16. 'That the Act of 'Parliament conſtituting *Oliver Cromwel* Captain Ge-'neral and Commander in Chief of the Armies and 'Forces rais'd by their Authority within *England*, 'ſhall extend to the Forces in *Ireland*, as if *Ireland* 'had been therein particularly named: And that 'the Lord General be required to appoint ſuch a Per-'ſon as he ſhall think fit, to command the Forces 'in *Ireland*, and to commiſſion him accordingly.' Whereby Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* had the Command in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland* to hold under the Lord General *Cromwel*: and under his Conduct that Kingdom was ſoon brought into perfect Subjection. Affairs of *Ireland*.

The

An. 1652. The Act for putting a Period to the Parliament was still before a Committee of the whole House, who had made a considerable Progress therein, having agreed upon a more equal Distribution of the Power of Election throughout *England*: And whereas formerly some Boroughs that had scarce a House upon them, chose two Members to be their Representatives in Parliament (just as many as the greatest Cities in *England*, *London* only excepted) and the single County of *Cornwal* elected forty four, when *Essex* and other Counties, bearing as great a share in the Payment of Taxes, sent no more than six or eight; this unequal Representation of the People the Parliament resolved to correct, and to permit only some of the principal Cities and Boroughs to chuse, and that for the most part but one Representative (the City of *London* only excepted, which on account of the great Proportion of its Contributions and Taxes, was allowed to elect six.) The rest of the four hundred, whereof the Parliament was to consist (besides those who served for *Scotland* and *Ireland*) were appointed to be chosen by the several Counties, in as near a Proportion as was possible to the Sums charged upon them for the Service of the State; and all Men admitted to be Electors, who were worth two hundred Pounds in Lands, Leases or Goods.

Power of electing Parliament-men to be more equally divided.

Victories at Sea.

To render the new Commonwealth more glorious, the *English* Navy was this Year prospered with very great and repeated Success against the Dutch *Fleet*. Of which we shall give a particular Account, after having shewn the occasion of this War between the two Nations, and the several Steps that led to it. Towards the End of the last Year, the Parliament sent the Chief Justice *St. John* and Mr. *Strickland* to treat of a nearer Conjunction between the two States: But the *Dutch* fearing this Coalition with *England* would rob them of the Trades they were possessed of, and be little less than rendring them a Province to *England*, refus'd to consent to it. Which Disappointment sat so heavy upon *St. John*'s haughty Spirit, that he made a Report of his Embassy, little to the *Dutch* Advantage. Hereupon the Parliament pass'd the Act of Navigation, prohibiting foreign Ships from bringing any Merchandizes into *England*, except such as should be of the Growth or Manufac-

ture of that Country to which the ſaid Ships did belong; deſigning thereby to have, in a great meaſure, leſſened the *Dutch* Trade, and encreaſed the *Engliſh*: And the latter, by virtue of this Law, took occaſion to ſearch the *Dutch* Veſſels, and often to make Prize of them; whereupon the *Dutch* ſent over four Ambaſſadors to pacify the Parliament, who, upon their firſt Audience, demanded the Arrears for the *Dutch* Fiſhing upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*; that the Survivors of the *Dutch*, aſſiſting in the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, ſhould be given up to Juſtice; and a free Trade up the *Scheld*. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors were ſurpriz'd at theſe Demands, yet ſtill continued to make great Proteſtations of their Love and Affection to the Commonwealth of *England*; but privately gave the States an Account how little was to be expected from them by a Treaty. Hereupon the *Dutch* prepare for a War, nor were the *Engliſh* behind-hand with them. 4 Car. II. Parliament and *Dutch* quarrel.

The *Dutch* in *May* ſet out a Fleet of Men of War, commanded by *Van Trump*, pretending it to be for the Security of Trade, but with Inſtructions not to ſtrike Sail to the *Engliſh* Flag; and upon the ſeventeenth came into *Dover* Road to anchor, as if he defied what the *Engliſh* could do to him. *Blake*, the *Engliſh* Admiral, had but fifteen Men of War, yet reſolved to know of *Trump* what he had to do in *Dover* Road, and ſailed directly to him: Hereupon *Trump* ſtood to the Eaſt-ward, and by that means being become headmoſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet, bore directly upon them; and being come within Muſquet-ſhot of the *Engliſh*, *Blake* gave Orders to fire at *Trump*'s Flag, which was done thrice, but inſtead of ſtriking it, *Trump* poured a Broad-ſide upon *Blake*, and Major *Bourn* at this time coming to *Blake*'s Aſſiſtance with eight Men of War, both Fleets engaged from four in the Afternoon till Night, wherein there were not leſs than two thouſand Shot exchanged on both ſides: and the *Dutch* had one Man of War taken and another ſunk, one hundred and fifty Men ſlain and their whole Fleet much damag'd; but the *Engliſh* had not one Ship loſt or diſabled, and very few Men killed. First Sea-Fight with the *Dutch*.

The *Dutch* thus balk'd in their Expectation of great things to be done by *Van Trump*, and finding the

An. 1652. the contrary Success, sent a Paper to their Ambassadors which was presented to the Council of State the twentieth of *June*, therein *taking God the Searcher of all Hearts to witness, that the most unhappy Fight of the Ships of both Commonwealths did happen against the Knowledge and Will of the Lords the States-General of the United* Netherlands, *and that with Grief and Astonishment they received the fatal News of that unhappy rash Action.*

Dutch excuse the Action.

Parliament's Reply to the same.

The Parliament return'd answer to the Ambassadors, 'That as they were willing to make a charitable Construction of the Expressions used in the several Papers, deliver'd by them to the Council of State, endeavouring to represent the late Engagements of the Fleets without their Knowledge and against the Minds of their Superiors; so when they consider'd how disagreeable to that Profession, the Resolution and Actions of their State, and of their Ministers at Sea, have been, even in the midst of a Treaty offer'd by themselves, and managed by their Excellencies, by the extraordinary Preparations of a hundred and fifty Sail of Men of War, without any visible Occasion, but what did now appear a just ground of Jealousy in their own Judgment, when their Lordships pretended to excuse it, and the Instructions themselves given by their Superiors to their Commanders at Sea; they did find too much cause to believe that the *Lords States of the United Provinces* had an Intention by force to usurp the known Rights of *England* in the Seas, to destroy the Fleets that were under God their Walls and Bulwarks, and thereby to expose this Commonwealth to Invasion, as by this late Action they attempted to do. Whereupon the Parliament conceive they are obliged to endeavour, with God's Assistance, as they have opportunity, to seek Reparation of the Wrong already suffer'd, and Security that the like be not attempted for the future: Nevertheless, with this Mind and Desire, that all Differences between the two Nations may (if possible) be peaceably and friendly compos'd, as God by his Providence shall open a way thereunto, and Circumstances shall be conducing to render such Endeavours less dilatory, and more effectual than those of this kind have hitherto been.

This

This was the tenth of *June*, and on the thirteenth *Blake* took twenty ſix Sail of *Dutch* Merchant-Men near the *Downs*, and three Men of War: and upon the twenty ninth the Parliament paſſed theſe Votes. 1. *That the* Lords States *do pay to this Commonwealth the Charges and Damages they have ſuſtained by their Attempts.* 2. *That upon payment or ſecuring thereof, there ſhall be a Ceſſation, and their Ships and Goods releaſed.* 3. *This being aſſented to and put in execution, the Security for the time to come, to be a firm Amity and Intereſt of the two States for the good of both.* Hereupon the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors the next Day demanded Audience of Leave to depart, which was granted; but the Parliament would not recede from *demanding Satisfaction for all their Damages.* And the *Dutch* foreſeeing a War would neceſſarily follow, entered into a Confederacy with the King of *Denmark* againſt the *Engliſh*. 4 Car. II.

About the Beginning of *July*, *Blake* with a gallant Fleet went Northwards, and left *Askew* to command the reſt in the *Downs*, who took five *Dutch* Merchant-Men; and *Blake* in his Paſſage took two Men of War, and two Merchant-Men; and within a Day or two after, Sir *George* met forty *Dutch* Ships, took ſeven of them, burnt four, and run twenty four on Ground upon the *French* Shore.

Upon the twenty fourth *Blake* took one hundred of the *Dutch* Fiſhing Buſſes, and in them fifteen hundred Priſoners: and about the laſt of *July* fell upon the *Dutch* Convoy for their Fiſhery in the Northern Seas, conſiſting of twelve Men of War, ſunk three, and took the other nine, with all the *Dutch* Buſſes; unloaded all their Fiſh, and ſent their Fiſhermen home: and he alſo took three of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Men richly laden. In theſe Actions *Blake* had but eight Men of War.

Upon the twentieth of *Auguſt*, *Askew* with thirty eight Men of War ſet upon the *Dutch* Fleet of fifty, and fifteen Merchant-Men near *Plymouth*; the Fight laſted three Days, and the *Dutch* loſt two Ships, one ſunk, the other burnt, the *Engliſh* none. The *Dutch* retir'd to the Coaſt of *France*, and Sir *George* follow'd them, and ſunk the *Dutch* Admiral, and loſt but one Fire-ſhip. Another Engagement.

An. 1652. At this time there was no Peace between the *English* and *French*; and the *Spaniards* having beſieged *Dunkirk*, the *French* ſet out a Fleet under the Duke of *Vendoſme* to relieve it: This Fleet was ſet upon by *Blake* in the *Downs*, who had then but ſeven Men of War with him; and upon the ſixth of *September* he engaged the whole *French* Fleet, took ſeven of their Men of War, and diſperſed the reſt: whereupon *Dunkirk*, and afterwards *Gravelin* ſubmitted to the *Spaniards*.

Blake beats the *French* Fleet.

Van Trump upon his Misfortune having laid down his Commiſſion, his Command was given to *De Wit*, who had ſmall Joy of his Employment, having *De Ruiter* joined in Commiſſion with him. For having fitted out as great a Fleet as the *Dutch* could put out, they took up their Station in *October* on the ſide of the *North-Foreland* upon the *Kentiſh* Coaſt. *Blake* having been on the Weſtern Coaſt, and taken five *Dutch Weſt-India* Ships, and ſix *Straits* Ships, valued at 200000 *l.* haſtned with his Fleet towards the *Dutch*, and divided it into three Squadrons, one commanded by himſelf, another by Vice-Admiral *Penn*, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*; and upon the twenty eighth of *October* engaged the *Dutch* Fleet near the *North-Foreland*, boarded and took their Rear-Admiral, ſunk two more of them, and one was blown up; and the reſt of the *Dutch* Fleet was ſo ſhatter'd that it was forced to fly, and was purſued by the *Engliſh* twelve Leagues. The *Engliſh* loſt not one Ship, tho many of them were diſabled in their Rigging.

Beats the *Dutch* Fleet again.

Van Trump was afterwards reſtor'd to his Command, at the Deſire of the King of *Denmark*, who on that Condition promis'd to aſſiſt the States with twenty Sail of Men of War. The *Dutch* now uſed all poſſible Induſtry to fit out another Fleet, and having got eighty Men of War, and ten Fire-ſhips, ſailed directly to the *Downs*, where *Blake* lay with about forty; and upon the twenty ninth of *November* a furious Fight was between them, which laſted from ten in the Morning till ſix at Night: When the *Dutch* Fleet, double in Number to the *Engliſh*, prevailed, took the *Garland* Frigat, burnt the *Bonadventure*, and ſunk three more: on the *Dutch* ſide, one of their Flag-ſhips was blown up, and all the Soldiers and Mariners

Dutch beat the *Engliſh*.

Mariners were loſt but two, and *Van Trump*'s and *De Ruiter*'s Ships much damag'd; and if the Night had not favoured the *Engliſh*, their whole Fleet would have been in danger of being loſt. 4 Car. II.

The *Dutch* were ſo elated by this Victory, that they talk'd of nothing but blocking up the River of *Thames*, and forcing the *Engliſh* to Peace: But they were miſtaken in their Meaſures. For the Parliament, with incredible Diligence and Conduct, repaired their ſhatter'd Fleet, and fitted up another, to the Amazement of the *Dutch*, commanded by *Blake*, *Dean* and *Monk*; and upon the eighth of *February* ſet Sail from *Queenborough* with ſixty Men of War, from whence they ſailed to *Portſmouth*, where they were joined with twenty Men of War more, and from thence ſailed over againſt *Portland*, half Seas over, to call *Trump* to an Account for paſſing the Channel without the leave of the *Engliſh*: and upon the eighteenth of *February* the Southern Ships of the *Engliſh* Fleet deſcried the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy ſix Men of War, which had the Charge of convoying thirty Merchant Ships. *Blake* and *Dean* were in the *Triumph*, and with twelve Sail more engaged the Groſs of the *Dutch* Fleet; and the *Triumph* having received ſeven hundred Cannon-ſhot in her Hull, was bravely relieved by *Lawſon*, the reſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet being not able to come up. But when the reſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet came up, a moſt furious Fight ſucceeded, wherein the *Dutch* had ſix Men of War taken and ſunk, whereof one was a Flag-ſhip; but the *Engliſh* loſt not one Ship. The next Day after, in the Morning, the *Dutch* Fleet was diſcerned ſeven Leagues off *Weymouth*, whither the *Engliſh* ply'd, and in the Afternoon engaged them with the like Fury they did the Day before: *Trump* put his Merchant-Men before him, and after the firſt Shock, fought retreating towards the Coaſt of *Bulloign*; but in his way thither, the *Engliſh* Frigats at large took many of his Merchant-Men, and *Lawſon* boarded and took one of the *Dutch* Men of War. The next Day, early in the Morning, the *Engliſh* renewed the Fight, which continned till four in the Afternoon; then the Wind proving croſs to the *Engliſh* at N. N. E. *Trump* got to *Calais* Sands, and the *Engliſh* thought fit to purſue him no further. In theſe

Another Sea Engagement, wherein the *Dutch* were very much worſted.

An. 1652. three Fights the *Dutch* loſt eleven of their Men of War, and thirty of their Merchant Ships; the *Engliſh* loſt but one Ship, the *Sampſon*, but the Captain *Button*, and moſt of the Men were ſaved, tho the Captain was much wounded.

This Victory of the *Engliſh* was ſo much more ſurprizing to the *Dutch*, by how much they expected *Van Trump* ſhould have block'd up the River of *Thames*, and obliged the *Engliſh* to ſeek a Peace. But the Succeſs proving ſo contrary, the common People in the *Dutch* Provinces were all in an Uproar and Tumult; whereupon the Province of *Holland* (without the Conſent of the other Provinces) did privately empoly Colonel *Doleman* and ſome others (gaining to them *Hugh Peters*) to try the Inclinations of the Parliament for a Peace.

Dutch ſue for Peace.

The Parliament did not refuſe to treat of a Peace upon juſt and honourable Terms, but not in *Holland* or any neutral Place; nor would they condeſcend to any Treaty before *Holland* made the firſt Overture in Writing. Whereupon the States of *Holland* upon the eighteenth of *March*, by their Secretary *Herbert Van Beaumont*, ſent the Parliament a Letter to that purpoſe; which they having received, to make a further Diſtraction in the States General, ſent an Anſwer to the States of *Holland*, and a Letter to the States General, which had the deſired Effect; for the reſt of the Provinces complained, that *Holland* had broke the Union. However, fearing the Calamity would be common to them all, if the War continued, they conſented to a Treaty of Peace. But in the mean time a ſtrange Turn of Affairs happened in *England*.

For *Cromwel* was all this while exerciſing his Skill, and projecting how to accompliſh his ambitious Deſigns. The Parliament ſtood in his way; and therefore he reſolved to make one bold Puſh to maſter it, and ſo diſſolve the Commonwealth; to which he was very much animated by the *Dutch*, who dreaded that powerful Aſſembly. Upon this nice Juncture he took an Opportunity to adviſe and diſcourſe with Commiſſioner *Whitlock* how to maintain all things in Order and Obedience: And after ſome general and inſinuating Talk, *Cromwel* put this ſhort Queſtion to him, *What if a Man ſhould take upon him to be King?* *Whitlock* anſwered, *I think that Remedy*

Cromwel would fain be King.

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is worſe than the Diſeaſe. *Cromwel* asking him *Why he thought ſo*; the Commiſſioner proceeded, *As to your own Perſon, the Title of King would be of no Advantage, becauſe you have the full kingly Power in you already; concerning the* Militia, *as you are General: As to the Nomination of Civil Officers, thoſe that you think fitteſt are ſeldom refuſed: And altho you have no negative Vote in the paſſing of Laws, yet what you diſlike, will not eaſily be carried; and the Taxes are already ſettled, and in your Power to diſpoſe the Money raiſed: And as to foreign Affairs, tho the ceremonial Application be made to the Parliament, yet the Expectation of good or bad Succeſs in it, is from your Excellency; and particular Sollicitations of foreign Miniſters are made to you only; ſo that I apprehend indeed leſs Envy, and Danger, and Pomp, but not leſs Power and real Opportunities of doing Good, in your being General, than would be if you had aſſumed the Title of King.* *Cromwel* proceeded to argue, *That whoſoever was actually King by Election, the Acts done by him were as lawful and juſtifiable as if done by a King who had the Crown by Inheritance; and that by an Act of Parliament in* Henry *the ſeventh's Reign, it was ſafer for the People to act under a King, let his Title be what it will, than under any other Power.* *Whitlock* agreed to the Legality, but queſtioned the Expediency of it; and uſed many Arguments to convince him of the Danger there would be in attempting to take on him the Title of King. So that *Cromwel* not pleaſed, adjourn'd the Diſcourſe to ſome further Time, and went off with a Countenance and Carriage of Diſpleaſure: And from that Time his Carriage towards *Whitlock* was altered, and his adviſing with him not ſo frequent and intimate as before; and not long after, he found an Occaſion, by an honourable Employment, to ſend him out of the Way, that he might be no Obſtacle or Impediment to his ambitious Deſigns. For certainly *Cromwel* in his Thoughts and Intentions was for bringing the Crown upon his own Head, and it was a great Providence, that his own Friends would not permit him to have his own Way. *Harry Nevil*, who was then one of the Council of State, and lived long after the Reſto ation of the King, uſed to tell it as a Story of his own Knowledge, 'That *Cromwel* upon this Oc- 4 Car. II.

An. 1652. ‘ caſion ſent for ſome of the chief City-Divines, as if ‘ he made it a Matter of Conſcience, to be determined ‘ by their Advice: Among whom was the grave Mr. ‘ *Calamy*, who very boldly oppoſed the Project of ‘ *Cromwel*'s ſingle Government, and offer'd to prove ‘ it both *unlawful* and *impracticable*. *Cromwel* an- ‘ ſwered readily upon the firſt Head of *Unlawful*, and ‘ appealed to the Safety of the Nation being the ſu- ‘ preme Law; *but*, ſays he, *pray Mr.* Calamy, *why* ‘ *impracticable*? *Oh*, *ſays Mr.* Calamy, *'tis againſt the* ‘ *Voice of the Nation*, *there will be nine in ten againſt* ‘ *you*. *Very well*, *ſays* Cromwel, *but what if I ſhould* ‘ *diſarm the nine*, *and put the Sword into the tenth* ‘ *Man's Hand*, *would not that do the Buſineſs*?

Cromwel inceniſes the People againſt the Parliament.

But to carry the Point as far as it would bear, he and his Officers were daily complaining of the Grievances of the *Long Parliament*, and were loud and zealous ‘ in recommending to the People the com- ‘ mon Pretences of Right and Juſtice, and publick ‘ Liberty, to put a Period to their Seſſion; and if they ‘ would not ſhortly do it themſelves, the Army and ‘ People muſt do it for them.' There was ſtill one Obſtacle to be removed, and that was the young Duke of *Gloceſter*, now twelve Years of Age, a Priſoner in *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, who had been often thought of as a Perſon fit to receive the Crown, with particular and proper Limitations. Therefore under the pretext of ſaving publick Charges, Means were found to ſet him at liberty the latter End of this Year; he being ſent with two Servants to *Dunkirk*, and promiſed a ſmall Exhibition, provided he would not come near his Brother or any of his Relations. But being got on that ſide the Water, he was received according to his Birth, and from *Bruſſels* attended to his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange* at *Breda*, who received him with infinite Joy, having been in continual fear, that his Life would be ſacrificed by thoſe who ſpared not that of his Royal Father. Nor was he received with leſs Joy at *Paris* by the King his Brother, and the Queen his Mother, to whom he was welcomed and treated as one riſen from the dead.

Duke of *Gloceſter* ſet at liberty.

An. 1653. The Parliament now perceiving to what kind of Exceſs the Madneſs of the Army, as it was modell'd by *Cromwel*, was like to carry them, reſolved to leave

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as a Legacy to the People the Government of a Commonwealth, by their Repreſentatives when aſſembled in Parliament, and in the Intervals thereof, by a Council of State, choſen by them, and to continue till the Meeting of the next ſucceeding Parliament, to whom they were to give an account of their Conduct and Management. *Cromwel* hearing that the Parliament, inſtead of diſſolving themſelves, as many expected, were going upon their new Act of Eſtabliſhment, made haſte to the Houſe, where he ſat down and heard their Debates for ſome time: Then calling to Major-General *Harriſon*, who was on the other ſide of the Houſe, to come to him, he told him, *That he judged the Parliament ripe for a Diſſolution, and this to be the Time of doing it.* *Harriſon* anſwered, *Sir, the Work is very great and dangerous, therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it before you engage in it.* *You ſay well*, replied the General; and thereupon ſat ſtill for about a quarter of an Hour: And then the Queſtion for paſſing the Bill being to be put, he ſaid again to *Harriſon*, *This is the Time, I muſt do it:* And ſuddenly ſtanding up he made a Speech, wherein he loaded the Parliament with the vileſt Reproaches, charging them *not to have a Heart to do any thing for the publick Good, to have eſpouſed the corrupt Intereſt of Presbytery and the Lawyers, who were the Supporters of Tyranny and Oppreſſion; accuſing them of an Intention to perpetuate themſelves in Power*, and thereupon telling them, *that the Lord had done with them, and had choſen other Inſtruments for the carrying on his Work, that were more worthy.* This he ſpoke with ſo much Paſſion and Diſcompoſure of Mind, as if he had been diſtracted. Sir *Peter Wentworth* ſtood up to anſwer him, and ſaid, *That this was the firſt time that he ever heard ſuch unbecoming Language given to the Parliament:* But as he was going on, *Cromwel* ſtepped into the midſt of the Houſe, where continuing his diſtracted Language, he ſaid, *Come, come, I will put an end to your prating:* Then walking up and down the Houſe, and kicking the Ground with his Feet, he cried out, *You are no Parliament, I ſay you are no Parliament, I will put an End to your ſitting; call them in, call them in.* Whereupon the Serjeant attending the Parliament, opened the Doors, and Lieutenant Colonel *Worſley*

5 Car. II.

Cromwel goes to the Houſe, and by Force diſſolves the Parliament.

An. 1653. with two Files of Musketeers enter'd the House: Which Sir *Henry Vane* observing from his Place, said aloud, *This is not honest, yea it is against Morality and common Honesty.* Then *Cromwel* fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud Voice, *O Sir* Henry Vane, *Sir* Henry Vane! *The Lord deliver me from Sir* Henry Vane. Then looking upon one of the Members, he said, *There sits a Drunkard*; and giving much reviling Language to others, he commanded the Mace to be taken away, saying, *What should we do with this Bauble? here, take it away.* Having brought all into this Disorder, Major General *Harrison* went to the Speaker, as he sat in the Chair, and told him, That seeing things were reduced to this pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there. The Speaker answered, That he would not come down, unless he were forced. Sir, said *Harrison*, I will lend you my Hand; and thereupon giving him his Hand, the Speaker came down. Then *Cromwel* applying himself to the Members who were in number between eighty and a hundred, he said to them, *It is you that have forced me to this; for I have sought the Lord Night and Day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this Work.* *Cromwel* having proceeded thus far, ordered the Guard to see the House cleared of all the Members, and then seized upon the Records that were there and at Mr. *Scobel's* House; after which he went to the Clerk, and snatching the Act of Dissolution out of his Hands, he put it under his Cloke: And having commanded the Doors to be locked up, went away to *Whitehall.*

Character of the Parliament.

And thus in effect ended the Government of this memorable Assembly, whose Character we shall give in the Words of Mr. *Roger Coke*, who will not in the least be suspected of Partiality towards them, as he and his Family had been Sufferers in the Royal Cause: 'Thus, 'says he, by their own mercenary Servants, and not 'a Sword drawn in their Defence, fell the haughty 'and victorious *Rump*, whose mighty Actions will 'scarcely find Belief in future Generations; and, to 'say the Truth, they were a Race of Men most indefatigable and industrious in Business, always seeking 'for Men fit for it, and never preferring any for Favour, nor by Importunity. You scarce ever heard of 'any revolting from them in *England*, *Scotland*, or '*Ireland*, during their Time, except by the *Levellers*,

'1649.

'1649. No Murmur or Complaint of Seamen or 5 Car. II.
'Soldiers employ'd by them either by Sea or Land,
'for want of Pay. In all the Ports of *England*, du-
'ring the *Dutch* War, Money or Credit was found to
'pay off the Seamen, whenever their Ships were de-
'ſigned to be laid up. Nor do I find they ever
'preſs'd either Soldiers or Seamen in all their Wars.
'And as they excelled thus in their Management of
'Civil Affairs, ſo it muſt be owned they exerciſed in
'Matters Eccleſiaſtick no ſuch Severities, as either the
'*Covenanters*, or others before them, did upon ſuch
'as diſſented from them.'

Indeed many of them were Men of ſuch diſintereſted Views, and did ſo much for what they accounted the Publick Good, that they were thought rather to leſſen than augment their Eſtates in the Poſts wherein they acted. And to conclude their Character, the King's Party were ſo highly pleas'd with what *Cromwel* had done in diſſolving this Parliament, that at *Paris* they made publick Rejoicings for the ſame; eſteeming their Cauſe to be now in a much better Situation, as they had only one ſingle Perſon to oppoſe.

Council of State diſſolved by *Cromwel.*

To return: In the Afternoon *Cromwel* went to the Council of State, accompanied with the Major Generals *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, and told them at his Entrance, *Gentlemen, if you are met here as private Perſons, you ſhall not be diſturbed; but if as a Council of State, this is no Place for you: And ſince you cannot but know what was done at the Houſe in the Morning, ſo take notice that the Parliament is diſſolved.* To this Serjeant *Bradſhaw* anſwered, *Sir, we have heard what you did at the Houſe in the Morning, and before many Hours all* England *will hear of it: But, Sir, you are miſtaken to think that the Parliament is diſſolved; for no Power under Heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves; therefore take you notice of that.* Something more was ſaid to the ſame purpoſe by Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, and others; and then the Council of State perceiving themſelves to be under the ſame Violence, departed.

Cromwel's Hypocriſy.

Soon after this *Cromwel* ſent for Major *Salloway* and Mr. *John Carew*; to whom he complained *of the great Weight of Affairs that by this Undertaking was fallen upon him, affirming, that the Thoughts of the Conſequence thereof made him to tremble, and there-*

An. 1653. *therefore desired them to free him from the Temptations that might be laid before him; and to that end to go immediately to the Chief Justice St.* John, *Mr.* Selden, *and some others, and endeavour to perswade them to draw up some Instrument of Government that might put the Power out of his Hands.* To this it was answered by Major *Salloway: The Way, Sir, to free you from this Temptation is, for you not to look upon your self to be under it, but to rest perswaded, that the Power of this Nation is in the good People of* England, *as formerly it was.* *Cromwel* perceiving by this Answer, that he was better understood than he could have wished, fell upon another Expedient, before he would openly discover himself; appointing a Meeting of the chief Officers of the Army to be at *Whitehall*, in order to consider what was fit to be done in this Exigency.

He and his Officers publish a Declaration.

Cromwel and his Council of Officers did not so much want a Vindication of what they had done, as a quieting Declaration of what they did intend to do: Hence they published an Account of their Proceedings and Intentions, beginning with sufficient Intimations that the whole Government was devolved upon the General and his Army by Right of Conquest: then casting very severe Reflections upon the Members *who had designed to perpetuate their own Power*, and so justifying the Necessity of putting an End to such a *self-seeking* Parliament; promising to put the Government into the Hands of Persons of approved Fidelity and Honesty; and in the mean time declaring, *That all Magistrates and Officers whatsoever should proceed in their respective Places and Offices, and Obedience should be paid to them as fully as when the Parliament was sitting.*

Cromwel, tho encouraged by many Congratulations for dissolving the Parliament, and by many Addresses from the Fleet and Army, and People to stand by him and his Council of Officers, yet thought it not Time enough to assume the Government to his own Person; but he and his Officers resolved to summon

New Parliament to be called.

select Persons to be nominated by themselves, out of every County, to make up a new Representative of the whole Nation. And when they had agreed upon the Persons, the singular Form of Summons was directed thus to each of them: *Forasmuch as upon the Dissolu-*

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tion of the late Parliament it became neceſſary that the Peace, Safety, and good Government of this Commonwealth ſhould be provided for; and in order thereunto divers Perſons fearing God, and of approved Fidelity and Honeſty, are by my ſelf, with the Advice of my Council of Officers nominated, to whom the great Charge and Truſt of ſo weighty Affairs is to be committed; and having good Aſſurance of your Love to and Courage for God, and the Intereſt of this Cauſe, and of the good People of this Commonwealth: I Oliver Cromwel, *Captain-General and Commander in chief of all the Armies and Forces raiſed and to be raiſed within this Commonwealth, do hereby ſummon and require you, being one of the Perſons nominated, perſonally to appear at the Council-Chamber at* Whitehall *within the City of* Weſtminſter, *upon the 4th Day of* July *next enſuing the Date hereof, then and there to take upon you the ſaid Truſt, unto which you are hereby called and appointed to ſerve as a Member of the County of* ——— *And hereof you are not to fail. Given under my Hand this eighth Day of* June, 1653.

5 Car. II. Form of Summons.

O. Cromwel.

According to this novel Edict, on *July* 4. the ſeveral Perſons thus ſummon'd did appear in the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, to the Number of about one hundred and twenty; where *Cromwel* ſtanding with his Officers, made a Speech to them, and then produced an Inſtrument in Writing under his own Hand and Seal, to conſtitute and acknowledge them, or any forty of them, to be *the ſupreme Authority of this Nation.* Then he and his Officers withdrew, and the Perſons ſo commiſſioned to be a Parliament adjourned themſelves to the next Day, to meet in the Parliament-Houſe; where they reſolved, that Mr. *Rous* ſhould be their Speaker for one Month, and Mr. *Scobel* ſhould be their Clerk; and in Submiſſion to their Lords and Maſters, they gave a Nomination to thoſe who had nominated them, ordering that General *Cromwel* and his chief Officers, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, *Desborough*, and *Thomlinſon*, ſhould ſit in the Houſe as Members. They meet.

And thus under the Name of a Parliament, they kept a Day of Humiliation and Prayer in the Houſe, and publiſh'd a Declaration *to ſtir up the godly of the Nation to ſeek God for a Bleſſing upon their Proceedings.* But not being willing to come up to the ambitious

Hopes

An. 1653. They are dissolved.

Hopes of *Cromwel*, it was, by his Contrivance, mov'd in the House *Decem.* 12. *That the sitting of this Parliament any longer would not be for the Good of the Commonwealth, and that it would be more fit for them to resign up their Power to the Lord General.* The House rising without a full Resolution what to do, the Speaker with his Mace, attended by some Members, went to *Whitehall* on *December* 13. and gave up their Instrument of Commission, and presented to his Excellency a Resignation under their Hands of all the Parliamentary Powers lately reposed in them. This Parliament was afterwards called *Barebone*'s Parliament, from one *Praisegod Barebone* a *Leatherseller* in *Fleetstreet*, who was an eminent Speaker in it.

Cromwel consults with his Council of Officers.

In this new Vacancy *Cromwel* called again his Council of Officers, and advised with them *how this great Burden of governing* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *with the Armies therein, and the Navy at Sea, should be borne, and by whom.* They spent several Days in *seeking of God*, as they call'd it, and did at last resolve, *That a Council of godly, able, and discreet Persons should be named, consisting of twenty one, and that the Lord General should be chosen* Lord Protector *of the three Nations.*

Instrument of Government.

Upon this arbitrary Result, an Instrument was drawn up, entituled, *The INSTRUMENT of GOVERNMENT.* This Instrument appointed the legislative Power to be in the Representative of the People and the Protector; that a Parliament should be chosen every three Years, which should sit five Months, if they thought fit, without any Interruption; that their first Meeting should be on the third of *September* next ensuing; that the Members of whom the Parliament was to consist, should be chosen by the People; that whatsoever they would have enacted, should be presented to the Protector for his Consent, and that if he did not confirm it within twenty Days after it was first tendered to him, it should have the Force and Obligation of a Law, provided that it extended not to lessen the Number or Pay of the Army, to punish any Man on account of his Conscience, or to make any Alteration in the *Instrument of Government*; in all which a Negative was reserved to the single Person. It provided also, That all Writs should issue out in the Protector's Name; that most of the

Magiſtrates ſhould be appointed, and all Honours conferr'd by him; that he ſhould have the Power of the *Militia* by Sea and Land; that in the Intervals of Parliament, the Nation ſhould be governed by the Protector and his Council, who were not to exceed the Number of one and twenty, nor to be under thirteen, &c. The firſt Perſons nominated to be of his Council were, Major-General *Lambert*, Col. *Desborough*, Mr. *Henry Lawrence*, Sir *Charles Wolſely*, Colonel *William Sydenham*, Mr. *Francis Rous*, *Philip* Viſcount *Liſle*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, Colonel *Montague*, Mr. *Richard Major*, *Walter Strickland* Eſq; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Major-General *Skippon*, and Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*; in all fourteen. 5 Car. II.

Things being thus prepared, on *December* 16. the Mayor and Aldermen of *London* were required to attend at *Whitehall* in their ſcarlet Gowns: Whither when they came, the Deſign was imparted to them; and they being under the Power of an Army, were forced to contribute to this Pageantry, by accompanying *Cromwel* to *Weſtminſter-Hall*; the Commiſſioners of the Seal, the Judges and Barons of the *Exchequer*, marching firſt, the Council of the Commonwealth following them, and then the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of *London* in their Robes: After them came the General with a great Number of the Officers of the Army, Major-General *Lambert* carrying the Sword before him into the Court of *Chancery*; where after the General had heard the Inſtrument of Government read, and taken the Oath, as directed in the Cloſe of the ſaid Inſtrument, Major-General *Lambert* kneeling preſented him with a Sword in the Scabbard, repreſenting the Civil Sword; which *Cromwel* accepting, put off his own, intimating thereby, that he would no longer rule by the military Sword, tho he deſigned nothing more. The Commiſſioners delivered the Seal to him, and the Mayor of *London* the Sword, all which he reſtored again with an Exhortation to uſe them well: And having aſſured them *that he would not have undertaken this Charge, but to make uſe of it for the Good of the Publick*, he returned to *Whitehall* in the ſame Manner and Order as he came. *Cromwel* made Protector.

His Council having taken their Places, iſſued out Orders to all Counties and conſiderable Corporations *for*

An. 1653. *for the proclaiming* Oliver Cromwel *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland: And Care was taken to alter all legal Writs and Proceſs from the Title of *the Keepers of the Liberties of* England, to that of *Protector*. A Declaration alſo was publiſhed, empowering all thoſe who ſtood lawfully inveſted with any Office of Judicature, or with the Power of the Admiralty, on the twentieth of the preſent *December*, to continue in their Employments till further Order. Soon after this, Addreſſes were preſented to the Lord Protector from all Parts of the three Kingdoms, and he was magnificently entertain'd in the City of *London* on *Aſh-wedneſday*, when he knighted the Lord-Mayor with as much Grace as if he had been King. Thus, with ſo much Eaſe, did this extraordinary Man, without any other Reaſon than his own Will, and without the Aſſiſtance or Inclination of the Nobility and Gentry of the Land, mount himſelf into the Throne of three Kingdoms, without the Name of *King*; but with greater Power and Authority than had been exerciſed or claimed by any preceding King; and received greater Evidence of Reſpect and Marks of Eſteem from all the Kings and Princes in Chriſtendom than had ever been ſhewn to any Monarch of the ſame Nations: which was the more remarkable, in that they all abhorred his Perſon, when they trembled at his Power, and courted his Amity.

He is proclaimed.

His Entertainment in the City.

Victories at Sea.

The Victories at Sea this Year were not only to the Grandeur of *Cromwel*, but to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation. The Parliament, not truſting to the Pretences of the *Dutch* in relation to Peace, had cauſed a ſtrong Fleet to be provided againſt this Spring, and committed it to the joint Command of three Admirals, *Blake*, *Monk*, and *Dean*. This Fleet, in the beginning of *June* engaged the *Dutch* under *Van Trump* about the Middle Seas, between *Dover* and *Zealand*; and by not diſcharging their Guns till at a very ſmall diſtance, they broke their Squadrons, and forced them to fly, and make all the Sail they could to their own Coaſt, leaving eleven of their Ships taken and ſix ſunk. The Loſs of the *Engliſh* was only in Admiral *Dean*, who was kill'd with a Cannon Shot: Their Ships were all ſafe, and all able to purſue the *Dutch*, and

and block them up in their own Harbours. Yet Admiral *Trump*, who with ſome of the ſhatter'd Fleet had got into the *Wierings*, did with great Induſtry ſo far repair and recruit his Loſſes, that by the end of *July* he came out with a Fleet of ninety five Men of War; and being join'd with twenty five more from the *Texel*, he gave the *Engliſh* another Battel, which continu'd very hot from ſix in the Morning to one in the Afternoon, when *Trump* ſignally performing the Office of a brave and bold Commander, was ſhot with a Musket Bullet into the Heart, of which he fell dead without ſpeaking a Word. This Blow made the *Dutch* fly towards the *Texel*, having loſt between twenty and thirty of their Ships fir'd or ſunk, and above a thouſand Priſoners taken. 5 Car. II.

Cromwel makes Peace with the Dutch.

By theſe two ſignal Victories, *Cromwel* brought the *Dutch* to accept of ſuch Conditions of Peace as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, *That they ſhou'd not ſuffer any of the King's Party, or any Enemy to the Common-wealth of* England, *to reſide within their Dominions*: and another, which was contained in a ſecret Article, to which the Great-Seal of the *States* was affix'd, was, *Never to admit the Prince of* Orange *to be their Stadtholder, General or Admiral*: and likewiſe, *To deliver up the Iſland of* Polerone *in the* Eaſt-Indies (which they had taken from the *Engliſh* in the time of King *James*, and uſurp'd ever ſince) *into the hands of the* Engliſh Eaſt-India *Company again*; and *to pay a good Sum of Money for the old barbarous Violence exercis'd upon the* Engliſh *at* Amboyna; for which the two laſt Kings could never obtain any Satisfaction. And by the like Terrors of a Conqueror, *Cromwel* forced *Portugal* to ſend an Ambaſſador to beg Peace, and to purchaſe it by the Payment of a great Sum of Mony; and brought the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* to ſue for his Alliance. Nay, and while the *Portugal* Ambaſſador was ſolliciting the Terms of Peace, his own Brother Don *Pontaleon Sa*, a Knight of *Malta*, and a Man eminent in many great Actions, making a Riot upon the *Exchange*, wherein a Man was kill'd, was made to ſubmit (in ſpight of the Pretences of Privilege and Protection) to a Tryal, and an Execution on a Scaffold upon *Tower-Hill*.

An. 1653. A Remark. And here it may be remark'd, that whatever Reaſons the Houſe of *Auſtria* had to hate the Memory of *Cromwel*, yet his cauſing the *Portugal* Ambaſſador's Brother to be thus executed, notwithſtanding his Plea of being a publick Miniſter as well as his Brother, was near twenty Years after *Cromwel*'s Death, brought as a Precedent by the Emperor, to juſtify his arreſting and carrying off the Prince of *Furſtenburgh* at the Treaty of *Cologne*, notwithſtanding *Furſtenburgh*'s being a Plenipotentiary for the Elector of that Name. And in the printed Manifeſto publiſh'd by the Emperor upon that Occaſion, this Piece of *Cromwel*'s Juſtice in executing the *Portugueſe* Gentleman, is related at large.

An. 1654. Three Kingdoms united into one Common-wealth. The Lord Protector, to confirm himſelf in his new Government, reſolved to unite the three Kingdoms into one Common-wealth. So with Conſent of his Council he made an Ordinance, *April* 12. ſetting forth, 'How he had taken into conſideration, that 'the People of *Scotland* ought to be united with the 'People of *England* into one Common-wealth, and 'under one Government; and had found that in *December* 1651. the Parliament then ſitting had ſent 'Commiſſioners into *Scotland* to invite the People of 'that Nation unto ſuch a happy Union, who proceeded ſo far therein, that the Shires and Boroughs did 'accept of the ſaid Union, and aſſent thereunto: for 'the compleating and perfecting which Union, he 'now ordained, *That all the People of* Scotland, *and* 'of all the Dominons and Territories thereto belonging, *ſhou'd be incorporated into one Common-wealth* 'with England; *and in every Parliament to be held* 'ſucceſſively for the ſaid Common-wealth, thirty Perſons *ſhou'd be called from, and ſerve for* Scotland, '&c.' And a like Ordinance was ſoon after made for a like Diſtribution of thirty Members from *Ireland* to ſerve in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. So much greater was the Power of an Uſurper than that of lawful Princes.

Parliament to be call'd. According to the Promiſe contained in the Inſtrument of Government, it was reſolv'd to iſſue out Writs for the Election of Members to ſerve in an Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, who were to be choſen, not by ſmall Boroughs, and two for each County, as formerly,

formerly, but in ſuch manner as had been agreed upon by the Long Parliament in the Rule for chuſing ſucceſſive Repreſentatives; which indeed was much more equal and juſt. The Protector's greateſt Care was how to manage this approaching Parliament: To this purpoſe he expreſly fix'd upon the Set of Members to be ſent out of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, where the ſhew of Election was made to agree with his expreſs Nomination: And even in *England*, where Liberty was to be a little more pretended, he had ſuch an Influence upon the People, and ſuch an Awe upon the Sheriffs and Magiſtrates, that very few were returned diſagreeable to his own Deſires: And then to purge out thoſe few, he brought the Tryals of Elections into a Commitee of his own Council before the opening of the Parliament. So that by the time of ſitting they were to all appearance right and true, except the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, Mr. *John Wildman*, Mr. *Highland*, and one or two other thorow Republicans, whom therefore by his own Will and Pleaſure he excluded from the Houſe. 6 Car. II.

When the Time appointed for the meeting of this Aſſembly was come, *Cromwel* went in a Coach to *Weſtminſter*, accompany'd by his Horſe and Foot-Guards, with many Officers of the Army on Foot; where being arrived, his firſt Buſineſs was to appear in his kingly Garb at the *Abby*, there to hear a Sermon with the Members of that Aſſembly before they went about their other Affairs: Which done, he went into the *Painted-Chamber*, where he entertain'd the Members with a tedious Speech, telling them firſt of *the Danger of the levelling Principles, and of the Fifth-Monarchy Opinions, and of the Form of Godlineſs, and the two bad Pretenſions, Liberty of the Subject, and Liberty of Conſcience.* Then he reminded them of *the great Judgments that had fell upon the Nation by the Civil Wars, and by the late foreign Wars*; and gave them to underſtand, that the Remedy and Deliverance was owing to him. Then he reckon'd up his own Merits, how he had *reformed the Laws, and put good Men into Seats of Juſtice, and regulated the* Chancery, *and ſettled a Way for the Approbation of able Miniſters, and had been inſtrumental to call a free Parliament, had made Peace with* Sweden, *with the* Danes, *with the* Dutch, *with* Portugal, *Cromwel's ſecond Parliament.*

An. 1654. Portugal, *and was now in a Treaty with* France. Then he bid them *take notice of the great Expence of the Forces and the Fleet*; and ended thus, *I shall conclude with my Persuasion to you, to have a sweet, gracious, and holy Understanding one of another*; *and put you in mind of the Counsel you heard this Day in order thereunto. And I desire you to believe, that I speak not to you, as one that wou'd be a Lord over you, but as one that is resolved to be a Fellow-Servant with you, to the Interest of this great Affair.*

Not for his Purpose.

But tho many undue Methods had been used at the Elections, to procure those to be chose who were Enemies, and to keep out many who were known Friends to the Common-wealth Interest; and tho they saw themselves under the Power of one who they knew wou'd force his Way to the Throne, yet they appeared in a few Days not to be for his Purpose, but resolved, at the least, to lay a Claim to their Liberties. For whereas the Court-Party wou'd have oblig'd them to approve at once the whole Instrument of Government which they had fram'd, the Assembly took it in pieces, and referred the Consideration of it to a Committee, where the first Question fallen upon was, *Whether the supreme Legislative Power of the Nation shall be in a single Person and the Parliament.*

He sets a Guard upon them.

Cromwel being inform'd of this by his Creatures, and fearing to have that great Question put, lest he shou'd be deposed, by a Vote of this Assembly, from the Throne which he had usurped, caused a Guard to be set upon the Door of the House early in the Morning, and sent to the Mayor of *London* to acquaint him with the Reasons of what he was about to do, to the end that he might prevent any Disorders in the City. The Members coming at the usual Hour were refused Entrance, and requir'd to attend the Protector in the *Painted-Chamber*; where he taking notice of what was under Debate in the House, contrary to the Privilege of a Parliament, (as he wou'd have this thought to be) told them, 'That at their first Meeting he 'had much more Comfort and Hopes of them than 'he had now: He was very sorry to find them falling 'into Heats and Divisions; but they must remember, 'that the same Government which made them a Par-'liament, made him Protector; and there were some 'things in the Government fundamental, which could

'not

'not be altered by them: They were, 1. The Go- 6 Car. II.
'vernment in one Perſon and a Parliament. 2. Par-
'liaments not to be perpetual. 3. The Militia in the
'Protector, as well as in the Parliament. 4. A Li-
'berty of Conſcience in Matters of Religion. That
'therefore they muſt not meddle with any of theſe
'fundamental Things: And to prevent their doing
'ſo, he was neceſſitated to appoint them a *Teſt* or
'*Recognition* of the Government in a Protector and
'a Common-wealth, which they ſhou'd all ſign before
'they went any more into the Houſe.'

A Recognition to be ſign'd by them.

The form of the Recognition was this: *I* A. B. *do hereby freely promiſe and engage my ſelf to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and ſhall not (according to the Tenour of the Indenture whereby I am returned to ſerve in this preſent Parliament) propoſe or give any Conſent to alter the Government, as it is ſettled in one ſingle Perſon and a Parliament.* This being ingroſs'd in Parchment, was laid on a Table for the Members to ſign, before they could be qualified to ſit: And thoſe who refuſed, were not only excluded, but ſome of them taken into Cuſtody, among whom was the Protector's late greateſt Creature Major-General *Harriſon*, now in Cuſtody of a Party of Horſe. However, this Engagement was ſigned by about one hundred and thirty within a Day or two, and ſome Days after ſeveral others ſubſcrib'd it, and took their Places in the Houſe; where a Debate ariſing touching the ſaid Recognition, they paſs'd a Declaration, 'That it ſhou'd not be intended 'to comprehend the whole Government contain'd 'in the forty two Articles of the Inſtrument, but 'that only which required the Government of the 'Common-wealth to be by a ſingle Perſon and 'ſucceſſive Parliaments.' To this the major part conſented, hoping that by their Compliance with *Cromwel* in making proviſion for his Safety, and the Government of the Nation during his Life, he wou'd be ſatisfied therewith, and have left the People after his Death to chuſe a Government for themſelves. This great Point, touching the ſingle Perſon, being thus over-ruled, they applied themſelves to the Conſideration and Debate of the remaining Clauſes of the Inſtrument of Government. They declared, 'That

An. 1654. 'Oliver Cromwel shou'd be Protector during his Life, 'and limited the Number of Forces to be kept up 'in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with Provision 'for the Payment of them. They agreed upon the 'Number of Ships that they thought necessary for 'the Guard of the Seas; and ordered two hundred 'thousand Pounds a Year for the Protector's own Ex-'pence, the Salaries of his Council, the Judges, fo-'reign Intelligence, and the Reception of Ambassa-'dors. They also voted a Clause to be inserted, to 'declare the Rights of the People of *England*; and 'particularly, that no Money shou'd be raised upon 'the Nation but by Authority of Parliament. And 'whereas by the Instrument of Government, it was 'provided, that if the Parliament were not sitting at 'the Death of the present Protector, the Council of 'Officers shou'd chuse a Successor, they resolved, 'That nothing shou'd be determined by the Council 'after his Death, but the calling of a Parliament, 'who were then to consider what they would have 'done.' Besides these things, it seems there was no remarkable Variation from what was formerly set down in the Paper called *The Instrument of Government*, except this additional Vote, *That no one Clause of this shou'd be looked upon as binding, unless the Whole were consented unto:* Which they did lest *Cromwel* shou'd interrupt them, and taking what made for his own Advancement, shou'd reject what was advantageous to the Commonwealth.

A private Accident to *Cromwel*.

Cromwel having assumed the whole Power of the Nation to himself, and sent Ambassadors and Agents to Foreign Kingdoms and States, was courted again by them, and presented with the Rarities of several Countries. Amongst the rest the Duke of *Holstein* made him a Present of a Set of grey *Freizland* Coach-Horses; with which taking the Air in the *Park*, attended only with his Secretary *Thurloe* and his Guards, he wou'd needs take the Place of the Coach-man, as if he believ'd the three pair of Horses he was about to drive, wou'd prove as tame as the three Nations which were ridden by him; and therefore not contented with their ordinary Pace, he lashed them very furiously: But they not used to such a rough Driver, ran away in a Rage, and stopped not till they had thrown him out of the Box; with which Fall his

Piſtol fired in his Pocket, tho without doing him any hurt. 6 Car. II.

The pretended Parliament being not fully inclined to ſerve *Cromwel*'s Deſigns, he grew impatient till the five Months allowed for their ſitting ſhould be expired; during which time he was reſtrained by his own Inſtrument of Government from giving them an Interruption. And tho they differ'd not in any material Point from that Form of Government which he himſelf had ſet up, unleſs it were in reſerving the nomination of his Succeſſor to the Parliament; yet the omiſſion of a thing ſo near to him, ſo provok'd him, that he reſolved upon their Diſſolution. Therefore as ſoon as the five Months of their ſitting, according to the Soldiers Account of twenty eight Days to the Month, were expir'd, the Members were order'd to attend him on the 22d of *January* in the *Painted-Chamber*, where he made 'em a moſt tedious and intricate Speech, which begins thus: *Gentlemen, I perceive you are here as the Houſe of Parliament, by your Speaker, whom I ſee here, and by your Faces, which are in a great meaſure known to me.* —— *As I may not take notice what you have been doing, ſo I think I have a very great Liberty to tell you, that I do not know what you have been doing: I do not know whether you have been alive or dead, I have not once heard from you all this time; I have not, and that you all know: If that be a Fault that I have not, ſurely it hath not been mine.* —— After he had declar'd againſt Hereditary Government as unlawful, he proceeded to vindicate himſelf in raiſing Money without a Parliamentary Authority, by this Argument: *Either it is of God or of Man; if it be of Man, I wou'd not have touch'd it with a Finger: If I had not had a Hope fix'd in me, that this Cauſe and this Buſineſs is of God, I wou'd many Years ago have run from it. If it be of God, it will bear up; if it be of Man, it will tumble, as every thing that hath been of Man, ſince the World began, hath done.* — After many unintelligible Paſſages, he concludes thus: *I have troubled you with a long Speech, and I believe it may not have the ſame Reſentment with all, that it hath with me; I ſhall leave it to God, and conclude with that, that I think my ſelf bound in my Duty to God, and the People of theſe Nations, to their Safety and Good in every*

He diſſolves the Parliament.

An. 1654. *respect; I think it my Duty to tell you, That it is not for the Profit of these Nations, nor for the common and publick Good, for you to continue here any longer; and therefore I declare unto you, THAT I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT.*

This upbraiding and insulting Way of Dissolution was so very unpopular, that the Protector could never have betray'd himself into it, if his Pride and Passion had not perverted his Judgment and Experience of the People of *England*. It gave Encouragement to the Royalists, and Indignation to the Republicans: So that both Parties, for King and Commonwealth, were in Rage, and Plots, and Arms against him. Major *John Wildman*, whom he had expell'd the House at the first opening of the Session, as much an Enemy to the King as to the Usurper, was seiz'd with a Paper dictated by him, intituled, *The Declaration of the Free and Well-affected People of* England, *now in Arms against the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwel *Esq*; 'Being satisfy'd in our Judgment and Consciences of the present Necessity to take up Arms for the Defence of our native Rights and Freedoms, which are wholly invaded and swallow'd up in the Pride and Ambition of *Oliver Cromwel*, who calls himself Lord Protector of *England*, and hath render'd all *Englishmen* no better than his Vassals, *&c.*'

Wildman's Declaration.

Cromwel's Arts to secure himself.

But from a universal Odium, *Cromwel* sav'd himself by paying well the Fleet and Army, and discharging all Officers whose Fidelity he suspected; by carrying it very fair with the City of *London*, giving them the Power of their own Militia, under their old Leader Major General *Skippon*; treating them, and accepting of Treats from them; by easing the common People of some customary Burdens, and some part of their Taxes; and by an indefatigable Industry and unbounded Expence in procuring Intelligence, and early crushing all Designs against him. So that tho his Mother (who died this Year) was continually afraid of her Son's Life, and when she heard the Noise of any Gun, wou'd cry out that *her Son was shot*, and could not be satisfy'd without seeing him safe, once or twice a Day; and tho a thousand of his Enemies did in Conscience believe, that killing him wou'd be no Murder; yet he escaped all Dangers.

King

King *Charles* was yet in *France*, attending on the Solemnity of the *French* King's Coronation at *Rheims*, and had ſome Overtures for a Match with the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Daughter, with whom he was to have received a very great Fortune, and the Duke's Aſſiſtance for his Reſtoration. But *Mazarine* falling in with *Cromwel* to ſet him upon humbling the *Spaniards*, made the King to be no longer welcome or ſafe in the *French* Court. Nor could he hope for any Refuge in *Holland:* for the *States*, in a ſervile Submiſſion to *Cromwel*, had agreed to give him no Reception; and had for the ſake of preventing any Aid to him, made an Order, That neither the Prince of *Orange*, nor any deſcending from the late King of *England*, ſhou'd be Admiral of *Holland*, or have Power over the Militia. He had ſome Encouragement to adventure once more into *Scotland*, by the Increaſe of his Forces under *Glencarne* and *Middleton*, and the common Senſe of Slavery that the People now lay under. But he had ſo little Love for the Country, and ſo much Experience of the Kirk, that he left the Armies there to complain of his not coming to the Head of them, till they were entirely defeated and ſuppreſs'd by *Monk*. In theſe ſtraits the King went to *Cologne*, rather for a Journey and a Viſit to the *Spaw*, than for any formed Deſign, unleſs that of ſeeing his Aunt the Queen of *Bohemia*, and his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange*. He waited upon the latter in her Return to *Holland* as far as *Duſſeldorp*, and was there kindly entertain'd by the Duke of *Newburgh*. When his Majeſty came back to *Cologne*, the Marquiſs of *Ormond* brought to him his younger Brother the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom he had honourably taken out from the *Jeſuits-College* at *Paris*, where his Queen-Mother wou'd have him train'd up in the *Romiſh* Religion. All his Majeſty could do, was to hold a Correſpondence (which he thought ſecret) with his Friends in *England:* but one of his own Court and Cenfidents, Mr. *Manning*, was corrupted by *Cromwel* to betray his Maſter. So that the Deſigns were broke before they were perfected. The Project laid at this time, was to have ſeveral Parties riſe together in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom in the beginning of *March*; and tho divers were impriſon'd, and many Arms ſeiz'd, yet it was ſtill reſolv'd to attempt ſomething.

6 Car. II. King's Affairs.

An Inſurrection.

An. 1654. To this end, a Cart-load of Arms was convey'd to the Place of Rendezvous agreed upon for the Northern Parts, where it was reported the Contrivers of this Deſign were to be headed by the Lord *Wilmot*. But receiving ſome Alarm on their firſt Meeting, and fearing the regular Forces ſhould fall upon them before they were ſufficiently prepar'd, they diſperſed themſelves, and left their Arms behind them.

The only conſiderable Party that appeared, were thoſe at *Salisbury*, which they had an opportunity of doing under colour of going to the Aſſizes. They conſiſted of about one hundred and fifty Horſe, and drew together in the Night, and were ordered to ſeize the Judges there on their Circuit, the Sheriff of the County, and ſuch others as they ſhou'd ſuſpect to be Enemies to the Deſign. Colonel *Wagſtaff* was to be their Commander; but Colonel *Penruddock* a Gentleman of that Country, appear'd moſt forward in giving the neceſſary Orders. Captain *Hugh Grove*, and Mr. *Jones* of *Newton*, with ſeveral others of thoſe Parts, were amongſt them. They proclaimed *Charles* the Second to be King of *England*, &c. ſeized the Judges, and having taken away their Commiſſions, ſet them at liberty. They carried the Sheriff Mr. *Dove* with them to *Dogtown*, where they thought fit to retire, apprehending more danger at *Salisbury*, their Forces not at all anſwering their firſt Expectations. From thence they marched as far as *Blandford* in *Dorſetſhire*, but ſo few join'd them, that at their Arrival there they exceeded not two hundred Horſe. Moſt Men look'd upon them as flying, divers of their own Party ſtealing from them as faſt as others came to them; and thoſe who ſtay'd with them did ſo rather to ſecure themſelves, and obtain better Conditions, than from any hopes of ſucceeding. What they did ſerv'd only to alarm the Army, ſome Troops of which purſued them into *Devonſhire*, where they were fallen upon by Major *Unton Crook*, and defeated. Divers of them were taken Priſoners, and amongſt them Colonel *Penruddock*, Mr. *Jones*, and Captain *Grove*. Colonel *Wagſtaff*, Mr. *Mompeſſon*, and ſeveral others eſcaped, and went privately to their own Habitations; but upon Information that they were concern'd in this Plot, they were ſeiz'd and ſecur'd in order to Trial.

This

This Year died the famous Mr. *John Selden*, in the 70th Year of his Age, who not only ran thro the whole Body of the Law, but became a Prodigy in moſt Parts of Learning, eſpecially in thoſe that were uncommon and profound, being a vaſt Philologiſt, Antiquary, Herald, Linguiſt, Stateſman, *&c.* So that his Fame was wonderfully advanc'd both at Home and in foreign Countries, where he was uſually ſtil'd, *The Glory and great Dictator of Learning of the* Engliſh *Nation*; upon which account the great *Uſher* declar'd, *He was not worthy to carry his Books after him.* He was a Bencher of the *Inner-Temple*, and moſtly join'd with the Long Parliament. 6 Car. II. Mr. *Selden's* Death.

The Priſoners taken in the late Inſurrection, pretended Articles for Life from Major *Crook*, alledging that otherwiſe they wou'd not have ſurrender'd on ſo eaſy Terms; but the Major abſolutely deny'd any ſuch thing: So that a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was iſſu'd for their Tryal, and *Prideaux* Attorney-General was ſent from *London* to proſecute them. The Chief Juſtice *Rolls* was nominated in the Commiſſion to be one of their Judges, but he refuſed to act therein, becauſe the Priſoners had done him a perſonal Injury in ſeizing him at their firſt Riſing, and therefore he thought himſelf unfit to give Judgment in their Caſe. Some of them were condemn'd at *Salisbury*, and ſome at *Exeter*, of which number were Colonel *Penruddock* and Captain *Grove*, who were both beheaded, according to the Sentence pronounced againſt them: But Mr. *Jones* being allied to *Cromwel*, was pardoned, after he had been found guilty by the Jury; and Major *Crook* had two hundred Pounds *per annum* out of Mr. *Mompeſſon's* Eſtate, for his good Service in ſuppreſſing this Party. An. 1655. Priſoners tryed.

The Uſurper was not a little ſtartled at this Inſurrection, ſuſpecting that ſo ſmall a Number wou'd not have appeared without more conſiderable Encouragement; and therefore he reſolved now to fall upon the whole Cavalier Party, and to break thro all their Compoſitions, even the Act of Oblivion it ſelf, in the obtaining and paſſing of which he had ſo great a hand. To this end he commanded a Tenth of their Eſtates to be levied, in order, as he pretended, to maintain thoſe extraordinary Forces which their turbulent Cavaliers decimated.

An. 1655. bulent and seditious Practices obliged him to keep up. So that the poor Cavaliers could now call nothing their own; for by the same Rule that he seized one Tenth, he might have taken the other nine Parts at his Pleasure. To put this Project in execution, he divided *England* into Cantons, over which he placed Bashaws under the Title of Major-Generals, who were to have the Inspection and Government of inferior Commissioners in every County, with Orders to seize the Persons and distrain the Estates of such as should be refractory, and to put in execution such further Directions as they shou'd receive. And not contenting himself with the Death of many of those who had raised Arms against him, and Seizure of the Goods of that Party, he transported whole Droves of them into foreign Parts, without any legal Trial.

Major-Generals constituted.

Things were running every Day more and more into Confusion; the Cavaliers being enrag'd to see the Throne usurped, and those who had hazarded all for their Country, finding themselves cheated, Custom and Excise raised without Authority of Parliament, and Taxes imposed to no other end than to support the Pride and Insolence of *Cromwel*. Some there were who openly oppos'd these Oppressions, and among others Mr. *George Cony* a Merchant, who having refused to pay Custom, it was violently taken from him, and he thereupon sued the Collector at Common Law. But *Cromwel* resolving to put a stop to such dangerous Precedents, caused the Council for Mr. *Cony*, who were Serjeant *Maynard*, Serjeant *Twysden*, and Mr. *Wadham Windham*, to be sent to the *Tower*, for presuming to question his Authority; and the Judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering such Licence. When they with all humility mention'd the Law and *Magna Charta*, *Cromwel* told them, *Their* Magna F——ta *shou'd not controul his Actions, which he knew were for the Safety of the Commonwealth.* He asked them, *Who made them Judges? whether they had any Authority to sit there but what he gave them? and if his Authority was at an end, they knew well enough what wou'd become of themselves; and therefore he advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them:* And so dismiss'd them with this Caution, *That they shou'd not suffer the Lawyers to prate what it wou'd not become*

Cony's Case.

come them to hear. When the Cauſe came to the next Hearing, Mr. *Cony* was neceſſitated to plead for himſelf; which he did in as ſhort a manner as he could, referring it wholly to the Judge, *Whether that Tax, being not authoriz'd by Parliament, ought to be paid by the Law of the Land*; and declaring, *that he wou'd abide by his Judgment therein.* The Chief Juſtice *Rolls*, tho a conſcientious Man, and a Lover of Civil Liberty, yet not daring to determine it for him, ſaid, *That ſomething muſt be allowed to Caſes of Neceſſity*: To which *Cony* reply'd, *That it was never wont to be a good Plea in Law, for a Man to make Neceſſities, and then to plead them.* But the Judge wanting Courage, wou'd not give Judgment againſt the Uſurper; and being too much an honeſt Man to give it for him, he took time till the next Term, to conſider what Rule he ſhou'd give in the Caſe. In the mean time conſidering that his Continuance in that Station was like to enſnare him more and more, he deſired his *Quietus*; and Serjeant *Glyn* was appointed to ſucceed him in his Employment, who before he came to ſit on the Bench, took care to have this Buſineſs accommodated with *Cony*, who loſt his Reputation by deſerting a Cauſe wherein the Publick was ſo much concerned. Sir *Peter Wentworth* a Member of the Long Parliament, cauſed alſo a Collector in the Country to be proſecuted at his Suit, tho he could hardly procure any Attorney to appear, or Counſel to plead for him. *Cromwel* having received notice of this Proſecution, ſent a Meſſenger to bring him before the Council; where being examined concerning the Ground of his Proceeding, he told them, *That he was moved to it by his conſtant Principle, That by the Law of* England *no Money ought to be levied upon the People, without their Conſent in Parliament. Cromwel* then asked him, *Whether he wou'd withdraw his Action, or no*: To which he reply'd, *If you will command me, I muſt ſubmit.* And *Cromwel* commanding it, he withdrew his Action.

7 Car. II.

Sir *Peter Wentworth's* Caſe.

About this time, the Duke of *Savoy* began a cruel Perſecution of the Proteſtants in *Piedmont*, by taking away their Goods and Eſtates, putting them in Priſon, and carrying away their Children; uſing all manner of Violence to make them forſake their Religion and the Purity of the Goſpel: which when they would

Perſecution of the Proteſtants in *Piedmont.*

An. 1655. would not do, the Priests animated the Duke to send an Army against them to force them to Conformity; and accordingly he sent eight thousand Men against these poor quiet People, who falling upon them, slew many of them with small Loss, and took many Prisoners, whom they used with all imaginable Cruelty, and then put them to death. Others of them with their Wives and Children fled to the Mountains, where many of them perish'd with Cold and Hunger. This gave the Protector occasion both to exercise his Charity and display his Power. As soon as Advice came of this, he proclaimed a Fast, and caus'd large Contributions to be gathered for these poor People. Nor did he rest there, but sent his Agents to the Duke of *Savoy*, a Prince with whom he had no Correspondence or Commerce; and the next Year so engaged the Cardinal of *France*, and even terrified the Pope himself, without so much as doing any favour to the *English* Roman Catholicks, that that Duke thought it necessary to restore all he had taken from his Protestant Subjects, and renewed all those Privileges they had formerly enjoy'd. So great was the Terror of *Cromwel's* Name: nothing being more usual than his saying, *That his Ships in the* Mediterranean *should visit* Civita Vechia, *and the sound of his Cannons should be heard in* Rome.

Cromwel interposes for them.

The Commissioners for the Great Seal were Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Whitlock*, *Lenthal*, and *Lisle*; of which the three former made their Exceptions against executing an *Ordinance* of his Highness and his Council, *for the better regulating and limiting the Jurisdiction of the High Court of* Chancery: Upon which the Protector not suffering his Authority or his Acts to be disputed, sent for them to the Council-Chamber, *June 6.* and there commanded them to lay down the Seal and withdraw. The Protector kept it for some Days in his own Possession; and on *June* 15. delivered it to Major *Lisle*, one of the old Commissioners, and Colonel *Fiennes*. However to please the ejected Commissioners, the Protector made *Widdrington* and *Whitlock* Commissioners of the Treasury, and continued *Lenthal* in his favour for old Services.

Comissioners of the Great-Seal.

State Libels being at this time very bold and common, an Ordinance was made at *Whitehall*, *That no Person presume to publish in Print any manner of publick*

State Libels.

publick News or Intelligence, without Leave and Approbation of the Secretary of State: And another Order to enforce the Reſtraint of printing unlicenſed and ſcandalous Books, and for regulating of Printing. 7 Car. II.

In the Beginning of this Year, *Cromwel* ſent two very great Fleets to Sea; the one under Admiral *Penn*, with a Land Army commanded by General *Venables*; the other under *Blake* without any Land Forces. The firſt Fleet ſail'd for *Barbadoes*, where their Commiſſions were order'd to be broke open; which being done, and new Men taken in for the Land Army, they ſail'd to *Hiſpaniola*. Coming about the middle of *April* to *Santo Domingo*, the chief Port of that Iſland, *Venables* landed his Men in an ill Place, different from the Orders that *Cromwel* had given, and marched them thro ſuch Woods and uneaſy Paſſages, that the *Spaniards*, with a very unequal Number, beat them back. They advanced again towards the Town, taking Negroes for their Guides, who betray'd them into an Ambuſcade; and they were again ſhamefully repuls'd to the Bay where they landed, with the Loſs of their Major General and above ſix hundred Men. They were ſoon compell'd to re-imbark; and then to recover the Diſgrace, they made another Deſcent on *Jamaica*, and obtained an eaſy Conqueſt of it; and leaving a good Body of Foot to keep poſſeſſion, they returned to *England*. *Cromwel* was never ſo much diſcompoſed as at this Miſcarriage at *Hiſpaniola*; and as ſoon as they came on Shore, he committed both *Penn* and *Venables* to the Tower, and could never be perſuaded to truſt either of them again. The other Fleet commanded by *Blake*, ſailing into the *Mediterranean*, had better Succeſs, in forcing *Algiers* to Terms of Submiſſion and Peace, in entring the Harbour of *Tunis*, and burning all the piratical Ships; Actions of the higheſt Conduct and Courage, which made the Name of the *Engliſh* very terrible and formidable in thoſe Seas, and which gave occaſion to that Remark of a noble Author *, who made a conſiderable Figure in thoſe times, *That even* Rome *was more afraid of* Blake *and his Fleet, than when the great* Guſtavus Adolphus *was ready to invade* Italy *with* 100000 *Men.* In their return, a Squadron of our Ships fell in with the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet, took the Rear-Admiral, and another Ship very

Fleets at Sea.

* Col. *Algernon Sidney.*

An. 1655. very richly laden, fired the Vice-Admiral, and run the Admiral aſhore; and ſo coming back to *Portſmouth*, the Bullion, to the Value of above two Millions, was there landed, and carried in Carts to *London*, as a Trophy and Triumph of War.

Cromwel's Alliance with France.

But *Cromwel* perceiving he could not ſo well compaſs his Deſigns againſt *Spain* by his own Power, compleated his Alliance with the *French*, who by the Treaty obliged themſelves, *not to permit the Sons of the late King to remain in any Part of* France; which Article was punctually performed. This Confederacy was dearly purchas'd on our part; for by it the Balance of the two Crowns of *Spain* and *France* was deſtroy'd, and a Foundation laid for the future Greatneſs of the *French*, to the unſpeakable Prejudice of all *Europe* in general, and of this Nation in particular, whoſe Intereſt it had been till that time accounted to maintain that Equality as near as might be.

Inſolence of the Major Generals.

In the mean time, the Major-Generals carried things with unheard-of Inſolence in their ſeveral Precincts, decimating to extremity whom they pleaſed, and interrupting the Proceedings at Law upon Petitions of thoſe who pretended themſelves aggrieved; threatning ſuch as would not yield a ready Submiſſion to their Orders with Tranſportation to *Jamaica*, or ſome other Plantation in the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſuffering none to eſcape, but ſuch as would betray their own Party by diſcovering the Perſons that had acted with them or for them. A certain Farmer in *Berkſhire*, being demanded to pay his Tenth, had the Courage to aſk the Commiſſioners, in caſe he did ſo, *what Security he ſhould have for the other nine Parts:* And anſwer being made, *That he ſhould have* Cromwel's *Order and theirs, for the Enjoyment of the reſt*; he replied, *He had already an Act of Parliament for the Whole, which he could not but think to be as good Security as they could give: But,* ſays he, *if Goodman ſuch a one, and ſuch a one, will give me their Bonds for it, I know what to ſay to ſuch a Propoſal; for if they break their Agreement, I know where to right my ſelf.*

Death of ABp. *Uſher.*

This Year died Dr. *James Uſher*, the venerable Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and Lord Primate of *Ireland*, the Glory of that Nation both for Learning and Piety. He

He left his native Country ever ſince the Year 1640, and continuing with a moderate Subſiſtence in *England*, he diſplay'd his wonderful Abilities in many noble Treatiſes; being invited and courted by Cardinal *Richlieu* and ſeveral Foreigners, to repair into their Countries: And *Cromwel* knowing how univerſally he was eſteemed, ſhewed ſome particular Marks of Reſpect to him a little before his Death, and was at the Charge of a publick Funeral for him. 7 Car. II.

Cromwel being now in the Height of his Power, and more formidable than any of the *Engliſh* Monarchs ever were, wanted nothing but the Name of *King*, which he was ſenſible he could not obtain without a Parliament. He needed no Forces, having augmented them to a conſiderable number: Nor did he want Money to ſupply his Occaſions, for he had Ways and Means always in his own hands. Nor did he love to ſee a Parliament ſitting, for he had parted with two former Aſſemblies in the moſt rough and odious manner, So that in all appearance he could have no Inclination nor Occaſion for a new Seſſion, but only to make a Party for a Crown. To this purpoſe, he uſed all Methods to awe and influence Elections: So beſides his ſtanding Force of *Major-Generals* in every County, he erected a new Office of Purgation, call'd a *Committee for Inſpection of Charters*, of which Mr. *Gabriel Beck*, Sollicitor to his Highneſs, was Chairman; and their Conſults were all to be reported to the Protector: By which means the Boroughs and Corporations were modelled as his Highneſs and his Court pleaſed. But the Members for the Counties, which were made more numerous by the *Inſtrument of Government*, were not ſo eaſily elected or manag'd. Therefore knowing the Inclination of the Country, the Protector uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to diſable ſuch Men from being choſen, as he thought moſt likely to obſtruct his Deſigns. In order to this, he ſummon'd Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Colonel *Rich*, and Major General *Ludlow*, to appear before him in Council. After Conſultation, *Rich* was ſent Priſoner to *Windſor*-Caſtle, Sir *Henry Vane* to *Carisbrook*-Caſtle; *Ludlow* was order'd to be taken into Cuſtody, and *Bradſhaw*, tho ſuffer'd to go his Circuit, as Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*, had Letters An. 1656

An. 1656. sent after him to deter People from giving their Votes for him.

Cromwel's third Parliament.

All things being prepar'd, on *September* 16. this Party of a Parliament met the Lord Protector in the *Abby-Church* at *Westminster*, where they heard a Sermon preach'd by Dr. *John Owen*, Dean of *Christ-Church*, and Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, on *Isaiah* xiv. 32. *What shall one then answer the Messengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded* Zion, *and the Poor of his People shall trust in it:* A Sermon exactly calculated for the new projected Monarchy. After this, his Highness and the Members went into the *Painted-Chamber*, where he made a dark Speech to them, and sent them away to their House for Admission or Exclusion, as he and his Council had thought fit: For, at the Doors of the House they found a Guard, and an Officer standing with a List in his Hand, and demanding the Name of every Person: Such as were mark'd for Non-Admittance were turn'd back, and such as had been approv'd for right trusty Men, took a Ticket to introduce them, in this Form, *These are to certify, that* ——*is return'd by Indenture one of the* ——— *to serve in this present Parliament for the said* ——— *and is approv'd by his Highness's Council.* Those who were excluded presented a Petition to the sitting Members, acquainting them, 'That being chosen by the Country to 'serve with them, they were ready to discharge their 'Duty, but were prevented from doing so by the 'Power of the Sword, and refus'd Admittance into 'the House by a Guard of Soldiers.' After the Petition had been read, a Committee was sent to enquire of *Cromwel* and his Council, concerning the Reasons of that Proceeding; who return'd with this Answer, 'That if the Persons complaining would address themselves to them, they should be relieved if there 'was Cause.' With this Answer these Men, who would be accounted an *English* Parliament, acquiesced, leaving their Privileges unvindicated, and the Merit of Elections to Parliament to be adjudged by Men without Doors.

Several excluded.

Remonstrance of the excluded Members.

The excluded Members seeing no Redress, appealed to the People in a Remonstrance, or Protestation, setting forth, 'That the Lord Protector had by 'force of Arms invaded their fundamental Right

'and

'and Liberty, and violently prevented the meeting 8 Car. II.
'of the People's choſen Deputies in Parliament; and
'concluding with an Appeal to God and all the good
'People of *England* for Aſſiſtance and Protection in
'their Service —— and pouring out their ſad Com-
'plaints before the Lord againſt their powerful Op-
'preſſors, humbly hoping that he will come forth
'ſpeedily to redeem his People out of the Hands of
'wicked and deceitful Men.'

The ſitting Members, with Sir *Thomas Widdrington* their Speaker, being all diſpoſed to follow Inſtructions, began the firſt Day of Buſineſs, *September* 18. with reſolving upon a Declaration for a General Faſt throughout the three Nations, and with reading a Bill *for Renouncing and Diſannulling the pretended Title of* Charles Stuart: And on the firſt of *October* they reſolv'd, 'That the War againſt the *Spaniards* was
'undertaken upon juſt and neceſſary Grounds, and
'for the Good of the People of the Commonwealth;
'and that the Parliament doth approve thereof, and
'will by God's Bleſſing aſſiſt his Highneſs therein.'

November 27. the Protector came in State to the *Painted-Chamber*, and like a Sovereign paſs'd theſe Bills: 'I. An Act that paſſing of Bills ſhall not de-
'termine this preſent Seſſion of Patliament. 2. An
'Act for Renouncing and Diſannulling the pretended
'Title of *Charles Stuart*. 3. An Act for the Secu-
'rity of his Highneſs the Lord Protector his Perſon,
'and Continuance of the Nation in Peace and Safety.
'4. An Act for taking away the Court of Wards and
'Liveries. 5. An Act for the Exportation of ſeveral
'Commodities of the Breed, Growth and Manufac-
'ture of this Commonwealth.' Bills paſs'd.

Some time before, the exorbitant Power of the Major-Generals came under Conſideration in the Houſe, and all Men were in great Expectation concerning the Iſſue of it. Hitherto *Cromwel* had given them good Words; but now when their Power came to be debated, Mr. *Cleypole* his Son-in-law firſt ſtood up, (which was unuſual for him to do at all) and told the Houſe, 'That he could but ſtart the Game, and muſt leave
'thoſe who had more Experience, to follow the Chace;
'and therefore ſhould only ſay, That he had for-
'merly thought it neceſſary in reſpect to the Condi-
'tion in which the Nation had been, that the Major- Major-Generals aboliſh'd.

An. 1656. 'Generals ſhould be entruſted with the Authority 'they had exercis'd; but in the preſent State of Af- 'fairs he conceiv'd it inconſiſtent with the Laws of 'England and Liberties of the People, to continue 'their Power any longer.' This Motion was a clear Direction to the Creatures of the Court, who being fully perſuaded that *Claypole* had deliver'd the Senſe, if not the very Words of *Cromwel* in this Matter, joined as one Man in oppoſing the Major-Generals; and ſo their Authority was abrogated.

Syndercomb's Plot. The Acts made for the Security of the Protector's Perſon were now judg'd to be highly ſeaſonable, ſince a new Diſcovery was made of a deſperate Plot againſt his Life. *Miles Syndercomb*, a Leveller and a ſtout Man, being caſhier'd in *Scotland*, combin'd with one *Cecil* and one *Troop*, of *Cromwel's* Life-Guard, to kill the Protector by ſome one of ſeveral Ways propos'd; and were always diſappointed by wonderful and unexpected Accidents. *Syndercomb* being detected and betray'd by one or both the other Conſpirators, reſolutely deny'd the Plot, but was condemned upon the Statute of the 25 *E.* III. which the Chief Juſtice *Glynne* declar'd to be Treaſon in caſe of a Protector as much as a King, *ſince by the Word King any chief Magiſtrate was underſtood.* The Priſoner was found dead in the very Morning appointed for his Execution; upon which his Body was dragg'd naked by a Horſe's Tail to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, and under that bury'd with a Stake driven thro it, cover'd with Iron at the top, to ſtand the more durable Mark of Infamy. Immediately after, *February* the twentieth was a Day of publick Thanſgiving for this great Deliverance; when after a Sermon at St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, the Protector treated the Speaker and the Members in the Banquetting Houſe at *White-hall*, with more than ordinary Endearment. Yet he was very much diſturb'd at this Accident; for inſtead of getting a Confeſſion out of this bold Man, as he expected, he found himſelf under the Reproach of cauſing him to be poiſon'd, as not daring to bring him to publick Juſtice; and tho he could not make the particular Diſcovery he expected, he found this general one, that he himſelf was more odious to his Army than he believ'd he had been.

This

This Year died Dr. *Joſeph Hall*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, by Education a *Cantabrigian* of *Emanuel-College*; who, before he was Biſhop, was for his Worth and Learning ſelected and ſent over by King *James* to the Synod of *Dort*: And Mr. *John Hales*, Fellow of *Eaton-College*, and Canon of *Windſor*, a Man of prodigious Capacity and ſurprizing Ingenuity, of a profound Sagacity and excellent Temper, with an unuſual Modeſty. His Integrity was as ſhining, and his Charity as extenſive, as his Knowledge; and his Opinion was deſir'd by the Learned in all Nations. 8 Car. II. Death of Bp. *Hall*. And Mr. *Hales*.

The preſent Parliament, as it was call'd, had ſat about ſix Months, before they began to anſwer the main End for which they ſeem'd to have been ſummon'd; which was to confirm *Cromwel*'s perſonal Authority, and ſecure it to his Poſterity. He himſelf ſeem'd to have deſir'd nothing more, than a Parliamentary Eſtabliſhment in that Power, which he had exercis'd from the Time he was Protector; which was really greater than any *Engliſh* King had ever enjoy'd. Yet ſtill, to effect that Deſign, and for other Reaſons, it was by many thought beſt, that he ſhould be inveſted with the Title, Rights, and Dignity of a *King*. This Propoſal was firſt mov'd in the Houſe by Colonel *Jephſon*, one of the Members that ſerv'd for *Ireland*; but Matters not being throughly concerted, it had no other Effect than to ſound the Inclinations of the Aſſembly. *Cromwel* having notice of this Motion, as he had of all others, gently reproved the Colonel at Table, and wonder'd *what he could mean by ſuch a Propoſition*. To which the Colonel anſwer'd, *That while he was permitted the Honour of ſitting in that Houſe, he muſt deſire the Liberty to diſcharge his Conſcience, tho his Opinion ſhould happen to diſpleaſe*. Upon which the Protector, giving him a familiar Clap on the Shoulder, cry'd, *Get thee gone for a mad Fellow as thou art*; and ſoon after prefer'd both him and his Son. Shortly after, the Propoſal, being prepar'd by his Creatures, was brought into the Houſe by Mr. *Pack*, an Alderman of *London*, where it was without much difficulty read, having then a Blank left for the Title of the ſingle Perſon, who, together with two Houſes, was to have the ſupreme legiſlative Power. This was warmly oppos'd An. 1657. Attempts to make *Cromwel* King.

An. 1657. by the Major-Generals and Soldiers Party, who finding that *Cromwel* was abandoning them to espouse another Interest, struck in with the Republicans, and fell so furiously upon *Pack* for his great Presumption, and unparliamentary Proceeding, that they bore him down from the Speaker's Chair to the Bar of the House. But this Heat being soon over, the Lord *Broghil*, Judge *Glynne*, and others who were privy to the grand Design, endeavour'd to persuade the House to debate the new Form, alledging, 'That being Masters 'of their own Resolutions, they might retain as much 'of it as was good, and reject what was otherwise.' By this means they brought it to be debated; and tho they received some opposition therein, yet when it came to be put to the Question, they carried all before them, and grew so hardy as to move, 'That 'the Blank left for the Insertion of the Title of the 'Chief Magistrate, might be filled up with the Name 'of *King*.' This Motion, tho earnestly oppos'd by Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, was carried also, and the Name voted, together with the filling up the two Blanks left for the two Houses, with the Words, *House of Commons, and Other House*,

Title offer'd him by the Parliament.

The Majority of the Members being thus drawn into the Design, on the fourth of *April* they presented him a Writing, which they stiled, The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* to his Highness; with a Speech from Sir *Thomas Widdrington* their Speaker, recommending *the Title* and Office of a King, as settled here with Christianity it self, approv'd and retain'd by our Ancestors, and every way fitted to the Laws and Temper of the People of *England*. Had *Cromwel* immediately comply'd with their Zeal, and his own real Inclination, he might easily have seiz'd the Crown and Scepter. But whether it was to make shew of greater Modesty, and be at last made a King by the very Importunity of others; or whether it was to obviate all Dangers by a farther Deliberation on the Matter, instead of a ready Assent, he devoutly demurr'd, and told them,

He demurs.

'That it was a weighty Matter, and therefore he 'desir'd Space to seek God; for the Charge laid up- 'on him was too great to bear without the Divine 'Assistance: That the *English* were the best People

'in

'in the World, and therefore required all Tenderneſs 9 Car. II.
'and Conſideration, of their Liberties; he muſt
'therefore deſire that a Committee might be ap-
'pointed to confer with him, and to offer him better
'Knowledge and Satisfaction in this great Cauſe.'

A particular Committee was accordingly appointed, which on *April* 11. met him in the *Painted-Chamber*; where *Whitlock* the Chair-man, and all the chief Members, were to argue fot Monarchy in *Cromwel*, and he who really reach'd at it, was to be the only Man that ſhould ſpeak againſt it. The chief Speakers, beſides the Chairman, were the Lord *Broghil*, Chief-Juſtice *Glynne*, the Lord Commiſſioners *Fiennes* and *Liſle*, *Lenthal* Maſter of the *Rolls*, Sir *Charles Wolſtey*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, and Colonel *Jones*. Theſe, for two diſtinct Days, ſucceſſively entertain'd the Protector with long Harangues. They let him know, 'That 'the Name of a *Protector*, as he held it, was un-'known to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, but the Title 'of *King* had the only foundation in the antient and 'known Laws of the Nation: That this had been 'the great Encouragement of thoſe Attempts againſt 'his Perſon, that the Law did not take notice of him 'as chief Magiſtrate; and that Juries were generally 'backward in finding any guilty of Treaſon upon that 'account. But by the Laws in *Edward* the Fourth, 'and *Henry* the Seventh, whatever was done by a '*King in Poſſeſſion*, was good and valid, and all that 'ſerv'd under him were ſafe and exempt from Pu-'niſhment. By thoſe Laws his Enemies had hither-'to pleaded Indemnity, but by his aſſuming what 'was deſir'd, thoſe Laws they pretended for their 'Diſobedience, would tie them, even by their own 'Principles, to Obedience. That tho part of the 'long Parliament had taken away *Kingſhip*, yet now 'it was ſet up again by a fuller Repreſentative of 'three Nations; and ſince the Parliament of *Eng-'land*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, had adviſ'd and de-'ſired him to take upon him the Title of *King*, he 'ought not in Reaſon and Equity to refuſe it.'

Committee to give him Satisfaction.

To theſe and other Arguments *Cromwel* gave dark and ſubtle Anſwers, to which he alſo receiv'd particular Replies; and at length *Whitlock* the Chairman ſumm'd up all their Arguments in a remarkable Speech, in which are theſe Words: *Never any Per-*

An. 1651. *ſons met their Supreme Magiſtrate with more Love, Duty, and Honour, than the Parliament have met your Highneſs in their preſent Addreſſes; which Argument of* Love *deſerves the Eſteem and Force, which I doubt not but your Highneſs will put upon it* —— *I think it requires a very great Regard from us, and I doubt not but theſe good People will be fully ſatisfy'd, if they conſider the* Covenants, Promiſes *and* Precepts, *which in the Scriptures are annex'd to the Name of* King: *And altho ſome have alledg'd, that they belong to any* chief Magiſtrate, *as well as to a* King; *yet no Man did ever read the Original Word tranſlated otherwiſe than* King. —— *If any Inconvenience ſhould enſue on your Acceptance of this* Title, *which the Parliament adviſeth, your Highneſs's Satisfaction will be, That they did adviſe it: On the contrary, if Inconvenience ſhould ariſe upon your Highneſs's Refuſal of this* Title, *which the Parliament hath advis'd, your Burden will be the greater: And therefore whatſoever may fall out, will be better anſwered by your Highneſs's complying with your Parliament, than by any other Way.* This Speech being ended, *Cromwel* gratefully acknowledg'd the Kindneſs of the Offer, but would not give a preſent Anſwer, acquainting the Members, 'That he 'would conſider of all they had ſaid, and ſeek to God 'for Counſel; and then he would ſend for them, and 'declare his Reſolution.' *Cromwel* had good Reaſon thus to demur; for this Project was entirely againſt the Senſe of the main Body of the Nation, and (which was of more Conſideration to him) againſt the Humours of the Army and the chief Officers of it.

Cromwel endeavours to gain the Officers.

But in the mean time, the Protector endeavour'd by all poſſible means to prevail with the Officers of the Army to approve his Deſign; and knowing that Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood* and Col. *Desborough* were particularly averſe to it, he invited himſelf to dine with the Colonel, and carried the Lieut. Gen. with him; where he began to droll with them about Monarchy, and ſpeaking ſlightly of it, ſaid, *It was but a Feather in a Man's Cap, and therefore he wondered that Men would not pleaſe the Children and permit them to enjoy their Rattle.* But he received from them ſuch an Anſwer as no way ſuited his Expectation or Deſires; for

for they aſſured him, 'that there was more in this 9 Car. II.
'Matter than he perceived; that thoſe who put him
'upon it were no Enemies to *Charles Stuart*, and that
'if he accepted of it he would infallibly draw Ruin
'on himſelf and Friends.' Having thus ſounded their Inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them, *They were a couple of ſcrupulous Fellows*, and ſo departed. The next Day he ſent a Meſſenger to the Houſe to require their Attendance in the *Painted-Chamber* the next Morning, deſigning, as all Men believed, there to declare his Acceptation of the Crown: But in the mean time meeting with Colonel *Desborough* in the great Walk of the Park, and acquainting him with his Reſolution, the Colonel made anſwer, *That he then gave the Cauſe and* Cromwel's *Family alſo for loſt*; adding, *that tho he was reſolved never to act againſt him, yet he would not act for him after that time.* So after ſome other Diſcourſe upon the ſame Subject, *Desborough* went home, and there found Colonel *Pride*, whom *Cromwel* had lately knighted; and having imparted to him *Cromwel*'s Deſign to accept the Crown, *Pride* anſwered, *He ſhall not: Why*, ſaid the Colonel, *how wilt thou hinder it?* To which *Pride* replied, *Get me a Petition drawn, and I will prevent it.* Whereupon they both went to Dr. *Owen*, and having acquainted him with what had hapned, they perſuaded him to draw a Petition according to their Deſires. Whilſt this was doing, *Cromwel* having reflected on his Diſcourſe with *Desborough*, and being informed that *Lambert* and divers other Officers were diſſatisfied with his Deſign, ſent a Meſſenger to put off the Meeting in the *Painted-Chamber*, and to deſire the Houſe would ſend a Committee to confer with him about the great Buſineſs then depending, deſigning thereby to gain time, in which he might be fitting the Officers for his purpoſe: But the Houſe being riſen before his Meſſenger arrived, and ſo out of a Capacity to appoint any to come to him, the old Committee that had been formerly appointed, thought fit by virtue of their general Inſtructions to wait on him to know his Pleaſure. Accordingly they came to *White-hall*, where they attended about two Hours; and then a *Barbary* Horſe being brought into the Garden for him to ſee, gave him an Occaſion to paſs

An. 1657. thro the Room where the Committee was. As he was passing by without taking the least notice of them, one of the Members put him in mind, *That they had waited very long*; which he slightly excusing, told them, *That he thought the House being risen before his Messenger came to them, had not impowered any Person to come to him.* It was answered, *That they came to him upon the general Instructions they had formerly received from the House.* Upon which he told them, *He would send to them some other Time.*

The next Morning the House being in great Expectation of a Message to appoint the Time and Place for the Acceptance of what they had prepar'd, some Officers of the Army coming to the Parliament Doors, sent in a Message to Colonel *Desborough*, to acquaint him that they had a Petition, which they desired him to present to the House: But he knowing the Contents of it, and thinking it unfit for him to take notice of it before it was presented, acquainted the House, *That certain Officers of the Army had a Petition to present to them:* Which having done, and every one supposing that the Designs of the Officers were conformable to their own, *Cromwel*'s Party concluding that no Part of the Army durst appear for the crossing his Designs, it was generally agreed, they should be called in, and have leave to present it with their own Hands. Lieutenant Colonel *Mason* was chosen by the rest of the Officers to deliver the Petition; which when he had done, and the Officers withdrawn, it was read. The Contents of it were to this Purpose, 'That they had hazarded their Lives a-'gainst Monarchy, and were still ready so to do in 'Defence of the Liberties of the Nation: That ha-'ving observed in some Men great Endeavours to 'bring the Nation again under their old Servitude, 'by pressing their General to take upon him the Ti-'tle and Government of a King, in order to destroy 'him and weaken the Hands of those who were 'faithful to the Publick, they humbly desired they 'would discountenance all such Persons and Endea-'vours, and continue stedfast to the old Cause; for the 'Preservation of which, they, for their Parts, were 'most ready to lay down their Lives.'

Petition of the Army against making *Cromwel* King.

This Petition was subscribed by two Colonels, seven Lieutenant Colonels, eight Majors, and sixteen Cap-

Captains, who with ſuch Officers in the Houſe as were of the ſame Opinion, made up the Majority of thoſe relating to that Part of the Army which was then quartered about the Town. It is difficult to determine whether the Houſe or *Cromwel* was more ſurprized at this unexpected Addreſs; but certainly both were exceedingly diſturb'd at it. As ſoon as the Notice of it was brought to *Cromwel*, he ſent for *Fleetwood*, and told him he wondered he would ſuffer ſuch a Petition to proceed ſo far, which he might have hindered, ſince he knew it to be his Reſolution not to accept the Crown without the Conſent of the Army; and therefore he deſired him to haſten to the Houſe, and put them off from doing any thing farther therein. *Fleetwood* immediately went thither, and told them the Petition ought not to be debated, much leſs anſwered at this Time, the Contents of it being to deſire them not to preſs the Protector to be King, whereas the preſent Buſineſs was to receive his Anſwer to what had been formerly offer'd to him; and therefore he deſired the Debate might be put off till they had received his Anſwer. To this the Houſe conſenting, they receiv'd a Meſſage from *Cromwel*, That inſtead of meeting him in the *Painted-Chamber*, (the Place where he uſed to give his Conſent) they would meet him in the *Banquetting-Houſe*. So the Members came to *Whitehall*, and *Cromwel*, with great Oſtentation of his Self-denial, refuſed the Title of *King*. 9 Car. II. He refuſes the Title.

This Refuſal was made on the eighth of *May*, in a Speech to the Parliament Members, concluding thus: *I could have wiſhed I had given it ſooner, but truly this is my Anſwer, that altho I think the Government doth conſiſt of very excellent Parts in all but that one thing the Title, as to me, I ſhould not be an honeſt Man if I ſhould not tell you, that I cannot accept of the Government, nor undertake the Trouble and Charge of it, which I have a little more Experiment than every Man, as to what Troubles and Difficulties do befal Men under ſuch Truſts and in ſuch Undertakings; I ſay I am perſuaded to return this Anſwer to you, that I cannot undertake this Government with the Title of a King: And that is mine Anſwer to this great and weighty Buſineſs.* His Speech on that Occaſion.

Cromwel having ſlipt over this great Point, ſoon made it appear, that he would renounce nothing but the *Cromwel* renounces nothing but the Title.

An. 1657. the Name and Style of King; and likewise that his Modesty, or Wisdom, or Fear in refusing that supreme Title, was not attended with any open Disadvantage to himself or his sovereign Power. They who had most warmly opposed it, were so satisfied with this late Escape, that they did not care to obstruct any other thing proposed towards his Greatness. And accordingly they voted, 'That he should enjoy the 'Title and Authority he had already;' which they in many Particulars enlarged beyond what it was by the *Instrument of Government*; and this by a new Instrument called *The humble Petition and Advice*, consisting of eighteen Articles, the Substance of which was, 'That his Highness, *Oliver Cromwel*, should 'under the Title of *Protector* be pleased to execute 'the Office of chief Magistrate over *England*, *Scot-* 'land, and *Ireland*, &c. and to govern according to 'all things in that *humble Petition and Advice*; and 'also that he would in his Life-time appoint the Per- 'son that should succeed him in the Government: 'That he would call a Parliament consisting of two 'Houses, at least once a Year: That those Persons 'who were legally chosen by the People to serve in 'Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their 'Duty, but by Consent of that House whereof they 'are Members; that none but those under the Qua- 'lification herein mentioned should be capable to serve 'as Members in Parliament: That the Power of the '*other House* be limited as herein prescribed: That 'the Laws and Statutes of the Land be observed and 'kept, no Laws altered, suspended, abrogated, or re- 'pealed, but by new Laws made by Act of Parlia- 'ment: That the yearly Sum of one Million 'sterling be for the Maintenance of the Navy and 'Army, and three hundred thousand Pounds for the 'Support of the Government, besides other tempo- 'rary Supplies, as the Commons in Parliament should 'see necessary: That the Number of the Protector's 'Council shall not exceed twenty one, whereof se- 'ven shall be a *Quorum*: The chief Officers of 'State, as Chancellor, Keepers of the great Seal, &c. 'to be approved by Parliament: That his Highness 'would encourage a *godly Ministry* in these Nations, 'and that such as revile and disturb them in the 'Worship of God, may be punished according to Law;

Confirm'd in his Office of Protector.

Humble Petition and Advice.

'and

'and where Laws are defective, new ones to be made: That the *Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion*, as it is contained in the Old and New Teſtament, be aſſerted and held forth for the *publick Profeſſion* of theſe Nations, and no other; and that a *Confeſſion of Faith* be agreed upon, and recommended to the People of theſe Nations, and none be permitted by Words or Writings, to revile or reproach the ſaid *Confeſſion of Faith*.' 9 Car. II.

This Inſtrument being diſtinctly read to *Cromwel* on the twenty fifth of *May*, after a long Pauſe, with Eyes lift up, and other Geſtures of Concern and Perplexity, he ſigned it; and then among other things told them, 'That he could not doubt but the ſame 'Spirit that had led the Parliament to this, would eaſily ſuggeſt the reſt to them; and that nothing could 'have induced him to have undertaken this intolerable Burden to Fleſh and Blood, but that he ſaw it 'was the Parliament's Care to anſwer thoſe Ends for 'which they were engaged;' calling God to witneſs, 'That he could not have undergone it, but that the 'Parliament had determin'd that it made clearly for 'the Liberty and Intereſt of the Nation, and Preſervation of ſuch as fear God; and if the Nation 'were not thankful to them for their Care, it would 'fall as a Sin upon their Heads.' He concluded with recommending ſome things, 'which, he ſaid, would 'tend to Reformation, by diſcountenancing Vice, and 'encouraging Virtue.' And wiſhing the Lord to proſper their Endeavours, he diſmiſſed them to return to their Houſe. *Cromwel* ſigns it.

Since they had performed all he could expect from them, he reſolv'd to do ſomewhat for himſelf: and that all the Diſcourſes made of *Kingſhip* ſhould not paſs away in the Silence of this Addreſs, and that this Exaltation might be graced with ſuch a Pomp and Solemnity as ſhould make it little inferior to the other; therefore within a few Days he ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, 'That they would adjourn 'until ſuch Time as the Solemnity of his *Inauguration* ſhould be performed;' for which he appointed the twenty ſixth of *June*, and in the mean time aſſigned the Care of it to ſeveral Perſons, that all things ſhould be in readineſs for the Mngnificence of ſuch a Work. *Weſtminſter-Hall* was prepared, adorned, His Inauguration.

An. 1657. ned, and beautified as ſumptuouſly as it could be for a Coronation; and Seats were built up for the Members of Parliament, the Judges and Officers, and for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. A Throne was erected with a noble Pavilion, and a Chair of State under it; to which *Cromwel* was conducted in an Entry, with Attendance of his Officers military and civil, and the Sword carried before him, all with as much Grandeur as could be imagined. Being ſeated in his Chair of State, that his Promotion might not ſeem to be without the Nobility's having a Share in it, the Speaker with the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Whitlock*, veſted him with a purple Robe lined with Ermin; the Speaker telling him, *It was an Emblem of Magiſtracy, and imported Righteouſneſs and Juſtice.* Then delivering him a Bible, richly gilt and boſſed with Gold, he told him, *It was a Book that contained the holy Scriptures, in which he had the Happineſs to be well verſed.* Next, he put into his Hand a Scepter of maſſy Gold, ſaying, *Here is a Scepter not unlike a Staff; for you are to be a Staff to the Poor.* Laſtly, he girt him with a very rich Sword with this Comment, *This is not a military but a civil Sword; it is a Sword rather of Defence than of Offence, not only to defend your ſelf, but alſo your People.* Upon the Cloſe of which, he took an Oath to govern the People of theſe three Nations according to *Law*, &c. And after all the Ceremonies and Enſigns of Honour, Mr. *Manton* pray'd, the People ſhouted, and the Trumpets ſounded; and the Protector return'd to *Whitehall*, accompanied not only by the forementioned Attendance, but alſo by ſeveral foreign Ambaſſadors. Having paſſed ſome Acts, he adjourned his Parliament to the twentieth of *January*, after it had ſat ſomewhat above nine Months.

Another Houſe of Parliament.

Before the Meeting of the Parliament, there was to be a new Conſtitution of it by adding another Houſe, to bring back the Form of a King, Lords, and Commons. The Protector ſent out his Writs in the ſame Form with thoſe formerly ſent to ſummon the Peers to Parliament. Their Number was ſixty, of which the two firſt, like Princes of the Blood, were his own Sons, the Lord *Richard* and Lord *Henry Cromwel*; then *Nathaniel Fiennes* and *John Liſle*, Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, *Henry Lawrence*, Lord Preſident

ſident of the Council, the Lord *Charles Fleetwood*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmund* Earl of *Mulgrave*, and other Noblemen and chief Officers military and civil; who in Rights and Privileges ſhould differ nothing from a Houſe of Peers, only as the Head muſt not have the Name of *King*, thoſe Members were not to have the Title of *Houſe of Peers*, but of the *Other Houſe of Parliament*. 9 Car. II.

On *January* 20. both theſe Houſes met, and the Protector came as Sovereign to the Other Houſe, and ſent for the Speaker and Houſe of Commons by the Black-Rod; and then ſpoke in ſhort to them, beginning his Speech in the old Style, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons:* And then diſcourſed ſome Particulars, which he recommended to them, thank'd them for their fair Correſpondence the laſt Seſſion, and aſſured them, that if they would continue to proſecute his Deſigns, *they ſhould be called the Bleſſed of the Lord, and Generations to come ſhould bleſs them.* And ſo he left his Lord-Keeper *Fiennes* to make a large Speech to them, with all the State of our antient Monarchs. Both Houſes meet.

The Door of the Houſe of Commons, for ſo they would have it called, was now opened, and the Guard removed, and every Member admitted that took the Oath preſcribed by them before their Adjournment. Moſt of the Members, who had been formerly excluded, took the Oath alſo, and were admitted; by which laſt Addition, and the Removal of thoſe of the other Houſe, who were for the moſt part taken out of this, a conſiderable Alteration was made in that Body: So that they preſently began to call in queſtion all that had been done in the former Seſſion, grounding their Arguments on the Force put upon that Aſſembly, whereby a great Number who had as good a Right to ſit there as any others, were peremptorily refuſed to ſit. *Cromwel* was not a little ſtartled at theſe Proceedings, ſuſpecting that Part of the Army, eſpecially thoſe quartered about St. *James*'s, were engaged therein. And therefore to prevent what he feared, and which his Conſcience told him he deſerved, he took the Inſpection of the Watch at *Whitehall* for ſeveral Nights ſucceſſively in his own Perſon. And the Alarm increaſing daily, he reſolved upon the Diſſolution of this *Cromwel* diſpleas'd with the Parliament. Diſſolves them.

An. 1657. this Assembly, intending as soon as they were dismiss'd, and the Power devolved upon him again, to curb that Spirit of Liberty that had lately appear'd, and to remove such Officers from their Command in the Army as he suspected. While he was deliberating in this Matter, fresh Information was brought him concerning the Diligence of his Adversaries in all Parts; which quickened him to that Degree, that he would not stay for one of his own Coaches; but taking the first at hand, with such Guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the Other House, where being come, he imparted his Intentions to dissolve the Parliament to *Fleetwood*; who earnestly endeavouring to dissuade him from it, he clapped his Hand upon his Breast, and swore *by the living God he would do it*. Then he sent for the Judges, and they being come, he dispatched another Message to the Assembly to attend him presently. Many of them declined to come, and those that appeared were very ill treated by him for obstructing that Work he said was so well begun in order to the Settlement of the Nation. On the other hand, he assured those whom he had called to his Other House, that notwithstanding all the Practices used against them, they should continue to be Lords; and so dismissed both the Assemblies to follow their own private Affairs.

Blake's Death.

This Year died the valiant and victorious Admiral *Blake*, who had render'd himself the Glory of *England*, and the Wonder of the World; and tho he acted under *Cromwel*, he did not so much espouse his Interest, as he did the Honour of his Country, and the *English* Dominion of the Seas. It was his Argument for Peace and Unity among his Seamen, that they should not listen to any News from Land, nor mind the Changes in the Government, but remember that the Fleet was *English*, and that their Enemies were Foreigners, and therefore they must fight for the Honour of the *English* Nation. By this Principle he had been always safe and successful, and had in this very Summer insulted the *Spanish* Coasts, and sailed thence to intercept their *West-India* Fleet, which got into the Bay of *Sancta Cruz*, in one of the *Canary* Islands; where Don *Diego Diagnes*, the *Spanish* Admiral, had so well barricado'd the Entrance, and so well fortified the Castle and Forts upon the Shore, that he sent Word by a

Dutch

Dutch Merchant, *Let* Blake *come if he dare.* But *Blake* wanted no Challenge; he ſent a Squadron under Captain *Steiner* in the *Speaker* Frigat, who forced their Paſſage into the Mouth of the Bay, and were preſently ſupported by the whole Fleet, and an abſolute Victory was by degrees obtained: And it being impracticable to carry off the Prizes, they were to a ſingle Veſſel burnt or ſunk on *Monday April* 20. for which noble Service the Parliament, at *Cromwel*'s imparting the News, ordered a Day of Thankſgiving, and voted five hundred Pounds for a Jewel to be preſented to the Admiral, as a Teſtimony of his Country's Gratitude and Reſpect to him. After this great Exploit, he ſail'd back to *Spain*, and having triumphantly kept all their Ships and Ports in awe, he was bringing home the Fleet, when falling ſick of a ſcorbutick Fever, he died juſt as the Fleet was entering into *Plymouth Sound*; where he paſſionately enquired for the Land, but found his own Element to be the more proper Bed of Honour. He had a publick Funeral ſolemnly and juſtly beſtow'd upon him, with the Honour of Interment in the Chappel of *Henry* VII. He was the firſt that declin'd the old Track, and made it manifeſt that the Science might be attained in leſs Time than was imagined; and deſpiſed thoſe Rules which had been long in Practice, to keep his Ship and Men out of Danger, which had been held in former Times a Point of great Ability and Circumſpection; as if the principal Art requiſite in a Captain of a Ship had been to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt that brought the Ships to contemn Caſtles on Shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcover'd by him to make a Noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that Proportion of Courage into the Seamen, by making them to ſee by Experience what mighty things they could do if they were reſolved; and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon the Water. 9 Car. II.

King's Affairs.

The King kept his Court at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, and had many Conſultations with the Governour Don *John* how to make the *Spaniſh* Intereſt and his own ſubſervient to each other. He had Reaſon to hope that the Diſtractions in the *Engliſh* State, would by degrees bring the People to caſt back their Eyes and

An. 1657. and Hearts upon him. This encouraged the *Spaniards* to protect his Person, and accept his Arms in *Flanders*, where the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Rochester*, the Lords *Gerrard* and *Wentworth*, the Lord *Taaf*, and General *Middleton*, had their several Regiments quartered along the Sea-Coast, under Command of the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, either to aſſiſt the King of *Spain* againſt his Enemies the *French*, who were ſupported by *Cromwel*, or to be ready to tranſport themſelves into *England*, if any favourable Juncture ſhould invite them. For the Royaliſts in *England*, tho weak and poor, were continually forming ſome Hopes and Deſigns for recalling the King; but their moſt ſecret Counſels were betray'd. However, a general Inſurrection was at this Time deſign'd; and to prepare the Way to it, there was now publiſhed and induſtriouſly diſpers'd a very daring Paper, under the Title of *Killing no Murder*; wherein it was proved not only lawful, but honourable to kill the Tyrant, as a common Enemy of his Country. This waked the Protector into a dreadful Fright, and made him very vigilant to apprehend the Author, who was happily then concealed not only in his Perſon, but in the very Suſpicion of his Name, tho ſince commonly taken to be Col. *Titus*, a Man of great Figure in ſome of the Parliaments after the King's Return. After this Alarm, (which ſerved not ſo much to put the King's Party into a Preparation as it did to put *Cromwel* upon his Guard) the Marquis of *Ormond* ſlipt over from *Flanders*, and lay privately in *London*, to ripen the Deſign, and to ſend for his Troops to puſh on the Execution of it. But *Cromwel*, who well knew that Money could at any time be the Price of a Traitor, had corrupted Sir *Richard Willis*, and one *Corker* an ejected Miniſter, who then practis'd Phyſick; and by their perfidious Intelligence, he ſet out a Proclamation for the Plotters before they could get into a Body; ſo that many of them were ſeized, and the Marquis of *Ormond* himſelf very narrowly eſcaped.

Inſurrection deſign'd by the Cavaliers.

Plot of the fifth Monarchy Men.

About this Time alſo there was a dangerous Plot of the Fifth Monarchy Men againſt *Cromwel*. Major General *Harriſon* had put himſelf into the Counſels and Deſigns of theſe furious Men, and the Plot was laid for an Inſurrection (in their Cant) to ſet up King *Jeſus*. Their chief Cabal was held in a Houſe near

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Shoreditch, where Secretary *Thurloe*, who ſpared no Pains or Money for his Maſter's Safety, had a Spy among them, and diſcover'd the Intrigues time enough to prevent any Execution: He ſeized their Arms and Ammunition, with a Standard of *a Lion Couchant*, as of the Tribe of *Judah*, with this Motto, *Who ſhall rouſe him up*? and ſeveral Copies of a printed Declaration with this Title, *The Principle of the Remnant*, &c. The Conſpirators taken were *Thomas Venner*, *Gray*, *Gowler*, *Hopkins*, *Aſhton*, and others, who were ſpared to create Diſturbance and their own Deſtruction at another Time. 9 Car. II.

This Year died Dr. *William Harvey*, who was educated in that noted College for Phyſicians, *Caius* in *Cambridge*, and then in *Padua* in *Italy*, and afterwards became Phyſician to the late King, and Warden of the other Phyſick-College, *Merton* in *Oxford*: He was the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, for his admirable Skill in his Profeſſion, and has immortaliz'd his Name by his noble Diſcovery of the *Circulation of the Blood*; and having formed a Practice of Phyſick conformable to this *Theſis*, he was plundered of his Papers to the very great Loſs of the World, tho he ſtill left ſome excellent Pieces behind him. Death of Dr. *Harvey*.

Soon after the Plot of the Fifth-Monarchy Men, ſome Perſons who uſed to meet in *Coleman-ſtreet*, to deplore the Apoſtacy of the Times, and particularly that of *Whitehall*, were ſeized by the Lord Mayor's Officers purſuant to *Cromwel*'s Orders, as they were coming out of their Meeting-Place. Among theſe was a Cornet whoſe Name was *Day*, who being charged with ſaying that *Cromwel* was a Rogue and a Traitor, confeſſed the Words; and to juſtify himſelf ſaid, that *Cromwel* had affirmed in the Preſence of himſelf and divers other Officers, *That if he did oppreſs the Conſcientious, or betray the Liberties of the People, or not take away Tithes by a certain Time* (now paſt) *they ſhould then have liberty to ſay he was a Rogue and a Traitor*. He moved therefore, that he might be permitted to produce his Witneſſes, who were then preſent, to the Particulars afore-mention'd; but the Matter was ſo ordered, that he and ſome others were fined and impriſoned for their pretended Miſdemeanors. An. 1658. Story of Cornet *Day*.

An. 1658. The Persons concerned in the late Cavalier Plot *Cromwel* used with more Severity, because he accounted them to be of a more formidable Party; and therefore referred them to be tried by a *High Court of Justice*. The Prisoners were Dr. *Hewet*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Mr. *Mordaunt*, with some others of the meaner sort. The general Charge against them was, for endeavouring to levy War against the Government on the behalf of *Charles Stuart*. The particular Charge against Dr. *Hewet* was, 'for dispersing Commissions from the Son of the late King, 'and persuading divers to raise Forces by virtue of 'the same.' That against Sir *Henry Slingsby* was, 'for attempting to debauch some of the Garison of '*Hull* to the Service of *Charles Stuart*, and delivering a Commission from him to them.' The Prisoners of less Note were charged 'with a Design of 'firing the City in several Parts at the Time appointed for their Party to be in Arms.' Dr. *Hewet* being brought before the Court, moved, that he might be tried by a Jury, and demurred to the Jurisdiction of the Court. But the Court over-ruled his Demurrer, and told him, *That unless he would plead to his Charge, they would cause his Refusal to be entered, and proceed against him as if the Fact was confessed.* This being twice said to him, he was required the third time to plead. To which he answered, *That if the Judges would declare it to be according to Law for him to plead, he would obey:* But he was told, *That the Gentlemen then present were his Judges, and that if he would not plead, they would record his Contempt the third Time*; and upon his Refusal, they did so. Mr. *Mordaunt*, admonish'd by his Example, pleaded *Not-guilty*, and after a full hearing of the Witnesses on both Sides, the Court acquitted him by one Voice. Then Sir *Henry Slingsby* was called to the Bar, and the Witnesses on each side being heard, he was pronounced guilty; tho in the Opinion of many, he had very hard measure: For it appeared that he was a Prisoner at the Time when he was charged to have practised against the Government; that he was a declared Enemy, and therefore by the Laws of War free to make any such Attempt. Besides it was alledged, that the Persons whom he was accused to have endeavour'd to corrupt,

Trial of Dr. *Hewet*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Mr. *Mordaunt*.

rupt, had trapann'd him by their Promiſes to ſerve the King in delivering *Hull*, if he would give them a Commiſſion to act for him; which Commiſſion was an old one that had long lain by him. But all this being not thought ſufficient to excuſe him, he was adjudg'd to die: And ſo he and Dr. *Hewet* were beheaded. The reſt of the Priſoners were alſo condemn'd, and being Men of a leſſer Figure, were hanged. 10 Car. II.

Theſe Proceedings ſtill more exaſperated the Royaliſts, and made the Protector more odious; eſpecially becauſe he refuſed his Mercy after the greateſt Importunity from his neareſt Friends and Relations. The Lord *Falconbridge*, who on *November* 18. 1657. had married *Mary* his third Daughter, and was now ſent his Ambaſſador into *France*, made earneſt Suit for the Life of his Uncle Sir *Henry Slingsby*; but all his own Intereſt, and his Wife's, could not obtain that Favour. His beloved Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth Claypole*, interceded for Dr. *Hewet*; and yet in that only Inſtance had a Denial from her fond Father; which ſhe ſo grievouſly reſented, that it is ſaid to have been the Occaſion of her laſt Sickneſs, wherein ſhe raved againſt Cruelty and Blood, and died at *Hampton-Court* on the ſixth of *Auguſt*. Her Body was carried by Water to *Weſtminſter*, and being laid in State in the *Painted-Chamber*, was ſolemnly interred in the Chappel of *Henry* the Seventh. Protector more odious.

The old Earl of *Warwick*, ſoon after the marrying his Grandſon Mr. *Rich* to *Frances*, youngeſt Daughter of *Cromwel*, died *April* 18. and the Earl of *Mulgrave*, one of his Highneſs's Council, died on the Road to *London*, *Auguſt* 28. *John Maynard* Eſq; was by Patent made the Protector's Serjeant at Law on *May* 1. and Sir *Thomas Widdrington* made Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, *June* 26.

The great Action abroad was the Siege and Battel of *Dunkirk*. The *French* King in Perſon, and the Cardinal his prime Miniſter, had a good Army on the edge of *Flanders*; and being joined by a great Body of the *Engliſh* under General *Lockart*, it was concluded to beſiege *Dunkirk*. The *Spaniſh* General Don *John* of *Auſtria*, well knowing the Importance of that Place, reſolved to raiſe the Siege; and Siege of *Dunkirk*.

An. 1658. advancing with fifteen thouſand Men, offered to relieve it; but in a deſperate Fight was entirely routed, and the Town ſoon after ſurrender'd.

There was ſomething in this Management, that very much ſhew'd the Perfidiouſneſs of the *French*, and the Policy and Power of *Cromwel*. There was an Article in the Treaty between *France* and the Protector, 'That if *Dunkirk* came to be taken, it ſhou'd 'be immediately deliver'd up to the *Engliſh*;' and his Ambaſſador and General *Lockhart* had Orders to take Poſſeſſion of it. When the *French* Army being joined with the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries, was on its March to inveſt the Town, *Cromwel* ſent one Morning for the *French* Ambaſſador, and upbraided him publickly for his Maſter's deſigned Breach of Promiſe, in giving ſecret Orders to the *French* General to keep Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, in caſe it was taken, contrary to the Treaty between them. The Ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the Matter, (as indeed he did not) and begged leave to aſſure him, that there was no ſuch thing thought of. Upon which *Cromwel* pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, *Here*, ſays he, *is the Copy of the Cardinal's Orders; and I deſire you to diſpatch immediately an Expreſs, to let him know that I am not to be impoſed upon; and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of* Dunkirk *to* Lockhart, *within an Hour after it ſhall be taken, tell him I will come in Perſon and demand them at the Gates of* Paris. There were but four Perſons ſaid to be privy to this Order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Marſhal *de Turenne*, and a Secretary. The Cardinal for a long time blamed the Queen, as if ſhe might poſſibly have blabbed it out to ſome of her Women; whereas it was found after the Secretary's Death, that he had kept a ſecret Correſpondence with *Cromwel* for ſeveral Years, and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent him the Copy of the Order above-mentioned. The Meſſage had its due Effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*: And to palliate the Matter, the Duke and Marſhal of *Crequy* was diſpatched into *England*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary, to compliment *Cromwel*, attended with a numerous and ſplendid Train of Perſons of Quality, among whom was a Prince of the Blood, and *Moncini*, *Mazarine*'s Nephew, who brought

Deliver'd to the *Engliſh*.

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a Letter from his Uncle to the Protector, full of the higheſt Expreſſions of Reſpect, and aſſuring his Highneſs, *That being within view of the* Engliſh *Shore, nothing but the King's Indiſpoſition, who lay then ill of the Small-Pox at* Calais, *could have hindred him from coming over to* England, *that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one of the greateſt Men that ever was, and whom, next to his Maſter, his greateſt Ambition was to ſerve: But being depriv'd of ſo great a Happineſs, he had ſent the Perſon that was neareſt to him in Blood, to aſſure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Perſon, and how much he was reſolved to the utmoſt of his Power to cultivate a perpetual Amity and Friendſhip between his Maſter and him.* 10 Car. II.

Mazarine's Compliments to Cromwel.

But *Cromwel*'s Greatneſs was now drawing to a Concluſion. After the Death of Mrs. *Claypole*, it was obſerved that he grew melancholy, and alſo diſtemper'd with divers Infirmities, particularly a malignant Humour in his Foot; which hindering him from the Exerciſe of Walking or Riding abroad, he obliged his Phyſicians to endeavour to diſperſe it; which they attempting, drove it upwards to his Heart. By this means he became deſperately ſick, and in the Time of his Sickneſs Dr. *Tho. Goodwin* is ſaid to have uſed this Expreſſion in his Prayer; *Lord, we beg not for his Recovery, for that thou haſt already granted, and aſſured us of; but for his ſpeedy Recovery.* At *White-Hall* they were unwilling to have it known that he was ſo dangerouſly ill; yet by reaſon of a Clauſe in the *humble Petition and Advice*, which was the Rule of Government they pretended to act by, *That the Protector ſhou'd have Power to nominate his Suceſſor*, the Commiſſioners of the Great-Seal attended for ſigning the Declaration of the Perſon to be appointed to ſucceed him. But whether he was unwilling to diſcover his Intention to leave the Succeſſion to his Son, leſt thereby he ſhou'd in caſe of Recovery diſoblige others whom he had put in expectation of that Power; or whether he was ſo diſcompos'd that he could not attend that Matter; or laſtly, whether he wou'd have named or did name any other, is uncertain: But the Commiſſioners were not admitted till the *Friday* following, when the Symptoms of Death were apparent upon him, and many Miniſters and

Cromwel falls ſick.

An. 1658. others assembled in a Chamber at *White-Hall*, praying for him; whilst he manifested so little Remorse of Conscience for his betraying the publick Cause, and sacrificing it to the Idol of his own Ambition, that some of his last Words were rather becoming a Mediator than a Sinner, recommending to God the Condition of the Nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great Care of the People whom he had so manifestly despis'd. But he seem'd above all concern'd for the Reproaches he said Men wou'd cast upon his Name, in trampling on his Ashes when dead. In this Temper of Mind he departed this Life on his beloved and victorious Day, *September* 3. about two in the Afternoon: And tho he had run thro so many Dangers, and had so many Plots against his Life, and committed so many wicked and tyrannical Acts, yet he breathed out his last in his Bed.

And dies.

His Character.

Thus died the mighty *Oliver Cromwel* in the peaceable Possession of the Sovereign Power, tho disguis'd under another Name, and in the sixtieth Year of his Age. He was certainly more formidable both at home and abroad than any of the *English* Monarchs: And it was said, that Cardinal *Mazarine* wou'd change Countenance whenever he heard him named; so that it pass'd into a Proverb in *France*, *That he was not so much afraid of the Devil as of* Oliver Cromwel. He had a manly stern Look, and was of an active healthful Constitution, able to endure the greatest Toil and Fatigue. Tho brave in his Person, yet he was wary in his Conduct; for from the time he was first declar'd Protector, he always wore a Coat of Mail under his Clothes. His Conversation among his Friends was diverting and familiar, but in Publick reserv'd and grave. He was sparing in his Diet, tho sometimes wou'd drink freely, but never to Excess. He was moderate in all other Pleasures, and for what was visible free from Immoralities, especially after he came to make a figure in the World. He wrote a tolerable good Hand, and a Style becoming a Gentleman, except when he had a mind to wheedle under the Mask of Religion; which he knew nicely how to do, when his Affairs requir'd it. He affected for the most part a plainness in his Clothes; but in them, as well as in his Guards and Attendance, he appear'd with Magnificence upon publick Occasions. No Man

was

was ever better ſerv'd, nor took more Pains to be ſo. As he was ſevere to his Enemies, ſo was he beneficent and kind to his Friends. And if he came to hear of a Man fit for his Purpoſe, tho ever ſo obſcure, he ſent for him, and employ'd him; ſuiting the Employment to the Perſon, and not the Perſon to the Employment. And upon this Maxim in his Government depended in a great meaſure his Succeſs. 10 Car. II

When he firſt appear'd in Parliament, his Perſon ſeem'd in no ſort gracious, he had no Ornament of Diſcourſe, none of thoſe Talents which work upon the Affections of the Standers-by: Yet as he grew up into Authority, his Parts ſeem'd to be rais'd, as if he had Faculties lay concealed till he had occaſion to uſe them; and when he was to act the part of a great Man, he did it without any Indecency, notwithſtanding the Want of Cuſtom. After he was confirmed Protector by the *Humble Petition and Advice*, he conſulted with very few upon any Action of Importance, nor communicated any Enterprize he reſolved upon to more than thoſe who were to have principal Parts in the execution of it; nor to them ſooner than was abſolutely neceſſary. What he once reſolved, in which he was not raſh, he wou'd not be diſſuaded from; nor endure any Contradiction of his Power, but extorted Obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

He had a wonderful Knowledge of the Natures and Humours of Men, and as great a Dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obſcure Birth (tho of a good Family) without Intereſt or Eſtate, Alliance or Friendſhip, could raiſe himſelf to ſuch a height, and compound ſuch oppoſite and contradictory Tempers and Intereſts into a Conſiſtence that contributed to his Deſigns, and to their own Deſtruction; whilſt himſelf grew inſenſibly powerful enough to cut off thoſe by whom he had climbed, in the inſtant that they projected to demoliſh their own Building. To reduce three Nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire Obedience to all his Dictates; to awe and govern thoſe Nations by an Army that was indevoted to him, and wiſhed his Ruin, was an Inſtance of a prodigious Addreſs. But his Greatneſs at home was but a ſhadow of the Glory he had abroad: It was hard to diſcover which fear'd him moſt, *France*, *Spain*,

An. 1658. *Spain*, or the *Low-Countries*, where his Friendſhip was current at the value he put upon it. As they all ſacrificed their Honour and their Intereſt to his Pleaſure, ſo there is nothing he could have demanded that either of them wou'd deny him.

Few Princes ever bore their Character higher upon all Occaſions, than *Oliver Cromwel*, eſpecially in his Treaties with crown'd Heads. And it's a thing without Example, that's mention'd by one of the beſt informed Hiſtorians of the Age, *Puffendorf*, in the Life of the late Elector of *Brandenburgh*; That in *Cromwel's* League with *France* againſt *Spain*, he wou'd not allow the *French* King to call himſelf *King of France*, but *of the French*; whereas he took to himſelf not only the Title of Protector of *England*, but likewiſe of *France*. And what is yet more ſurprizing, and can hardly be believ'd but for the Authority of the Author *, that in the Inſtrument of the Treaty, the Protector's Name was put before the *French* King's. It's true, *France* was then under a Minority, and not arriv'd at that Greatneſs to which it has ſince attain'd, towards which *Cromwel* contributed not a little by that League with *France* againſt *Spain*; being the falſeſt ſtep he ever made with reſpect to the Tranquillity of *Europe*.

* *Puffen. de rebus geſtis Friderici Wilhelmi Electoris Brandenburgici, p.* 313.

In Matters of the greateſt Moment, *Cromwel* truſted none but his Secretary *Thurloe*, and oftentimes not him: An Inſtance of which *Thurloe* uſed to tell of himſelf; *That he was once commanded by* Cromwel *to go at a certain Hour to* Grays-Inn, *and at ſuch a Place deliver a Bill of twenty thouſand Pounds, payable to the Bearer at* Genoa, *to a Man he ſhould find walking in ſuch a Habit and Poſture as he deſcrib'd him, without ſpeaking one Word.* Which accordingly *Thurloe* did; and never knew to his dying Day, either the Perſon or the Occaſion. At another time, the Protector coming late at Night to *Thurloe's* Office, and beginning to give him Directions about ſomething of great Importance and Secrecy, he took notice that Mr. *Moreland*, one of the Clerks, afterwards Sir *Samuel Moreland*, was in the Room, which he had not obſerved before; and fearing he might have over-heard their Diſcourſe, tho he ſeem'd aſleep on his Desk, he drew a Ponyard, which he always carried under his Coat, and was going to diſpatch him upon

upon the ſpot, if *Thurloe* had not with great Intreaties prevail'd with him to deſiſt, aſſuring him that *Moreland* had ſat up two Nights together, and was now certainly faſt aſleep. 10 Car. II.

There was not the ſmalleſt Accident that befel King *Charles* in his Exile, but *Cromwel* knew it perfectly well; of which this is a ſtrange Inſtance: A Gentleman who had ſerved the late King, deſired leave from *Cromwel* to travel, which he obtain'd on condition he ſhou'd not ſee *Charles Stuart*. Accordingly when he arriv'd at *Cologn*, he ſent a Meſſage to the King, that he might wait on him by Night, which was granted; and having diſcourſed fully concerning the Affairs he came about, he took leave, and received a Letter which he ſewed within the Crown of his Hat. Upon his Return to *England*, he came with Confidence to *Cromwel*; and being demanded by him *if he had punctually perform'd his Promiſe*, he anſwer'd, *He had*: *But*, ſaid *Cromwel*, *who was it that put out the Candles when you ſpoke to* Charles Stuart? This unexpected Queſtion ſtartled him; and *Cromwel* proceeding, asked him, *What he ſaid to him*: To which the Gentleman anſwered, *Nothing at all*. Then ſaid *Cromwel*, *Did he not ſend a Letter by you*? The Gentleman denying that alſo, *Cromwel* took his Hat, and having found the Letter, he ſent him immediately to the *Tower*. That he had Spies about King *Charles* was not ſo ſtrange; but his Intelligence reach'd the moſt ſecret Tranſactions of other Princes, and when the Matter was communicated to but very few; of which the Buſineſs of *Dunkirk* before mentioned, is a notable Inſtance.

Different were the Effects that the Death of *Cromwel* produced in the Nation: Thoſe Men who had been Sharers with him in the uſurped Authority, were exceedingly troubled, whilſt all other Parties rejoiced at it; each of them hoping that this Alteration wou'd prove advantageous to their Affairs. However the Council immediately aſſembled, and declar'd his Son *Richard* his Succeſſor by this notable Proclamation: *Whereas it has pleaſed the moſt wiſe God in his Providence to take out of this World the moſt ſerene and renowned* Oliver, *late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth*; *and his Highneſs having in his Life-time, according to the* Humble Petition and Advice, *declar'd and*

Richard made Protector.

An. 1658. *and appointed the moſt noble and illuſtrious the Lord* Richard, *eldeſt Son of his late Highneſs, to ſucceed him in the Government of theſe Nations; We therefore of the Privy-Council, together with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of* London, *the Officers of the Army, and Numbers of other principal Gentlemen, do now hereby with one full Voice and Conſent of Tongue and Heart, publiſh and declare the ſaid noble and illuſtrious Lord* Richard *to be rightful Protector of this Common-wealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging: To whom we do acknowledge all Fidelity and conſtant Obedience, according to Law, and the ſaid* Humble Petition and Advice, *with all hearty and humble Affections; beſeeching the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to bleſs him with long Life, and theſe Nations with Peace and Happineſs under his Government.*

Proceedings of *Richard.* Then the Council proceeded to give the Oath of Government to the new Protector, who ſet forth a Proclamation for all Officers to continue in their Places; and the Maſter of the Ceremonies was order'd to acquaint all foreign Miniſters with the Death of the late Protector, and the Succeſſion of his Son *Richard*: which ſoon brought over many new Ambaſſadors and Envoys from the neighbour Princes and States, all admitted with due Ceremony to a ſolemn Audience given by his Highneſs, to condole the Death of his Father, and to congratulate his Succeſſion to the Government; whilſt great Numbers of Addreſſes came from all Parts of the three Kingdoms, to compliment the new Protector with Profeſſions of publick Joy and Satisfaction, and ſolemn Reſolutions of adhering to him againſt all his Enemies. And indeed the general Exultation of the People and Armies was ſo great upon this new Succeſſion, that it muſt be imputed more to the common ſenſe of Deliverance from one Tyrant, than to their Hopes from this other Protector, who was raiſed to the Government without any Reſpect or good Opinion in the Minds of the People or the Soldiers. For he had been neither a military Man, nor a Stateſman; rather an honeſt Country Gentleman, bred to Privacy, and willing to ſerve his Neighbours, and even the Cavaliers, by the little Intereſt he had in his Father's Court. His own Father ſeem'd to have

Richard a mean Man.

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the leaſt Affection for, and the loweſt Opinion of him, among all his other Children: He never truſted him in any Command, nor employ'd him in any true Buſineſs: He made him indeed Chancellor of *Oxford*, and put him at the top of the Other Houſe in Parliament; but this was rather for the Honour of his Family than for the Love of his Son. He never let him into any Secrets of Policy, or Arts of War; and therefore it ſeems plain, he never deſign'd him for his Succeſſor, becauſe he ſcarce made any ſtep towards training him up to it. As to Religion, *Richard* was no great Bigot nor Hypocrite, and is thought to have had little Concern about it. *Ludlow* gives this Account: A certain inferior Officer having publickly murmur'd at the Advancement of ſome that had been Cavaliers, to Commands in the Army, was carried to *White-Hall* to anſwer for the ſame; where *Richard Cromwel*, beſides other reproachful Language, asked him in a deriding manner, *Whether he wou'd have him prefer none but thoſe that were Godly: Here*, continu'd he, *is* Dick Ingoldsby, *who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will truſt him before ye all.* Thoſe Words diſcovering the Frame and Temper of his Mind, were ſoon publiſh'd in the Army and City of *London*, to his great Prejudice, and tended to ſhorten the Time of his Government. 10 Car. II.

One of the main Acts of the new Government was, to order the Funeral of the late Protector; and the Council having reſolved that it ſhou'd be very magnificent, the Care of it was referred to a Committee, who ſending for Mr. *Kinnerſly*, Maſter of the Wardrobe, deſired him to find out ſome Precedent by which they might govern themſelves in this Affair. His Body, at leaſt in appearance, was laid in *Somerſet-Houſe*. The Apartment was hung with Black, the Day-light was excluded, and no other but that of Wax-Tapers to be ſeen. This Scene continu'd till the firſt of *November*, when he was removed into the great Hall of the ſaid Houſe, and repreſented *in Effigie*, ſtanding on a Bed of Crimſon Velvet, cover'd with a Gown of the like colour'd Velvet, a Scepter in his Hand, and a Crown on his Head. That part of the Hall wherein the Bed ſtood, was railed in, and the Rails and Ground within them covered with Crimſon Velvet. Four or five hundred Candles, ſet in *Oliver's* Funeral.

An. 1658. in flat ſhining Candleſticks, were ſo placed round near the Roof of the Hall, that the Light they gave ſeemed like the Rays of the Sun: By all which he was repreſented to be now in a State of Glory. This Folly and Profuſion ſo far provoked the People, that they threw Dirt in the Night on his Eſcutcheon that was placed over the great Gate of *Somerſet-Houſe*. We paſs by the reſt of the Pageantry, the great Number of Perſons that attended on the Funeral, the Proceſſion to *Weſtminſter*, the vaſt Expence in Mourning, the State and Magnificence of the Monument erected for him, with many other things.

The Place of his Burial uncertain.

But after all, there remains a Queſtion, where his Body was really buried: It was in appearance in *Weſtminſter-Abby*; but much more likely in *Naſeby-Field*; and poſſibly in neither Place, but as others report, it was carried below Bridge and thrown into the *Thames*. Mr. *Barkſtead* Son to *Barkſtead* one of the King's Judges, gives this Account of the Matter: That the ſaid *Barkſtead* his Father being Lieutenant of the *Tower of London*, and a great Confident of the Uſurper, did among other ſuch Confidents, in the time of the Uſurper's Sickneſs, deſire to know where he wou'd be bury'd: To which he anſwer'd, *Where he had obtained the greateſt Victory and Glory, and as nigh the Spot as could be gueſſed, where the Heat of the Action was, viz.* in the Field at *Naſeby*, *Com. Northampton.* Which accordingly was thus performed: At Midnight (ſoon after his Death) being firſt embalmed and wrapt in a Leaden Coffin, the Body was in a Hearſe convey'd to the ſaid Field, the ſaid Mr. *Barkſtead* by Order of his Father attending cloſe to the Hearſe; and being come to the Field, they found, about the midſt of it, a Grave dug about nine Foot deep, with the green Sod carefully laid on one ſide, and the Mould on the other; in which the Coffin being put, the Grave was inſtantly filled up, and Care taken that the ſurplus Mould ſhould be removed: Soon after, the like Care was taken, that the Field ſhould be entirely ploughed up, and it was ſown three or four Years ſucceſſively with Corn.

The Neceſſities of the Government daily increaſing, on the 4th of *December*, the Protector *Richard*, by Advice of his Council, reſolved to call a Parliament to meet on the 27th of *January* next. The Parliament

ment accordingly met on that Day, and Mr. *Chaloner Chute* was choſen Speaker of the Commons; who was ſo much indiſpoſed with the Heats and Tumults of the Houſe, that in the beginning of *March*, Sir *Lillibone Long* was choſen to ſupply his Place, in which he ſoon after died, and Mr. *Bamfield* was appointed Speaker *pro tempore*; then Mr. *Chute* died, and *Bamfield* was voted to keep his Poſſeſſion. A fatal Parliament, to kill two Speakers before it diſpatch'd any Buſineſs! An Oath was requir'd of every ſitting Member, not to act or contrive any thing againſt the Lord Protector; but ſome of the old Republicans declined the Oath, and had Intereſt enough in the Houſe to ſit and vote without it. The only two Parties were, thoſe for the preſent Government or new Protector, and thoſe for a Common-wealth. All that were ſuſpected to have been Royaliſts, on which ſide ſoever they voted, were expelled the Houſe by the Complaints and Clamours of the other ſide. Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*, Leader of the Court-Party, preſented a Declaration ready drawn, as a Bill for the Recognition of *Richard Cromwel* to be lawful Lord Protector, and the former *Petition and Advice* to be ſtill the Rule of Government for theſe Nations. Sir *Henry Vane* and the Republican Party vehemently oppoſed this Declaration, urging that the Protector's Right ought to be founded on the Conſent of the People; and therefore the Word *Recognizing* ought at leaſt to be alter'd into that of *Agnizing*, to make his Authority ſtand upon the true bottom. And yet the Court Party at laſt carry'd their Queſtion, but by ſo ſmall a Majority, that the other Party quickly grew upon them.

10 Car. II.

Richard calls a Parliament.

As the Parliament conſiſted of two Parties, *viz.* thoſe for a Common-wealth, and thoſe for the new Protector; ſo the Officers of the Army were divided into three Parties, and neither of them much ſuperior to the other in Number: One Party was known to be well-affected to the Government of a Common-wealth, and conſiſted chiefly of the following Officers, Col. *Aſhfield*, Col. *Lilburn*, Col. *Fitz*, Lieut. Col. *Maſon*, Lieut. Col. *Moſs*, Lieut. Col. *Farley*, Major *Creed*, with divers Captains and other inferior Officers. A ſecond Party was known by the Title of the *Wallingford-*

An. 1659. Parties in the Army.

An. 1659. *Wallingford-House*, or Army Party, who had advanced *Richard Cromwel* in expectation of governing all as they pleased; of these were Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*, Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Clark*, Col, *Kelsey*, Col. *Berry*, Major *Haines*, Treasurer *Blackwel*, and some others. The third Party was that of the new Protector, who having cast off those who had taken the Pains to advance him, joined himself to Men more suitable to his Inclination; such as Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Gough*, Col. *Whaley*, Col. *Howard*, Col. *Goodrick*, Lieut. Col. *Keins*, with many others, and more particularly those who were Officers in the *Scotch* and *Irish* Forces. But his Cabinet Council was the Lord *Broghil*, Dr. *Wilkins*, and Col. *Philip Jones*. The Differences between these Parties, being already very great, were yet much encreas'd by the following Accident: Col. *Whaley*, whom *Richard* had lately made Commissary-General of the Horse, meeting with Col. *Ashfield* in *Westminster-Hall*, and discoursing with him concerning the *Other House*, about which their Sentiments were very different, the Commissary-General fell into such a Passion, that he threatned to strike the Colonel, who thereupon daring him to do it, *Whaley* chose rather to make his Complaint to *Richard*. *Ashfield* being summon'd to appear, the Protector threaten'd to cashier him as a Mutineer, for speaking in such a manner to a General Officer. But the Colonel desiring a fair and equal Hearing by a Council of Officers, he was ordered to attend again. At the time appointed, it was contriv'd, that *Gough*, *Ingoldsby*, *Howard*, *Goodrick*, and other Creatures of the Court, shou'd be present to dicide the Matter, who unanimously enjoined *Ashfield* to acknowledge his Fault, and to ask the Commissary-General Pardon. But their Endeavours proved ineffectual; for the Colonel denying that he had offended *Whaley*, refused to desire his Pardon.

Wallingford-House Party.

The *Wallingford-House* Party (so call'd from a House of that name in which *Fleetwood* liv'd, and where they us'd to meet and consult) finding themselves abandon'd by *Richard*, and being desirous, if not to get the whole Power into their Hands, yet at least to preserve what they were possessed of; to render themselves the more formidable, desired to renew a Correspondence with the Common-wealth's Men, and

and to that End invited Sir *H. Vane*, Sir *A. Haſlerig*, *Ludlow*, and others of that Party, to come amongſt them. They at firſt kept fair with the Protector, and upon the Tumults in the two Houſes, they wheedled him into an Opinion of the Neceſſity of calling a general Council of Officers, in order to preſent ſomething to the Parliament for the Regulation and Maintenance of the Army. He not ſuſpecting their Deſigns, conſented to the Propoſal; and having iſſued out an Order to that Purpoſe, this Military General Council met, and quickly aſſumed ſo much Power to themſelves, that on *April* 20. they preſented a Remonſtrance to the Protector againſt the Proceedings of the Parliament; who, to be even with them, voted, 'I. That du-'ring the ſitting of this Parliament, there ſhall be 'no General Council or Meeting of the Officers of the 'Army, without Direction and Authority of the Lord 'Protector and both Houſes. 2. That no Perſon ſhall 'have or continue any Command or Truſt in the Ar-'my, who ſhall refuſe to ſubſcribe, That he will not 'diſturb or interrupt the free Meetings in the Parlia-'ment, of any of the Members of either Houſe of Par-'liament, or their Freedom in their Debates or Coun-'ſels.' The Protector, a dubious and unskilful Manager, endeavour'd to execute the Parliamentary Votes, and forbid the General Meeting: But the Officers were now too ſtrong to obey. On *April* 22. *Fleetwood*, the Protector's Brother, *Desborough* his Uncle, and other Leaders, brought up their Forces to *White-Hall*, and forced him, poor Man, to conſent to a Commiſſion and Proclamation ready drawn for diſſolving the Parliament; which they took care to execute by locking up the Doors and guarding of them.

11 Car. II.

Richard terrify'd into diſſolving the Parliament.

When the Army had thus deliver'd themſelves from the Parliament, their remaining Grievance was the Protector himſelf, whom they reſolv'd to lay aſide, and to declare for the *Good Old Cauſe*, a Common-wealth without a ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Peers. To purſue this Deſign, they drew up an Inſtrument, intitled, *A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the Long-Parliament, who continued ſitting till the twentieth of* April 1653. *to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſts*, ſigned *May* 6. by the Direction of the Lord *Fleetwood* and the Council of Officers of the Army: Delivered

Long Parliament reſtor'd.

An. 1659. to the old Speaker by *Lambert* and a Train of other Officers. Upon this many Members of the Rump Parliament, as it was call'd, pay'd a Visit to their Speaker, and signified to him (as was concerted) their Willingness to return to the Discharge of their Trusts.

Humble Petition and Address.

This Remnant of a Parliament meeting on *Saturday, May* 7. a few Days after, the Army brought them their *humble Petition and Address*, desiring, 'I. The Government of a Free State and Commonwealth without a single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers. 2. A just and due Regulation of Law, and Courts of Justice and Equity. 3. An Act of Oblivion for all that had been acted since the 9th of *April* 1653. 4. The Discharge of all publick Debts contracted since the 20th of *April* 1653. 5. Liberty of Conscience, not extending to Popery or Prelacy. 6. A godly, faithful and painful Gospel-preaching Ministry to be countenanced and maintained. 7. All Persons adhering to the late King, or to *Charles Stuart* his Son, to be removed from Places of Trust. 8. To prevent the long sitting of Parliaments, and to provide for a due Succession of them. 9. To own and acknowledge the Lord *Charles Fleetwood* to be General of the Land Forces of this Commonwealth. 10. To put the Administration of all executive Power of Government in a *Council of State*. 11. To discharge all Debts contracted by his Highness or his Father, since the 15th of *December* 1653. To settle 10000 *l. per Annum* upon *Richard Cromwel* and his Heirs, and 10000 *l.* more upon him during Life, and 8000 *l. per Annum* upon his Mother during her Life.'

The House, upon first Debate of the Articles, agreed to all of them except that in favour of *Richard* and his Family, having, as 'tis thought, secret Instructions from the Army to put some Slight and Indignity upon that Cypher of Government. And therefore they appointed a Committee to receive his Submission to their Authority, and to take a state of his Debts, before they wou'd do any thing for him. He was full of Compliance, and gave in his formal Submission, with a Schedule of his Debts annexed. What was contracted for his Father's Funeral, (in despite to his Memory) they absolutely rejected, and

Submission of *Richard*.

† declined

declined the Settlement of any Revenue upon him or his Mother; only they gave him a ſmall Sum to diſcharge part of his private Debts, and required him and all his Dependents to remove from *White-Hall* in ſix Days time. The next thing they did, was to call home *Henry Cromwel* from his Government in *Ireland*, where he had been very popular, and had an Army under good Diſcipline; but ſeeing the Tide turn ſtrongly, he wou'd not offer to oppoſe it. And thus ended the Majeſty and Glory of the *Cromwel* Family, which had made its own and all the neighbouring Nations to tremble. 11 Car. II.

And *Henry Cromwel.*

The Royaliſts could not forbear attempting to make ſome Advantage of the preſent Confuſions; and therefore were now ready to riſe in all Parts of the Kingdom: And a Declaration was publiſh'd in the Name of the *Lords, Gentlemen and Citizens, Freeholders and Yeomen of this once happy Nation.* Some little Efforts were made to no purpoſe in the South and Weſt Parts of *England*; but the moſt conſiderable Body that got together, was in *Cheſhire*, under Sir *George Booth*, who with the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Kilmurry*, and Major-General *Egerton*, met at *Warrington* in a ſmall Party, and had ſoon an Acceſſion of great Numbers of the Gentry. Col. *Roger Whitley* brought a Meſſage to Sir *George Booth* from his Majeſty, with an account of his Preparations beyond Sea, and that he was ready to come over when the firſt Opportunity ſhou'd offer. This being a great Satisfaction to the Party now increaſed to 500 Men, they reſolved to march to *Cheſter*; and by the Intereſt of Col. *Worden* had the Gates opened to them.

Riſing under Sir *George Booth.*

Upon the noiſe of this Riſing, on *Auguſt* 5. *Lambert* was immediately diſpatched with a good Body of Forces. Sir *George Booth* hearing of this, was retiring into *Lancaſhire*, to gain time, and increaſe his Numbers; and for the greater Amuſement, he ſent a Trumpeter to *Lambert*, with two Miniſters, to ſhew the Cauſe of their appearing in Arms, and to deſire a Treaty for ſaving the Effuſion of *Engliſh* Blood. *Lambert* wou'd agree to nothing, without firſt laying down their Arms, and ſurrendering all their Gariſons. Having no Reply, he preſſed hard upon them at *Winnington-Bridge*, near *Northwich* in *Cheſhire*, and gave them an entire Rout. Capt. *Morris* a gallant Gentleman

Suppreſs'd by *Lambert.*

An. 1659. tleman was kill'd; the Lord *Kilmurry*, *Brooks*, *Egerton*, *O Neal*, and others were taken Priſoners; Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton* made their Eſcape: but Sir *George* was afterwards taken in Diſguiſe at *Newport Pagnel*, and ſoon after the Earl of *Derby*, Col. *Shawcroſs*, and others were taken.

Who is elevated at the Victory.

Lambert was ſo fluſhed with this Victory, that at *Derby* he conſulted with his chief Officers how to reſtore the Military Power to its former Grandeur, and to reform all Miſcarriages in the Civil Adminiſtration; and concluded to draw up their Intentions in the Form of a Petition to the Parliament to redreſs their Grievances. Hereupon the Parliament, to check the Ambition of *Lambert*, whom they ſuſpected to be riding over the Head of *Fleetwood*, paſſed a Vote, *That to have any more General Officers in the Army than are already ſettled by the Parliament, is uſeleſs, chargeable and dangerous to the Commonwealth*: and ſoon after, they paſs'd an Act *againſt raiſing any Mony without Conſent of Parliament*; and made Application to General *Fleetwood* to protect them from his Rival *Lambert*, and got a Declaration from his part of the Army *for adhering to the Parliament*. And then the Houſe thought themſelves able to make an

Parliament diſcharge him.

Order, *October* 12. *That the Commiſſions of* Lambert, Desborough, Kelſey, Aſhfield, Cobbet, Packer, *and* Berry, *ſhou'd be all void*; *and they ſhou'd be ſucceeded by the next Officers in their ſeveral Degrees*. But then again, afraid to truſt themſelves with *Fleetwood*, or any ſingle General, they paſſed an Act *for putting out* Fleetwood *from being Lieutenant General of the Army, and to conſtitute him and* Ludlow, Monk, Hatlerig, Walton, Morley, *and* Overton, *Commiſſioners to govern all the Forces*; and then ordered two Regiments to be their Guard, who took their Station in the *Palace-Yard* and *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

He turns them out.

Lambert ſcorning to be turn'd out by thoſe he had ſo lately put in, reſolved to ſtrike an early Blow upon them: And ſo, *October* 13. meeting *Evelyn* marching his Troop to guard the Parliament, he commanded him to diſmount; and tho *Lambert* was on foot and none with him, yet *Evelyn* at the Head of his Troop tamely diſmounted at the Word of Command; whilſt *Lambert* commanded the Troop to follow him, and drawing ſome other Forces together, he marched into

into *King-ſtreet*, and poſſeſſed all the Avenues to the Parliament-Houſe. Next Morning, the Speaker came in his Coach towards the Houſe, but was ſtopped at his Entry into the *Palace-Yard* by Col. *Duckenfield*, and after ſome Expoſtulation was forced to return. The Soldiers on both ſides kept their Station in a Poſture of Hoſtility, till the Council of State meeting at *White-Hall*, ordered them all to draw off to their Quarters; which they agreed to do upon condition the Parliament ſhou'd ſit no longer, and the Government ſhou'd be ſettled by a Council of Officers. 11 Car. II.

Council of Officers.

This new Military Council diſſolved the Council of State, and appointed ten Perſons to be a ſelect Committee for Adminiſtration of the Government till further Orders. Theſe were *Fleetwood*, whom they had declared to be again General of all the Forces, *Lambert*, whom they had declar'd Major-General, *Deſborough*, *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *James Harrington*, Major *Salloway*, *Berry*, *Sydenham*, and *Archibald Johnſton*. But within few Days the General Council of Officers laid aſide the Council of Ten, and ſet up another Committee of twenty three Perſons, who ſhou'd have the Adminiſtration of the Government, and the ſame Power with the late Council of State, and ſhou'd be call'd, *The Committee of Safety*. Theſe were *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, *Whitlock*, *Steel*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, *Salloway*, *Strickland*, *Berry*, *Lawrence*, Sir *James Harrington*, *Johnſton*, Alderman *Ireton*, *Tichburn*, *Hewſon*, *Clark*, *Bennet*, *Lilburn*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Henry Bandriff*, and *Robert Thompſon*.

Council of Ten.

Committee of Safety.

This new Set of Governors publiſh'd a Declaration to acquaint the World, *That it was upon their Hearts to ſettle a due Liberty for the free-born People of this Nation, to make a thorow Reformation of the Law, and to eſtabliſh a painful, godly, faithful, Goſpel-preaching Miniſtry, and to provide them a Maintenance leſs troubleſome to them, and leſs vexatious to the People than that of Tithes; and to prepare ſuch a Form of Goverment as ſhou'd beſt ſuit with a free State and Commonwealth, without a ſingle Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Lords*, &c.

Their Declaration.

The Committee of Safety had not rul'd long, before they met with a Rebuke from *Monk* in *Scotland*, in a Letter to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, which came

They are check'd by *Monk*.

An. 1659. to their Hands, *October* 29. wherein he upbraided them with the Violation of their Faith to the Parliament, and declared his Reſolution to reſtore the Parliament to a Freedom of ſitting and acting, againſt all Oppoſition.

Their Deſigns againſt him.

But the Committee of Safety reſolved, if poſſible, to ſecure *Monk*, who keeping his ordinary Reſidence at *Dalkeith* near *Edinburgh*, the *London* Packet was there conſtantly open'd, that the General might have his Letters before it reached *Edinburgh*. The Committee in purſuance of their Deſign, diſpatch'd ſecret Orders to *Scotland* by the ordinary Packet, leſt an Expreſs might give Suſpicion; and inſtead of directing the Label for *Dalkeith*, as was uſual, it was ordered ſtrait for *Edinburgh*: It hapned that one of *Monk*'s Life-guard accidentally met the Poſt turning out of the Road that led to *Dalkeith*, and finding he had not touched there, he brought him back, notwithſtanding the Label was directed otherwiſe. *Monk* ſuſpecting ſomething, opened all the Letters that he found directed to the Officers of the Army; among which there was one from the Committee of Safety to Col. *Thomas Wilks*, ordering him *to uſe the moſt effectual Speed and ſecret Way to ſecure the Perſon of General* Monk, *and to ſend him up to* London *under a ſtrong Guard, in a Frigate that lay in* Leith-Road, *and then to take upon him the Command of the Army till further Orders*. *Monk* having taken out this, and what other Letters he thought fit, together with his own from the ſame Committee, full of high Compliments and Expreſſions of Truſt, ſent away the Packet as it was directed; but having communicated the Matter to ſome of his particular Friends, he gave Orders for a general Review of the Army to be made next Morning at *Edinburgh*, where he arreſted Col. *Wilks* and ſome other Officers he had reaſon to ſuſpect, and ſent them Priſoners to the Caſtle, filling up their Commiſſions with others of his own Creatures.

Lambert ſent againſt *Monk*.

Monk, in purſuance of his Reſolution to reſtore the Parliament, prepar'd to march for *London*; and the General Council of Officers in *London* ſent away *Lambert* with an Army of twelve thouſand Men, to meet him, who had not above half that Number. Soon after *Monk* receiv'd a Letter, importing, *That the Lord* Fairfax, *and many others of good Intereſt, were willing*

willing to join with him; but diſapproved his Declaration which was reſtrained to that Part of the Parliament only, which ſat after the reſt were ſecluded, and was filled with Proteſtations for aſſerting no other Government but a Commonwealth. To this *Monk* return'd anſwer, *That there were thoſe who could witneſs with him his Intentions in thoſe Particulars; that what was printed in his Name as Affairs then ſtood, was not to be regarded as the Reſult of his own Reaſon, and till he had got more Strength it would be unſeaſonable and indiſcreet to do otherwiſe.* 11 Car. II.

Endeavours to gain *Monk*.

General *Monk* received Letters daily from the Commiſſioners of the Militia of *London*, and from the Officers of the Fleet, and from the Forces in *Ireland*, all to perſuade him to an Accommodation with the General Council of Officers in *London*; and therefore to ſeem willing to ſatisfy them, and to keep all Parties in amuſement, he enter'd into a Treaty with *Fleetwood*, to be managed by Commiſſioners. In the mean time he marched on to *Berwick*, and *Lambert* was advanced to *Newcaſtle*; and both Armies ſeemed preparing to meet and fight: But the Gariſon of *Portſmouth*, and Admiral *Lawſon* with his Fleet, declaring for a Reſtitution of the Parliament, *Lambert* thought it more adviſable to march back to aſſiſt his Friends in the South, than to hazard a Battel with *Monk*.

Soldiers for reſtoring the Parliament.

But now moſt of the Soldiery about *London* declared their Judgment to have the Parliament ſit again in Honour, Freedom and Safety; and thoſe who formerly were moſt eager for *Fleetwood*'s Party, became now as violent againſt them, and for the Reſtoration of the Parliament: Whereupon ſome of the old Council of State then in Town, together with the old Speaker *Lenthal*, finding the Revolt of the Soldiers from *Fleetwood*, gave out Orders for the Forces about Town to rendezvous to morrow in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, under Col. *Okey* and *Alured*: Which accordingly they did; and the Speaker, with *Cooper*, *Reynolds*, *Weaver* and *Berners* went to the Lord Mayor, and diſcourſed with him and the Sheriffs touching the Parliament's meeting again ſpeedily, and found them to like well of it. From thence they went to the Tower, and ſecur'd that.

An. 1659. Long Parliament again reſtor'd.

December 26. the Speaker and Members of the Long Parliament then in Town, met at *White-hall*, and from thence walk'd together to the Parliament-Houſe in the Evening. The next Morning the Speaker ſent a Letter to General *Monk*, by Order of the Houſe, with Thanks for his good Service, and with Acknowledgment that the Reſtitution of their Authority was owing to his Fidelity, Care and Courage. Soon after, they appointed Commiſſioners to order the military Affairs, and ſent to *Lambert* to diſperſe his Forces. But to let all know they intended nothing of Monarchy, they provided, that none ſhould ſit but ſuch as would take this Oath of Abjuration following: *I do hereby ſwear that I do renounce the pretended Title of* Charles Stuart, *and the whole Line of the late King* James, *and of every other Perſon, as a ſingle Perſon, pretending, or who ſhall pretend to the Crown or Government of theſe Nations of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them; and that I will by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of Almighty God be true, faithful and conſtant to the Parliament and Commonwealth, and will oppoſe the bringing in or ſetting up any ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Lords, or every of them, in this Commonwealth.*

Commiſſioners meet *Monk*.

Monk was on his march towards *London*, and at *Harborough* Alderman *Fowke*, Alderman *Vincent*, and Mr. *Bromfield* met him, as Commiſſioners from the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of *London*; who, after ſome Reſpects and Civilities, fall upon Particulars; and Mr. *Bromfield*, in a ſet Speech, after enumerating the Calamities the Nation lay under, propos'd the Re-admiſſion of the ſecluded Members, that the Parliament might be full and free. To the ſame purpoſe were the Addreſſes from the Gentlemen of *Northamptonſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Norfolk*, and many other Counties. All which he received in a decent and reſpectful Manner, but gave only dubious and ſuſpending Anſwers.

From *St. Albans* the General ſent a Letter to the Parliament, *to remove all the Regiments out of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *except Colonel* Fag's; for *he thought it not for their Service, that thoſe Soldiers now in and about* London, *and lately in Rebellion againſt them, ſhould mingle with thoſe who had approved them-*

themſelves faithful to them. And on *February* 4. in the Afternoon, he entered the City at the Head of three Regiments of Horſe, attended by his principal Officers, and many Perſons of Honour and Quality, to *Whitehall*, provided for his Reception. 11 Car. II. He enters *London.*

The Parliament having notice of *Monk*'s Arrival, ſent a Meſſage to him by Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinſon*, to deſire his Attendance at their Houſe the next Day; where being come, a Chair was order'd for him, but he refus'd to ſit, contenting himſelf to ſtand behind it uncover'd, laying his Hand upon the Chair. The Speaker, as he had been order'd, gave him the Thanks of the Houſe, for the Service he had done, extolling him above all the Worthies of former and latter Ages. To whoſe Rhetorick he anſwered, *by extolling the Mercy of their Reſtitution, and acknowledging the Goodneſs of God to him in making him inſtrumental therein, which was but his Duty, and deſerved not the Honour they had done him.* He told them of *the many Addreſſes to him in his Journey, for a free and full Parliament; and that this Parliament would determine their ſitting: That as to the ſecluded Members, he anſwered them, that this Parliament had already given their Judgment, in which all ought to acquieſce; and that no Parliament had admitted new Members to ſit, without a previous Oath or Engagement; and he now ſaith it to the Parliament, that the leſs Oaths and Engagements are impoſed, the Settlement will be the ſooner attained; and he hoped the Parliament would be careful, that neither the Cavalier nor Fanatick Party has yet a ſhare in the civil or military Power.* Then he ſpake of *Ireland* and of *Scotland, who fear'd nothing more than to be over-run with fanatick Notions; and he deſired a Settlement there, and their favour to that Nation.* Part of this Speech troubled and amuſed ſome of his Maſters in Parliament; and how himſelf purſu'd what he pretended, will afterwards appear. Comes to the Parliament.

The Council of State finding the City of *London* generally inclined to the bringing in of the King, or to have forthwith a free Parliament for that End, and ſuſpecting that they might diſown the Parliament's Authority, and ſet up for themſelves, and that the Presbyterians there and in the Country, joined with the Cavaliers herein, made ſome Reſolutions City ſuſpected.

An. 1659. which they reported to the Parliament, and which were approved by them; and Votes were pass'd, 'That the Commissioners for Government of the 'Army do appoint Forces to be in *London*, for pre-'serving the Peace thereof, and of the Common-'wealth; and for reducing of the City to the Obe-'dience of Parliament: *And* that the Commissioners 'take care that the Posts and Chains in *London* be 'taken away, and that the Gates of the City be 'forthwith destroyed: *And*, that the Commissioners 'of the Army do seize some Officers who have not 'confined themselves, according to former Orders:' And they approved what they had done in securing divers Citizens.

But upon a Letter from *Monk*, the Parliament ordered to send to him the Resolves of the House, *That the Gates of the City of* London, *and the Portcullices be destroy'd; and that he be ordered to put the said Votes in execution.* *Monk* was not well satisfied that this Order was before directed to the Commissioners for Government of the Army, and himself not named therein, but left out as a Cypher; but upon Advice with his Friends, he this Day, *viz. February* 9. executed their Order, and in the sight of the Citizens took down their Portcullices and Gates, and took away their Posts and Chains. Many Lookers on admir'd at it, but none offered any Opposition. And this Night, *Monk* and his Forces quartered in the City; where he had many Visitants of the chief Citizens, and of the secluded Members and others. To these he minced and excused this Action, and assured his Confidents that it was still in order to his and their great Design; and hardly gave the same Account to two Men.

Monk chastises the City.

Two or three Days after, *Monk* drew up his Forces in *Finsbury*, dined with the Lord-Mayor, had Conference with him and the Court of Aldermen, retired to the *Bull-Head* in *Cheapside*, and quartered at the Glass-House in *Broadstreet*. Multitudes of the People followed him, congratulating his coming into the City, making loud Shouts and Bonefires and ringing of Bells.

Confers with the secluded Members.

On *February* 18. some Members of the Parliament, now sitting, and about twelve of the secluded Members, met at *Monk*'s Quarters, by Appointment, and had

had Conference about re-admitting the ſecluded Members. And here began the great Turn of Affairs, and the Deſign of *Monk* to take place. *Monk* had a mind that the ſecluded Members ſhould ſit again, and neither *Scot*, nor *Robinſon*, nor *Haſlerig*, nor *Nevil*, nor any of that Party could prevail with him to the contrary; nor durſt any to oppoſe him: And the Spirit of the People generally, eſpecially of the Preſbyterians, ran that way; and the Cavaliers agreed to it, as the Way to bring in the King. 11 Car. II.

Secluded Members reſtor'd.

February 21. *Monk* gave the ſecluded Members a Meeting at *White-hall*, and in a ſhort Speech recommended to them the Settlement of the Nation, and promis'd to impoſe nothing upon them; and then had them conducted to take their Places in the Houſe. The ſitting Members knew nothing of this, till they ſaw the ſecluded Members enter in and ſit down among them: Upon which, being much ſurpriz'd, many of them withdrew from the Houſe.

Their Proceedings.

The Houſe being thus chang'd, occaſion'd a great Turn in the publick Affairs: Several Votes were now paſſed without much Debate, to vacate all the Votes made by the Houſe, *Ann.* 1648 and 1649, againſt the ſecluded Members, and to ſet all Matters right again in relation to them. Then to pleaſe their Patron, they voted *Monk* to be General of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and that all Orders of the Council of State, or Commiſſioners of the Army, concerning the Forces, be communicated to him, and not proceeded upon without his Approbation. Then 'twas ordered, that the Powers given to the Council of State be taken away, and a new Council choſen: And to reſtore the Common-Council of *London* to their Liberty, and for the City to ſet up again their Poſts, Chains, Gates and Portcullices. It was alſo ordered, that a new Parliament be ſummon'd to meet on *April* 25, 1660. Not long after, the Engagement *to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, without a King or Houſe of Lords*, was voted to be diſcharged, and all Orders for taking it expung'd; Serjeant *Maynard*, *Prynne* and others, to ſee it done. Another Vote was paſs'd, to diſable thoſe who had aſſiſted in the *Iriſh* Rebellion, or were Papiſts, or had been in the War againſt the Parliament, to ſerve as Members of the next Parliament.

On

An. 1659. Long Parliament diſſolv'd.

On the ſixteenth of *March*, the Act paſſed for diſſolving this Parliament, with a Proviſo, not to infringe the Rights of the Houſe of Peers: A Day of Humiliation was appointed to ſeek God for a Bleſſing upon the enſuing Parliament; and the Form of the Writ was agreed for the Election of Members to ſerve in it. And thus the famous Long Parliament at laſt diſſolved it ſelf, and every one departed to his particular Occaſions.

King could have no Aſſiſtance from abroad.

But tho every thing ſeem'd thus to concur to the King's Reſtoration, yet the Name of an *Engliſh* Parliament, tho but the Shadow of what formerly it was, continued to be ſo terrible abroad, that neither *France* nor *Spain* durſt venture to give him the leaſt Aſſiſtance to regain his Throne; but on the contrary, were obliged to treat him in a manner unworthy of a crown'd Head: As appears by the following Inſtances at the *Pyrenean* Treaty. King *Charles*, after having in vain ſought a Sanctuary in *France*, was neceſſitated to throw himſelf upon the Friendſhip of *Spain*. He was at *Bruſſels* when he received the News of the Diſpoſition that was in *England*, juſt at the time the Conferences were to begin between Cardinal *Mazarine* and Don *Lewis de Haro*, the two Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain*, in order to a general Peace. This determined King *Charles* to take Poſt from *Bruſſels* thro *France* to the Place of Treaty, that he might in Perſon repreſent his Intereſts to theſe two Miniſters. He judged the *Spaniards* had reaſon to be Enemies to the then Government in *England*, for not only having taken *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica* from them, and entered into a League with *Portugal* againſt them, but for endeavouring all that was poſſible to perſuade the *French* to continue the War. On the other hand, it was but reaſonable to think, that *France* could not be well pleaſed to ſee the *Engliſh* Maſters of ſuch a Frontier-Town as *Dunkirk*; or that *Mazarine*, the moſt ambitious Man upon Earth, would not be unwilling to raiſe his own Glory, by eſpouſing the Cauſe of an exil'd Prince, eſpecially when there was ſo great probability of Succeſs.

Notwithſtanding all theſe plauſible Appearances, King *Charles* made this long Journey to no purpoſe. 'Tis true, Don *Lewis* receiv'd him with all poſſible reſpect; but the Cardinal poſitively deny'd him Acceſs.

All

All he could be brought to, after ſeveral Meſſages from the King, was to allow the Duke of *Ormond* to talk to him upon the Road from *St. Jean de Luz* to the Place of Treaty, as if it had been but an accidental Rencounter. *Ormond* obtained nothing of the Cardinal, but general and ambiguous Anſwers, till being preſs'd he told *Ormond* plainly, *That all his Maſter could do for his Couſin the King of* England, *was to compaſſionate his Misfortunes as not being in a Condition himſelf to break with the Government of* England, *with which his Affairs obliged him to keep a good Correſpondence.* Over and above this Neglect of *Mazarine*'s, King *Charles* had the mortification to ſee Ambaſſador *Lockhart* receiv'd with the greateſt Pomp and Splendor, having the Cardinal's Coaches and Guards ſent a Day's Journey to receive him, and the Cardinal giving him the Right-hand, which was a Reſpect he denied the Ambaſſadors of Crown'd Heads. Nor was Don *Lewis* kinder upon the matter to King *Charles*, notwithſtanding his Civilities; for having aſked the Command of the Army in *Flanders*, which the Prince of *Conde* was by the Treaty obliged to quit, Don *Lewis* refuſed it. All which will be a laſting Example to Poſterity, how little Truſt is to be repoſed in foreign Aid, when a Prince comes to need it for recovering his Throne. 11 Car. II.

The whole time of the King's ſtay at *Fontarabia*, the Place of Treaty, was about twenty Days; during which time 'tis juſtly believed that his Majeſty was prevailed on by the Importunity of the *Spaniard*, and the privacy of the Place, but chiefly from an expectation that the Popiſh Powers would then unite for his Reſtoration, to embrace the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. This is ſaid to have been done in the abſence of the old Lord *Culpeper*, who knowing of it at his Return, fell into a great Paſſion, and told the King, *He muſt never expect to ſee* England *again, if it ſhould be known there.* But the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, that many made little doubt but it would ſhortly be very manifeſt to the King, that his Reſtoration depended wholly upon a Conjunction of Catholick Princes, who could never be united but on the behalf of the Catholick Religion. And it is matter of Fact, that upon the Peace between *France* and *Spain*, concluded by this Treaty, both theſe Crowns did immediately

King embraces the *Romiſh* Religion.

An. 1659. diately begin to encourage and aſſiſt the King with Money and Men, and made great Promiſes to him; which ſeems to have been done upon the Foot of ſecret Articles, very prejudicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt. It is further certain, that the Earl of *Briſtol*, who was the King's Companion and Guide to the Place of this Treaty, and Sir *Harry Bennet*, who was the prime Agent for the King, did both turn Papiſts about this time, as if they did it on a Compact then made. And there is a Paſſage which may confirm all, which was, that Sir *Harry Bennet* was ſoon after ſeen to wait upon the King from Maſs; at which ſight the Lord *Culpeper* had ſo much Indignation, that he went up to *Bennet*, and told him, *I ſee what you are at: Is this the Way to bring our Maſter home to his three Kingdoms? Well, Sir, if ever you and I live to ſee* England *together, I will have your Head, or you ſhall have mine.* Which Words ſtruck ſuch a Terror into Sir *Harry*, that he never dared to ſet Foot in *England* till after the Death of the Lord *Culpeper*, who died unexpectedly ſoon after the King's Return. When he was out of the Way, Sir *Harry Bennet* came to Court, and quickly aroſe into Honours and Preferments, and was in Diſguiſe a mere Creature of the Papiſts, but had the Courage at laſt to take off that Diſguiſe.

An. 1660. But to return to the preſent Proceedings in *England*; The Long Parliament was diſſolv'd, and a new one was to meet on *April* 25. but in the mean time the chief Government of the Kingdom was lodg'd in a Council of State, which conſiſted of 31 in Number, *viz. Arthur Anneſly* Lord Preſident, General *Monk*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Mr. *William Pierpoint*, Mr. *John Crew*, Mr. *Richard Knightly*, Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Morley*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *William Lewis*, Col. *Montague*, Col. *Harley*, Col. *Norton*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *John Temple*, Col. *Thompſon*, Mr. *John Trevor*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Potts*, Col. *Birch*, Col. *Roſſiter*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, Mr. *John Swinfin*, and Mr. *John Weaver*.

Council of State.

Lambert,

Lambert, upon the Complaint made againſt him by General *Monk*, had for ſome time abſconded; but finding no hopes in ſtanding out, he ſurrendered himſelf to the new Council of State, and upon his Refuſal to give Security for his quiet Deportment, he was by them committed to the Tower: From whence he made his eſcape, and in the beginning of *April* got into *Northamptonſhire*, and pick'd up all the diſcontented Officers and Soldiers, till he had got together about ſeven Troops of Horſe and a Company of Foot. General *Monk*, upon Intelligence of his intended Rendezvous at *Edge-hill*, was preparing to march againſt him: But when he heard that his Party was inconſiderable, he ſent Col. *Ingoldsby* and *Streater* to *Northampton* to watch his Motions, and with due Caution to fall upon him. They being come up to him in a plain Field, where a little Brook parted them, the two Parties faced one another near four hours: When they came to advance, and were beginning to charge, *Lambert*'s Men held the Muzzles of their Piſtols towards the Ground, and the Troops of *Haſlerig* (Son to Sir *Arthur*) and *Nelthorp* came over to *Ingoldsby*. *Lambert* deſired a Parley, and moved that *Richard* might be reſtor'd to the Protectorſhip: But this being look'd upon as a fooliſh Propoſal, *Ingoldsby* rode up to *Lambert*, and told him *he was his Priſoner*: Whereupon Major *Creed* and other Officers intreated him to do what he pleaſed with them, but to let *Lambert* eſcape: Which *Ingoldsby* abſolutely refuſing, *Lambert* turned his Horſe, and attempted to eſcape; but *Ingoldsby* purſued him ſo cloſe, that he quickly came up with him, vowing to piſtol him if he did not yield immediately. *Lambert* in a great Dejection of Mind twice begged him to let him eſcape; but when he ſaw he could not prevail, he ſubmitted, as all the reſt did, except Col. *Okey*, Col. *Axtel* and Capt. *Clare*, who made their Eſcape.

12 Car. II.

Lambert's Deſigns.

He is taken.

This Defeat was ſeconded with the News of the Submiſſion of the Fleet, brought about by *Montague*, who by *Monk*'s Advice had been made one of the Generals at Sea; who wrote an Account to the Council of State, 'That Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, and the 'whole Navy, had received him with great Satisfac-'tion, and were all peaceably inclin'd, and reſolv'd 'to

Submiſſion of the Fleet.

An. 1660. ‘ to ſubmit to the Determination of the next Parlia-
‘ ment.’

Free Parliament.

On the appointed Day, *April* 25. both Houſes, Lords and Commons, met at St. *Margarets Weſtminſter*, where Dr. *Reynolds* preached to them. After Sermon they went to their reſpective Houſes, and the Commons choſe Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone* for their Speaker.

King comes to *Breda*.

King *Charles*, being informed of all Tranſactions, left the *Spaniſh* Territories, where he then reſided, and by the Advice of *Monk* went to *Breda*; from whence he ſent his Letters and a Declaration to the two Houſes, by Sir *John Greenvil*. By the Declaration the King granted *a free general Pardon to all that ſhould lay hold of it within forty Days, excepting only ſuch Perſons as ſhould hereafter be excepted by Parliament; and a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that none ſhould be queſtioned for Difference of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom: That Differences and all things relating to Grants, Seals and Purchaſes, ſhould be determined in Parliament, and he would conſent to Acts for that purpoſe, and for Satisfaction of the Arrears to* Monk's *Officers and Soldiers, and they to be received into his Majeſty's Service and Pay.*

His Declaration.

The King's Letter and Declaration being read in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Luke Robinſon*, formerly a moſt fierce Man, did now firſt magnify his Grace and Goodneſs. The Lords Houſe gave Thanks to Sir *John Greenvil*, and declar'd, *That according to the antient and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons*; and deſired, *that ſome way may be conſidered how to make up the Breach, and to obtain the King's Return again to his People.* The Commons agreed with the Lords Vote of Government by King, Lords and Commons, and appointed a Committee to ſearch the Journals, what Acts or Orders there had been made inconſiſtent therewith: And they named a Committee to prepare an Anſwer to the King's Letter, expreſſing *the joyful Senſe of the Houſe of his gracious Offers, and their humble Thanks for them; with Profeſſion of their Loyalty and Duty to his Majeſty, and that they will give a ſpeedy Anſwer to his gracious Propoſals.*

Vote for Kingly Government.

On Monday *May* 7. it was reſolved by both Houſes, That the King be proclaimed to morrow; which was done by this Form of Proclamation: *Altho it can no way be doubted, but that his Majeſty's Right and Title to theſe Crowns and Kingdoms, is and was every way compleated by the Death of his moſt Royal Father of glorious Memory, without the Ceremony or Solemnity of a Proclamation; yet ſince Proclamations in ſuch Caſes have been always uſed, to the end that all good Subjects might upon this Occaſion teſtify their Duty and Reſpect; and ſince the armed Violence and other the Calamities of many Years laſt paſt, have hitherto deprived us of any Opportunity wherein we might expreſs our Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majeſty; We therefore the Lords and Commons, now aſſembled in Parliament, together with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of* London, *and other Freemen of this Kingdom, now preſent, do according to our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully and unanimouſly acknowledge and proclaim, That immediately upon the Deceaſe of our late Sovereign King* Charles *the Firſt, the Imperial Crown of the Realm of* England, *and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions and Rights belonging to the ſame, did by inherent Birthright, and lawful undoubted Succeſſion, deſcend and come to his moſt Excellent Majeſty King* Charles *the Second, as being lineally, juſtly and lawfully next Heir of the Blood Royal of this Realm; and that by the Goodneſs and Providence of Almighty God, he is, of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *the moſt Potent, Mighty, and Undoubted King: And thereunto we moſt humbly and faithfully do ſubmit, and oblige our ſelves, our Heirs and Poſterities for ever.* 12 Car. II. King proclaim'd.

Great Rejoicings were every where to be ſeen on this Occaſion; and much Happineſs expected from this Change. The Officers of the Army ſubſcribed a Declaration, and preſented it to *Monk*, to be ſent to the King; in which they expreſſed a Reſolution to become true and faithful Subjects, and to accept of the King's Grace and Favour, according to the Tenour of his late Declaration from *Breda*.

Eighteen Commiſſioners were ſent to *Breda*, ſix from the Lords and twelve from the Commons, to compliment his Majeſty, and humbly to deſire his ſpeedy Return to his Kingdoms. But every Man expecting Commiſſioners ſent to the King.

An. 1660. pecting ſome Mark of Favour for this Service, there had been great Contentions among the Members for that Employment. To theſe, many others, eſpecially of the looſer ſort of Men, added themſelves: And ſome to make an early Offer of their Subjection, and to provide themſelves of Favours and Places, went over before the Commiſſioners

King's Reſtoration.

The King having been thus proclaimed, and invited to return to his Dominions, took his leave of the States of *Holland* on Tueſday *May* 22. and after a noble Entertainment, a very endearing Speech, and magnificent Preſents received from them, he took Ship under the Convoy of *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, the next Day; and on *Friday* about one landed at the *Beach* near *Dover-Pier*, where Gen. *Monk* ſtood ready to receive him on his Knees, and was rais'd, kiſs'd and embraced by his Majeſty. They all walked towards the Town, and were ſoon met by the Mayor, and Jurats, and the Miniſter Mr. *John Reading*, who preſented the King with a Bible, and made a proper Speech at the Delivery of it. Then the King took Coach, with the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, the General, and the Duke of *Buckingham*. About two Miles from *Dover*, the King took Horſe, his Brothers riding on his Right-hand, and the General on his left, followed by a gallant Equipage into *Canterbury*; where he ſtaid on Saturday and Sunday. On Monday *May* 28. he came to *Rocheſter*, and early next Day went on to *Black-heath*, where the Army was drawn up; and his Majeſty having taken a pleaſing View of them, advanced towards *London*, with infinite Crouds and incredible Acclamations: About One, he was met at *St. George's-Fields* by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, waiting there in a glorious Tent. The Mayor, with a profound Reverence, delivered the Sword to his Majeſty, and received it again with great Reſpect, and had the Honour of being knighted Sir *Thomas Alleyn*. From thence the King was conducted thro *London*, in a very ſplendid manner, to his Royal Palace at *Whitehall*.

Obſervation on *Monk*.

Thus was the Reſtoration brought about, and that chiefly by the means of General *Monk*; and yet it is very much queſtion'd whether his Deſign to do it was of ſo long ſtanding as ſome have reported. It is probable he had no Thoughts that way, till about the Time

Time that *Richard Cromwel* was deprived of the Government; in which he was afterwards the more confirmed, upon the Army in *England* ſetting up once more for themſelves. If he had really formed an Intention at that time to bring back the King, it muſt be confeſſed, he acted the part of a Politician, much better than that of a Chriſtian; for he declared and ſwore once and again at that time for a Commonwealth, without a King, a ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Peers, and formally renounced the Family of the *Stuarts*. 12 Car. II.

His Majeſty's firſt Care was to conſtitute his Privy-Council; in which were General *Monk*, the Duke of *Bucks*, and Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*: And to fill up the Offices of State, the Duke of *Ormond* was made Lord High-Steward, the Earl of *Southampton* Lord High-Treaſurer, the Earl of *Mancheſter* Lord High-Chamberlain, Sir *Fredrick Cornwallis* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and Sir *John Berkley* Comptroller. Privy Council conſtituted.

The Army being not yet disbanded, the King thought convenient in ſome meaſure ſtill to cajole the Presbyterian Party: and therefore Mr. *Richard Baxter* and Mr. *Edmund Calamy* were appointed to be his Chaplains in ordinary: But he could not forbear on ſome Occaſions to diſcover his Contempt of the Men of that ſort: particularly when Mr. *Caſe*, who thought he had deſerved highly of the King, would have preſſed with his uſual Freedom into his Preſence, and being denied Entrance, had ſent in his Name; tho in anſwer to his Importunity he was admitted, yet by the Carriage of thoſe who were preſent, and derided his Habit and unmannerly Way of approaching the King, he might eaſily have perceiv'd how diſagreeable his Company was in that Place. Yet the King having demanded, *What he had ſay*, he told him, *he had a Word of Advice to his Majeſty*; and going on to perſuade him to a Care of his Party, he was interrupted by the King, who ſaid, *He did not remember that he had made him one of his Council.* However, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Lord *Roberts*, and Mr. *Denzil Hollis* were ſworn of his Privy-Council. But *Monk*, for a Reward of his Service, not only received the Garter, but was continued to be General of all the Forces, and obtained the Honour of Duke of *Albermarle*, with divers Penſions and Lands of great Value: To theſe Presbyterians ſtill cajoled. General *Monk* made Duke of *Albermarle*.

An. 1660. Favours was added the Charge of Maſter of the Horſe; which, ſays *Ludlow*, by the Induſtry of his Wife, who having been an Exchange-woman, knew how to drive a Bargain, was by the Sale of Places improved to the utmoſt Advantage.

Bill for a general Pardon.

The great Affair that took up the Debates of the two Houſes, was *a Bill for a general Pardon*. On *July* 13. the King went to the Houſe of Lords; and commanding the Commons to be called up, he made a Speech to adviſe their Agreement to the Bill, without too much limiting his Royal Clemency and Mercy: And on *Auguſt* 29. he came and paſſed the Act for a general Pardon, that had excepted no Perſon from the Favour of it, but thoſe that acted or ſat as the late King's Judges, and Sir *Henry Vane*, Col. *Lambert*, and *Hugh Peters*, with the two unknown Perſons diſguiſed on the Scaffold: And even in the Number of the King's Judges, thoſe who did not ſit on the Day of Sentence, nor ſign the Warrant for Execution, had their Lives ſpared. After paſſing ſome other Acts for diſbanding the Army, for making the twenty ninth of *May* a perpetual Anniverſary, *&c.* the two Houſes adjourned to *November* 6. following.

In the mean time, the King was perpetually entertain'd with the Addreſſes of his People, and the ſolemn Congratulation of foreign Princes and States, who ſeemed all to vie in haſte and Zeal for ſending over their Ambaſſadors and Agents to compliment his Majeſty upon his Reſtoration to his Royal Dignity and Government. In the paying of theſe Ceremonies, a dreadful Rencounter happened on *Tower-Hill*, in a Diſpute of Precedence between the Coaches of the *Spaniſh* and *French* Ambaſſadors.

Princeſs of *Orange* viſits *England*.

A little after this, the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange* having recommended the Intereſt of her young Son (born after his Father's Death) to the Care of the States-General, (who had now agreed to inveſt the young Prince with the Dignity and Truſt which his Anceſtors formerly held in that Commonwealth) came into *England* to viſit her Royal Brother, and once again to ſee her native Country: But the Joy of ſeeing her eldeſt Brother peaceably enthroned, was much allay'd, and in a manner prevented, by her Sorrow for the Loſs of her youngeſt Brother, *Henry* of *Oatlands* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who, juſt before her landing, died

died of the Small-pox on *September* 13. in the twentieth Year of his Age, *much lamented by the King, and much beloved by all that knew him, as a Prince excellently qualified, religious, learned, valiant, and wiſe above his Years; an affectionate Brother, a good Maſter, and a true Friend.* 12 Car. II. Duke of *Glocester* dies.

On *October* 10. the Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer* for the Trial of the King's Judges and others who were nearly concern'd in his Death, met at the Seſſions-Houſe in the *Old-Baily*; Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Baron, ſat as principal Judge. The King's Counſel were Sir *Jeffery Palmer* Attorney-General, Sir *Heneage Finch*, Soliicitor-General, Sir *Edward Turner*, the Duke of *York*'s Attorney, Serjeant *Keeling*, *Windham*, &c. The Priſoners having been this Day brought from the *Tower* to *Newgate*, were thence brought to the Bar, *viz.* Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, *William Heveninghan*, Major-General *Harriſon*, *Iſaac Pennington*, *Henry Marten*, *Gilbert Millington*, *Robert Tichbourn*, *Owen Roe*, *Robert Lilburn*, *Adrian Scroop*, *John Carew*, *John Jones*, *Thomas Scot*, *Gregory Clement*, *John Cook*, *Edward Harvey*, *Henry Smith*, *John Downs*, *Vincent Potter*, *Auguſtine Garland*, *George Fleetwood*, *Simon Meyn*, *James Temple*, *Peter Temple*, *Thomas Wayt*, *Hugh Peters*, *Francis Hacker*, and *Daniel Axtel*. The Lord Chief Baron, in his Charge to the Grand-Jury, repreſented, *That no Authority, no ſingle Perſon or Community of Men, not the People collectively or repreſentatively, had any coercive Power over the Kings of* England. The main thing inſiſted on by the Priſoners in their Defence, was the Authority of the Long Parliament, by which they had acted, that being then the only ſupreme Power in the Nation; and Mr. *Scot* in particular alledg'd, That the Court had no Right to declare whether that Authority were a Parliament or not; and being demanded to produce one Inſtance, that the Houſe of Commons was ever poſſeſs'd of ſuch an Authority, he aſſur'd them he could produce many: But having begun with the *Saxon* Times, he was interrupted by the Court, and told that the things of thoſe Ages were obſcure. Whereupon he ſaid he could not ſee for what Reaſon it was not as lawful for that Houſe of Commons, in which he had ſat as a Member, to make Laws, as for the preſent Convention, which had been called by the Au- Trial of the King's Judges.

An. 1660. thority of *the Keepers of the Liberties of* England. I had, *continued he*, the Authority of Parliament, the legiſlative Authority, to juſtify me. But the Court not allowing ſuch Arguments to be inſiſted on, contented themſelves with denying the Authority by which they acted. In ſhort, the Jury ſoon found them all guilty; tho ten only were executed, *viz. Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Scot*, *Clement*, *Jones*, *Scroop*, *Cook*, and *Peters* at *Charing-Croſs*; *Hacker* and *Axtel* at *Tyburn*. The reſt were reſpited till the King and Parliament ſhould order their Execution, according to the Tenour of the Act of Indemnity.

Queen-Mother arrives. The Queen-Mother came over from *France*, to congratulate her Son, and to bring over her fair Daughter *Henrietta Maria*, and to adviſe of a Match between her and Monſieur, Brother to the *French* King, and as generally ſuſpected, to draw her Son, the King, into a Match with *Portugal*, a League with *France*, and a Surrendry of *Dunkirk*.

Both Houſes of Parliament met *November* 6. and being adviſed to expedite their Buſineſs, an Act was paſſed *for ſettling the Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, and other Liquors*: And another *for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries*, which had been long complained of as an Oppreſſion to the Subjects; *and accepting the Exciſe in lieu of it, as an hereditary Duty to the Crown of* England *for ever*. And ſo this Parliament which had been called by a Commonwealth Writ, in the Name of *the Keepers of the Liberties of* England, and which the King himſelf called the *Healing Parliament*, was diſſolved on *December* 29. the ſame Day with the Funeral of the excellent Princeſs of *Orange*, *Mary*, eldeſt Siſter of the King, and Mother of *William Henry* Prince of *Orange*, afterwards King of *England*, whom ſhe left in a Minority of ten Years and one Month.

Parliament diſſolved.

Inſurrection of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men. Immediately after this Calamity, the Government was alarmed with a deſperate Inſurrection of the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*. The Congregation to which they belonged met in *Coleman-ſtreet*; from whence on *Sunday* Evening *January* 6. they broke into open Rebellion, under the Conduct of their Preacher, *Thomas Venner*, a Cooper. They were not above ſixty in Number, when they firſt ſallied out of their Meeting-Houſe, well armed; and thence they marched to St.

St. *Thomas Apoſtles*, to call in more of their Party, thence to *White-croſs-ſtreet*, then they came into the City again at *Cripplegate*, and went out again at *Alderſgate*, declaring for King *Jeſus*, and killing ſeveral People. Sir *Richard Brown*, then Lord-Mayor, having notice of their deſperate Deſign, got together ſome Files of the Train'd-Bands, who were at firſt repulſed by *Venner*'s Party, who fought with an incredible Impulſe of Infatuation, as making themſelves to believe, that *one ſhould chaſe a thouſand, and no Weapon formed againſt them ſhould proſper*. But finding themſelves harder preſſed, and being told the Life-Guards were coming down upon them, they retired, and under Cover of the dark Evening, got into *Cane-Wood* betwixt *Highgate* and *Hampſtead*: And a Party of Horſe and Foot being ſent in purſuit of them, on *Wedneſday* Morning very early they returned again to *London*, dividing themſelves into two Parties; one whereof appeared about *Leaden-Hall*, and from thence marched into *Little Eaſtcheap*; where they fought obſtinately, but were diſpers'd by the Train'd-Bands. *Venner* with another Party came to the Lord-Mayor's Houſe, thinking to have ſurpriz'd him; but miſſing their aim, they marched into *Woodſtreet*; where they were met by Col. *Corbet*, and about twenty Horſe. *Corbet* and nine only of his Horſemen charged thro the Rebels, and broke them; and the Train'd-Band Foot fell in and purſued them. *Venner* (who was much wounded before he could be taken) was ſoon after, with about ſixteen of his Party, arraign'd at the *Old Baily*; and being all found guilty, they were executed in ſeveral Places in *London*. 12 Car. II.

This Year died the Marquiſs of *Hartford*, the Lord *Culpeper*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Zouch*, and Mr. *Oughtred*.

His Majeſty's Coronation was with great State and Solemnity performed on *April* 23. St. *George*'s Day; his Majeſty the Day before making a ſolemn Proceſſion from the *Tower* thro the City, amidſt triumphal Arches, and all the poſſible Tokens of Reſpect and Joy. An. 1661. King crowned.

At the opening of the new Parliament, *May* 8. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, made a Speech to them, wherein he Second Parliament.

An. 1661. told them, 'That he would not ſpend the Time in 'telling them why he call'd them thither; he was 'ſure he was very glad to ſee them there; that he 'valued himſelf much upon keeping his Word, and 'upon making good whatſoever he promiſed to his 'Subjects: That he well remember'd, when he was 'laſt in that Place, he promiſed he would call a 'Parliament as ſoon as could be reaſonably expected 'or deſired; and truly conſidering the Seaſon of the 'Year, and all that had been done ſince they parted, 'they could not reaſonably expect to meet ſooner 'than now they did. He thought there were not 'many of them who were not particularly known to 'him; there were very few of whom he had not 'heard ſo much good, that he was as ſure as he 'could be of any thing that was to come, that they 'would all concur with him, and that he ſhould con-'cur with them in all things which might advance 'the Peace, Plenty, and Proſperity of the Nation; he 'ſhould be exceedingly deceiv'd elſe. Then he 'highly extoll'd the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion; 'and bad them, in God's Name, provide full Reme-'dies for any future Miſchiefs, to be as ſevere as they 'would againſt new Offenders, eſpecially if they were 'ſo upon old Principles, and to pull up thoſe Prin-'ciples by the Roots: but he ſhould never think him 'a wiſe Man, who would undermine or ſhake the 'Foundation of our publick Peace, by infringing that 'Act in the leaſt degree; or that he could be his 'Friend, or wiſh him well, who would perſuade him 'ever to conſent to the Breach of a Promiſe he had 'ſo ſolemnly made.' Then he communicated to them his Deſign of marrying, and referred them to his Lord Chancellor.

Sir *Edward Turner*, Speaker.

The Commons returned to their Houſe, and choſe for their Speaker Sir *Edward Turner*, the Duke of *York*'s Sollicitor-General; who in his Speech when preſented, 'excuſed himſelf, and petition'd for the 'Liberties of the Houſe, *as uſual*, and expreſs'd their 'Hopes that as his Majeſty had manifeſted his Royal 'Favours to the late adopted Parliament, ſo he had a 'Bleſſing left for this his natural Parliament.' On *May* 13. both Houſes attended his Majeſty at *Whitehall*, expreſſing their humble Acknowledgments and Thanks for communicating to them his Royal Intentions to mar-

marry with the Infanta of *Portugal*; which they could not but receive with great Joy and Satisfaction, and with all Earneſtneſs ſhould beg a Bleſſing upon it, and a ſpeedy Accompliſhment of it. On *May* 22. by Order of Parliament, the *ſolemn League and Covenant* was publickly burnt at *London* and *Weſtminſter* by the common Hangman, as afterwards over all *England*: And on the 28th of the ſame Month, the Act for Trial of King *Charles* I. was burnt in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, by a like Order of Parliament. Then the Bills being paſs'd *for confirming the Act of Oblivion, for regulating Corporations, for reſtoring the Biſhops to their Privilege of ſitting as Peers in the Houſe of Lords*, and ſome other Acts, the Houſes were adjourned to *November* 20. 13 Car. II.

King's Judges.

Several of the King's Judges, and principal State-Criminals had been kept in Cuſtody, as reſerved by the Act of Oblivion to any Puniſhment that the Parliament ſhould determine to be inflicted on them. Under this Condition the Lord *Munſon*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and Mr. *Robert Wallop*, had been brought to the Bar of the Lords, the Commons then preſent; where their Eſtates were declared confiſcate, and they degraded from all Titles and Arms of Gentility, and further ſentenc'd to be drawn from the *Tower* thro the City to *Tyburn* on *Jan.* 30. next, and ſo back again with Halters about their Necks, upon Sledges, and to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment. Several others of them were in *October* ſent away from the *Tower* to remote Priſons in Caſtles and Iſlands, to continue there for Life.

Queen of *Bohemia* comes into *England*.

Among other Branches of the Royal Family that came over to congratulate the Reſtoration of the King, was *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*, the King's Aunt, and only ſurviving Daughter of King *James* I. She had been married to the unfortunate Elector *Palatine*, *February* 14. 1612. and having been out of *England* forty nine Years, had endured and ſurvived all the poſſible Misfortunes of her Family; and came now to her native Country to die in Peace: For ſhe arrived here on *May* 17. and departed this Life in *Leiceſter-Houſe* the thirteenth of *February* following, in the ſixty ſixth Year of her Age, and was privately buried in the ſame Vault with Prince *Henry* her eldeſt Brother, in the Chappel of *Henry* VII.

And dies.

An. 1661. *Ireland.* The Government of *Ireland* had been committed to three Juſtices, the Earl of *Orrery*, Sir *Maurice Euſtace*, and Sir *Charles Coote* Earl of *Montrath*; the latter of whom dying this Year, *James* Duke of *Ormond* was, by his Majeſty, appointed Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, where he had before ſhewn his Loyalty and Valour in a very eminent degree.

Convocation. At the ſecond Meeting of the Parliament *November* 20. the Convocation met the Day following; when the King's Letters were read for a Review of the Book of Common-Prayer, and a Committee was appointed for that purpoſe. This Buſineſs took up the Care and Application of both Houſes of Convocation till the forty eighth Seſſion, *December* 20. when the Book of Common-Prayer ſo reviſed and amended, was ſolemnly received, approved, and ſubſcribed by all the Members of each Houſe.

Savoy Conference. Before the opening of this Convocation, a Conference was begun at the *Savoy*, between the Biſhops, with their Epiſcopal Clergy, and the Presbyterian Divines, by virtue of a Commiſſion given by his Majeſty to the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Sarum*, *Worceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Peterborough*, *Cheſter*, *Carliſle*, *Exeter* and *Norwich*; Dr. *Earles*, Dr. *Heylin*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Barwick*, Dr. *Gunning*, Dr. *Pearſon*, Dr. *Pierce*, Dr. *Sparrow*, and Mr. *Thorndike*, on the one Part: Dr. *Tuckney*, Dr. *Conant*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Jackſon*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Clark*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Rawlinſon*, Mr. *Cooper*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Dr. *Collins*, Mr. *Woodbridge*, and Mr. *Drake* on the other Part; *to adviſe upon and review the Book of Common-Prayer, comparing the ſame with the moſt antient Liturgies uſed in the Church in the primitive and pureſt Times; and to take into their ſerious Conſiderations the ſeveral Directions and Rules, Forms of Prayer and Things in the ſaid Book of Common-Prayer contained; and to conſult upon and about the ſame, and the ſeveral Objections and Exceptions which ſhall now be raiſed againſt the ſame; and if Occaſion be, to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary Alterations, Corrections, and Amendments as ſhall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for the giving Satisfaction to tender Conſciences, and the reſtoring and continuing of*

of Peace and Unity in the Churches under his Majeſty's Protection and Government —— *and to certify and preſent to his Majeſty in Writing under their ſeveral Hands, the Matters and Things whereupon they ſhall ſo determine, to be by his Majeſty approved and eſtabliſhed* —— *As by the Letters Patent dated at* Weſtminſter, *the twenty fifth Day of* March, *in the thirteenth Year of our Reign.* But the Presbyterian Divines making larger Demands than the other ſide were willing to grant, this Conference ended without Union or Accommodation. 13 Car. II.

This Year died Dr. *Brian Walton*, and Dr. *Henry Ferne*, ſucceſſively Biſhops of *Cheſter*, Dr. *Fuller*, Serjeant *Glanvill*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*.

The King's Match formerly intimated to his Parliament was now coming on to a Conſummation. The Princeſs Donna *Catharina*, Infanta of *Portugal*, was born *November* 14. 1638. Daughter of *Juan* Duke of *Braganza*, reſtored to the Crown of *Portugal* after that Monarchy had been interrupted for near one hundred Years, and only Siſter of Don *Alphonſo* and Don *Pedro*, ſucceſſively Kings of *Portugal*. After the Return of the *Conde de Mello*, with the Articles of Treaty and Marriage, to *Lisbon*, ſhe was married by Proxy in the Perſon of his Excellency Admiral *Montague*, before made Earl of *Sandwich*; and under his Conduct ſhe embarked for *England April* 23. attended by a large Squadron of the Royal Navy, and was met at the Iſle of *Wight* by the Duke of *York*, Lord High-Admiral. At *Portſmouth* ſhe was received by the King, and privately married by Dr. *Sheldon*, Biſhop of *London*, as was commonly reported to pleaſe the People of *England*; but others were ſatisfy'd that the Queen refuſed to be marry'd by any but a Prieſt of her own Religion. From *Portſmouth* the Royal Pair removed to *Hampton-Court*, and on *Auguſt* 23. to *Whitehall*, in great Pomp and Magnificence, being received at *Chelſey* by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. The Portion which the Queen brought with her was two Millions of Croiſadoes, about forty thouſand Pound ſterling, with the Inheritance of *Tangier* and the Iſle of *Bombay* in the *Eaſt-Indies*; in Conſideration whereof a Jointure of thirty thouſand Pounds An. 1662. King's Marriage.

An. 1662. Pounds a Year was ſettled on her. This Match was unhappy in nothing but the Want of Iſſue; and ſome People did afterwards pretend, that it was a Proſpect of this Want that induced the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* to provide this Match, ſo to conſult the Honour and Intereſt of his own Blood in his only Daughter the Dutcheſs of *York*.

Parliament prorogued.

On *Monday May* 19. the King prorogued the Parliament to *February* 18. having paſſed ſeveral Bills, of which the moſt conſiderable was that for *Uniformity*; whereby 'twas enacted, 'That all and ſingular 'Miniſters ſhall be bound to ſay and uſe the Morning Prayer, Evening-Prayer, and all other Common 'Prayer, in ſuch Order and Form as is mentioned in 'the Book of Common-Prayer; and that every Parſon, Vicar, or other Miniſter, ſhall before the Feaſt 'of St. *Bartholomew* 1662. after reading the ſaid 'Book, declare his unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to 'the Uſe of all things in the ſaid Book contained or 'preſcribed, in theſe Words: "*I* A. B. *do hereby declare* "*my unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every thing* "*contained and preſcribed in and by the Book intitled,* "*The Book of* Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of "the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies "of the Church of *England*, together with the Pſalter or Pſalms of *David*, pointed as they are to be "ſung or ſaid in Churches, and the Form or Manner "of making, ordaining, and conſecrating of Biſhops, "Prieſts, and Deacons." And all Perſons neglecting 'or refuſing, ſhall *ipſo facto* be deprived of all ſpiritual Promotions; and every Perſon hereafter to be 'preſented or collated to any Benefice or Promotion, 'ſhall within two Months after Poſſeſſion, upon ſome 'Lord's-Day read Morning and Evening-Prayers, and 'declare the like Aſſent and Conſent, under like 'Pain of Deprivation. And where the proper Incumbent of any Benefice doth reſide on his Living, 'and keep a Curate, the Incumbent himſelf in Perſon ſhall once at leaſt in every Month openly and 'publickly read the Common Prayers and Service, 'upon pain to forfeit the Sum of five Pounds to the 'Uſe of the Poor of the Pariſh. And every Miniſter and Schoolmaſter ſhall before the ſaid Feaſt of 'St. *Bartholomew* 1662. or at or before their reſpective Admiſſion, ſubſcribe the Declaration or Acknow-

Act of Uniformity.

'ledgment

'ledgment following: *I* A. B. *do declare that it is* 14 Car. II.
'*not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever to take*
'*Arms againſt the King*; *and that I do abhor that*
'*traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority*
'*againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſ-*
'*ſioned by him*; *and that I will conform to the Li-*
'*turgy of the Church of* England, *as it is now by Law*
'*eſtabliſhed: And I do declare, that I do hold there*
'*lies no Obligation upon me, or on any other Perſon,*
'*from the Oath commonly called* The ſolemn League
'and Covenant, *to endeavour any Change or Altera-*
'*tion of Government either in Church or State*; *and*
'*that the ſame was in it ſelf an unlawful Oath, and*
'*impoſed upon the Subjects of this Realm againſt the*
'*known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.* The
'ſaid Declaration and Acknowledgment to be ſubſcri-
'bed by every Dignitary and Miniſter before the Arch-
'biſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary of the Dioceſs, upon pain
'of Deprivation; and by every Schoolmaſter and Tu-
'tor, under pain of three Months Impriſonment for
'the firſt Offence, and for every other Offence three
'Months Impriſonment, and the Forfeiture of five
'Pounds to his Majeſty.'

Another conſiderable Act that now paſſed, was *for ſettling an annual Revenue of two Shillings upon every Fire-Hearth in the Nation, upon the Crown for ever.* This Duty, commonly called *Chimney-Money*, was a Burden more uneaſy to the People of *England*, than any other ſeems to have been to their Forefathers; and the arbitrary way of collecting it, made it yet more inſufferable. The King met with a blunt Rebuke for it, when thinking himſelf to be unknown in a Barge, and he and his Company droll'd upon the Watermen that paſſed by, one of them knowing the King's Face, inſtead of other common Ribaldry, cried out, *Chimney ſweep, Chimney ſweep.* Chimney Money.

This Parliament was indeed very ready to ſupply the King with a large Revenue. He made a ſhift, partly by his obliging Carriage, partly by other Inducements, to get more Money from it towards the Expence of his Pleaſures, than all his Predeceſſors of the *Norman* Race had obtained before towards the Charges of their Wars. And indeed it looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary Care of *England*, that Parliament zealous for the King's Revenue.

An. 1662. that we did not throw up our Liberties all at once upon his Reſtoration: For tho ſome were for bringing him back upon Terms, yet after he was once come, he poſſeſs'd ſo entirely the Hearts of his People, that they thought nothing too much for them to grant, or for him to receive. Among other Deſigns to pleaſe him, there was one formed at Court, to ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon him by Parliament during Life, as ſhould place him beyond the Neceſſity of asking more, except in the Caſe of a War, or ſome ſuch extraordinary Occaſion. The Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High Treaſurer, came heartily into it, out of a mere Principle of Honour and Affection to the King; but Chancellor *Clarendon* ſecretly oppoſed it: It happen'd that they two had a private Conference about the Matter; and the Chancellor being earneſt to bring the Treaſurer to his Opinion, took the Freedom to tell him, *That he was better acquainted with the King's Temper and Inclinations than* Southampton *could reaſonably expect to be, having had long and intimate Acquaintance with his Majeſty abroad, and that he knew him ſo well, that if ſuch a Revenue was once ſettled upon him for Life, neither of them two would be of any further Uſe, and that they were not in probability to ſee many more Seſſions of Parliament during that Reign. Southampton* was brought over: yet this Paſſage could not be kept ſo ſecret but it came to the King's Ear; which, together with other things, wherein *Clarendon* was miſrepreſented to him, proved the true Reaſon why he abandoned him to his Enemies.

And for his Prerogative. This Parliament was alſo very ready by all imaginable Ways to advance the King's Prerogative, as well as his Revenue; as by the Declaration already recited in the Act of Uniformity; and by enacting the ſole Right of the *Militia* to be in the King, with ſuch Reaſons for it as would not have been given in the moſt proſperous Part of his Father's Reign.

King's Judges. Several of thoſe who were excepted from the Act of Oblivion, had fled beyond the Seas; among whom were Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Col. *Okey*, and Col. *Barkſted*, who having travell'd thro many Parts of *Germany*, returned in the Beginning of this Spring to *Delft* in *Holland*, having appointed their Wives to meet them there, to underſtand the Condition of Affairs in *England*.

land. Their Letters being intercepted, by the Vigi- 14 Car. II.
lance of Sir *George Downing*, who had been a Chaplain in the Parliament Army to Col. *Okey*'s Regiment, but was now his Majeſty's Reſident at the *Hague*, they were all three taken, and by the States Order put on board the *Blackmore* Frigat then lying at *Helvet-Sluce*, and ſo brought over and committed to the *Tower*. From whence they were convey'd to the King's Bench Bar, and there demanded what they could ſay for themſelves why they ſhould not die according to Law, the Act of Attainder being read to them. They put the Court to a Proof that they were the ſame Perſons expreſs'd in that Act. Which Proof being made, they received their Sentence, and were accordingly executed at *Tyburn*.

Sir *Henry Vane* and *Lambert*.

After this the Houſe of Commons addreſſed the King to bring Sir *Henry Vane* and *John Lambert* Eſq; to their Trials; who accordingly were arraign'd at the King's Bench Bar before Sir *Robert Foſter*, Lord Chief Juſtice, the firſt *for imagining and compaſſing the Death of the late King*; the latter *for levying War againſt his preſent Majeſty*. Sir *Henry* diſowned his being any way concerned in the King's Death, but pleaded the Authority of the long Parliament, and juſtified that Authority as ſuperior to any other; and as for his Behaviour in the other Governments in being after the King's Death, he urged, That his preſent Majeſty being at that Time but King *de jure*, and not *de facto*, he could not be indicted for Treaſon committed before his Reſtoration. But notwithſtanding all he could ſay for himſelf, and which the Court thought not fit to anſwer, he was found guilty, condemn'd and beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. The Treatment he met with there in not being ſuffer'd to ſpeak, was even by many of his Enemies thought unjuſtifiable. *Lambert* at his Trial behaved himſelf with a great deal of Submiſſion, as if he had depended on the Royal Mercy, which he received at the Bar, and which was a Reprieve from Death, with a Confinement during Life in the Iſland of *Guernſey*, where he continued many Years. And the better to ſecure the King and Government againſt all Attempts and Deſigns, a Proclamation was publiſhed to command all Officers under any of the late *uſurped Powers*, who had been disbanded, to depart twenty Miles from

An. 1662. from *London*, and not to return within eight Months, unleſs by expreſs Licence from the Privy Council.

Black *Bartholomew.*

On St. *Bartholomew*'s Day *Auguſt* 24. about two thouſand Miniſters quitted their Preferments, or refuſed new Offers, their Conſciences not ſuffering them to comply with the Act of Uniformity above-mentioned. Some of the moſt conſiderable in and about *London*, were Dr. *Thomas Jacomb*, Dr. *Ezekiel Hopkins*, Dr. *William Bates*, Dr. *William Spurſtow*, Dr. *Thomas Manton*, Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, Mr. *Matthew Pool*, Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, Mr. *William Jenkin*, Mr. *Zachary Crofton*, Mr. *Philip Nye*, and Mr. *Matthew Mead*. In the Univerſity of *Oxford* were, Dr. *John Owen*, Dr. *John Conant*, Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, and Mr. *Theophilus Gale*. In that of *Cambridge* were Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, and Mr. *John Ray*. In the ſeveral Parts of the Country were Dr. *Francis Cheynell*, Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſs*, Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, Mr. *Richard Baxter*, Mr. *John How*, Mr. *Samuel Cradock*, Mr. *Ralph Ward*, Mr. *David Clarkſon*, Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, Mr. *Jonathan Jephcot*, Mr. *John Harmer*, Mr. *Joſeph Allen*, Mr. *Richard Heath*, Mr. *John Tombes*, Mr. *Joſeph Truman*, Mr. *John Hieron*, Mr. *George Hughs*, Mr. *John Rogers*, Mr. *John Shaw*, Mr. *Edward Bowles*, Mr. *Edward Reyner*, and Mr. *John Corbet*. Of theſe ſome few afterwards conformed, as Dr. *Hopkins*, and Dr. *Conant*.

Sale of *Dunkirk.*

The Town and Port of *Dunkirk* might have been a great Advantage to our Trade, and to our Power in the Channel; and under this Proſpect there had been a Reſolution in the Houſe of Commons to prepare an Act to annex it for ever to the imperial Crown of this Realm: But this not being done, the King with Advice of his Privy Council, for the Sum of five hundred thouſand Pounds, delivered it up to the *French* King; and it was inglorioufly put into his Poſſeſſion under the Government of the Count *de Eſtrades*, and his Deputy the Marquiſs of *Montpeer*; the *Engliſh* Governour with two Companies guarding the Gates at their Entrance, and delivering up the Keys of them. This Action was ill reſented by the Body of the People of *England*, who were apt to think that the Sale of ſuch an important Place, after the Parliament's giving

ving and applying Money for the Maintenance of it, was a deplorable Sign of a weak and mercenary Court. 14 Car. II.

This Year died Biſhop *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Heylin*, the Lord *Say*, and Mr. *William Lenthall.*

On the eighteenth of *February* the Parliament met according to Prorogation; and ſoon after both Houſes agreed on *an humble Repreſentation to his Majeſty concerning* Romiſh *Prieſts and Jeſuits*; wherein they complain of the great Reſort of that Party into this Kingdom, and pray'd his Majeſty to iſſue out his Proclamation againſt them. An. 1663. Parliament meet.

Accordingly his Majeſty *April* 9. publiſhed ſuch a Proclamation, commanding all Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts to depart the Kingdom. But it did not ſeem to be much more in the Intentions of the Court than another popular Proclamation ſoon after publiſhed for the better Obſervation of the Lord's-Day, and for renewing a former Proclamation againſt vitious, debauched, and profane Perſons. For notwithſtanding theſe Profeſſions towards pleaſing of the People, it is certain that Popery and Profaneneſs were not altogether out of Favour. Proclamation againſt Popiſh Prieſts.

And it was from this Juncture of a Popiſh prevailing Intereſt, that the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* began now to decline in his Royal Maſter's Favour, and to ſtand ready to be given up to his Enemies, and to bear the Odium of every publick Miſcarriage or Misfortune. And therefore in this Seſſion of Parliament, on *July* 10. the Earl of *Briſtol* exhibited Articles of High Treaſon and other heinous Miſdemeanours againſt *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, in the Houſe of Lords. Lord *Clarendon* accuſed of High Treaſon.

On the Day theſe Articles were exhibited, the Houſe of Lords *ordered that a Copy of the Articles or Charge of High Treaſon, exhibited by the Earl of* Briſtol *againſt the Lord Chancellor, be delivered to the Lord Chief Juſtice, who with the reſt of the Judges are to conſider, Whether the ſaid Charge hath been brought in regularly and legally; and whether it may be proceeded in, and how; and whether there be any Treaſon in it or no, and make Rep rt thereof to this Houſe.* Whereupon all the Judges met at *Serjeant's-Inn* in *Fleetſtreet*, and unanimouſly agreed upon this en-

An. 1663. enſuing Anſwer; which on *Monday*, *July* 13. the Lord Chief Juſtice *Foſter* deliver'd in, *viz. We conceive that a Charge of High-Treaſon cannot, by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, be originally exhibited by one Peer againſt another unto the Houſe of Peers; and that therefore a Charge of High-Treaſon by the Earl of* Briſtol *againſt the Lord Chancellor, mentioned in the Order of Reference to us of the Tenth of this Inſtant* July, *hath not been regularly and legally brought in: And if the Matters alledged in the ſaid Charge, were admitted to be true, altho alledged to be traiterouſly done, yet there is no Treaſon in it.*

This Anſwer being read in the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of *Briſtol* took Exceptions at it; and ſome of their Lordſhips, who were Friends to the Chancellor, inferred, that if it were not a regular and legal Charge, it was a Libel, and ought to be condemned, and the Author of it cenſured. To ſatisfy the Houſe, one of the Judges, upon Conference with his Brethren, did on *Tueſday* deliver the Reaſons of the Opinion of the Judges in their ſaid Anſwer. And the Earl of *Briſtol*, a little to excuſe himſelf, ſaid, the Articles were not intended by him as a Charge, but as an Information. And then their Lordſhips, after a Debate upon the Queſtion, did unanimouſly reſolve to declare their Concurrence with the Opinion of the Judges. And ſo the Plot of running down this great Man fell at preſent: And yet this early ſtep in it had gained very much of the deſigned Effect; which was to make him leſs gracious with his Royal Maſter, and leſs reſpected in the Parliament, and leſs beloved by the People; and ſo by degrees a more eaſy Prey, when his Enemies ſhould again meet to hunt him down.

He is clear'd.

On *July* 27. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons to attend him, he made a ſhort Speech, expreſſing a 'great Satiſfaction for what the Parliament had done for him, 'and how chearfully he concurred with them in all 'the Bills they had prepared for the Good of the 'Nation, and had given Directions and Commands 'to all his Judges in relation to thoſe Affairs, which 'the Seaſon and other Neceſſities wou'd not permit 'to paſs into Acts.' Then he gave his Royal Aſſent

to

to *An Act for four entire Subſidies granted by the Temporalty. An Act to confirm four Subſidies granted by the Clergy. An Act for the Relief of indigent Officers. An Act for ſettling the Profits of the Poſt-Office and Wine-Licences upon the Duke of* York *and his Heirs. An Act for better collecting the Duty of Exciſe*, &c. And ſo prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of *March* following. 15 Car. II. Parliament prorogu'd.

In this long Vacation, his Majeſty, to divert himſelf and to pleaſe his People, reſolved upon a Progreſs and a Viſit to the *Bath*, ſetting out with the Queen on *Auguſt* 26. and returning to *White-Hall*, *October* 2. after many ſplendid Entertainments given at *Newberry* by Sir *Thomas Doleman*, at *Marlborough* by the Lord *Seymour*, at *Long-Leet* by Sir *James Thynne*, at *Badmington* by the Marquiſs of *Worceſter*, at *Cornbury* by the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, and at *Oxford* by the Univerſity. King's Progreſs.

About this time a Conſpiracy againſt the King and Government being detected, a Commiſſion of *Oyer and Terminer* was ſent to *York* for Tryal of the principal Leaders in it. Some of them at their Arraignment confeſs'd, 'That the Deſign began in a 'private Committee at *London*; that *Lambert* or '*Ludlow* was propoſed and promiſed to be at the 'Head of them; that the Riſing was to have begun 'in *Ireland*, to have followed in *England*, and then 'in *Scotland*.' Others of the Priſoners behaved themſelves very inſolently, eſpecially *Cotton*, *Denham*, and *Atkins*, of whom *Cotton* proteſted in the face of the Court, *That in ſuch a Cauſe he valued his Life no more than the Judge did his Handkerchief.* After the Conviction of many of them, they were executed, ſome at *York*, ſome at *Leeds*, and others in other Places. Conſpiracy.

This Year died Archbiſhop *Juxon*, Dr. *Haywood*, Dr. *Creed*, Judge *Jenkyns*, Judge *Forſter*, *Jerome Weſton* Earl of *Portland*, and Sir *William Compton* third Son to the late Earl of *Northampton*.

The Parliament meeting at the Time to which they had been prorogu'd, *March* 16. the King came to the Houſe of Lords on the 21ſt, and made a Speech, expreſſing his Good-will to Parliaments, put them in mind of the late Conſpiracy, and ſignified that ſe- An. 1664. Parliament meets.

An. 1664. veral Plots were ſtill carrying on againſt the Government; he recommended the Triennial Act to their Conſideration, and complain'd of the Deficiency of his Supply, and then ended thus: 'I will conclude with 'deſiring and conjuring you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to keep a very good Correſpondence together, 'that it may not be in the power of any ſeditious or 'factious Spirits to make you jealous of each other, 'or either of you jealous of me, till you ſee me pretend one thing and do another; which I am ſure 'you have never yet done: truſt me, it ſhall be in 'no body's power to make me jealous of you. I 'pray contrive any good ſhort Bills, which may improve the Induſtry of the Nation; and ſince the 'Seaſon of the Year will invite us all ſhortly to 'take the Country Air, I deſire you wou'd be ready 'for a Seſſion within two Months or thereabouts, 'and we will meet next earlier in the Year; and ſo 'God bleſs your Counſels.'

Complaints againſt the *Dutch*.

At the firſt opening of this Seſſion, there was a general Diſcontent and Murmur againſt the *Dutch*, for breaking in upon our Trade, and affronting our Nation with ſeveral publick Injuries, wherein they were encouraged by the *French* Court, and had a Promiſe of Support and Aſſiſtance from it. The Houſe of Commons took this Matter firſt into Conſideration, and appointed a Committee to examine the ſaid Complaints; and after a Report made by Mr. *Clifford*, the Houſe agreed upon Reſolutions to this effect: 'That the Wrongs and Indignities done by the 'Subjects of the *United Provinces* to our Merchants, 'were the greateſt Obſtructions to all foreign Trade: 'And therefore that his Majeſty ſhou'd be moved to 'take ſpeedy and effectual Courſe for the Redreſs 'thereof; and that they would aſſiſt him with their 'Lives and Fortunes againſt all Oppoſition whatſo'ever.' The Lords concurred in this Senſe of publick Honour and Intereſt; and ſo both Houſes attended his Majeſty with an Addreſs to repreſent the common Danger. His Majeſty declared his high Eſteem of their Care and Tenderneſs for the Honour and Good of the Nation, and expreſſed his own Royal Senſe of preſerving the Freedom of Trade, and the Dominion of the Seas; letting them further know, 'That he wou'd examine and prove the particular 'Complaints,

'Complaints, that he wou'd demand Satisfaction by 16 Car. II.
'a publick Miniſter, and do his utmoſt Endeavour to
'ſecure his Subjects from the like Violences for the
'future, depending upon the Promiſe of both Houſes
'*to ſtand by him.*'

The next Care of the Commons was to debate on New Triennial Act.
that part of his Majeſty's Speech which related to the Act for Triennial Parliaments; upon which they brought in a Bill *to repeal that Act, and to eſtabliſh another Expedient for holding Parliaments once in three Years*; whereby his Majeſty might continue this Parliament as long as he pleas'd.

On *May* 17. the King let both Houſes underſtand 'his Royal Approbation of their Cares and Labours 'for the Good of the Publick; and his Acknowledg-'ments for their ready Compliance with his Advice 'in the diſpatch of all Buſineſs depending in the laſt 'Seſſion; concluding with his Reſolution to pro-'rogue them to the twentieth of *Auguſt* next enſu-'ing; but declaring further, that unleſs ſomething 'extraordinary ſhou'd fall out, it was his Purpoſe not 'to call them together till *November* following, where- Speaker's
'of they ſhou'd have timely Notice.' Then Sir *Ed-* Speech.
ward Turner Speaker, repreſented to his Majeſty 'the humble Thanks of the Houſe for his gracious 'Acceptance of their Endeavours in the Service of 'his Majeſty and the Publick. After which he inſiſt-'ed upon the unſettled Condition of the Country, by 'reaſon of the diſaffected Parties of Fanaticks, Sec-'taries, and Non-conformiſts, who, he ſaid, threat-'ned the Diſturbance of the Church and State. Then 'he mention'd the Injuries complain'd of by our Mer-'chants, and the Frauds and ill Practices of our 'Neighbours the *Dutch*, in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-In-'dies*, in *Turkey*, *Africa*, and other Parts; which, 'beſides the Indignity offer'd to his Majeſty and the 'Crown of *England*, amounted to no leſs than the 'value of ſeven or eight hundred thouſand Pounds.'

And then he preſented ſeveral Bills for the Royal Conventicle
Aſſent; among which was the *Act to prevent and* Act.
ſuppreſs ſeditious Conventicles: By which Act the firſt Offence was made puniſhable with five Pounds or three Months Impriſonment, and ten Pounds for a Peer; the ſecond Offence with ten Pounds or ſix Months Impriſonment, and twenty Pounds for a Peer; but for the third Offence, after a Tryal by a Jury, and

An. 1664. the Tryal of a Peer by his Peers, the Party convicted was to be transported to some foreign Plantation, unless he laid down a hundred Pounds.

Instructions to Sir George Downing.

Under this Disposition of the Parliament to quarrel with the *Dutch*, the King gave particular Instructions to his Ambassador Sir *George Downing*, to represent to the *States-General* the great Damages the *English* Merchants sustain'd in their Trade and Commerce, thro the Injuries offer'd to them by the Subjects of those Provinces, and to demand Reparation for the same. But the *States* declining all express Answer, and putting off all Proposals of making Satisfaction, the King resolved to intercept their Fleets of Merchant-Men in the *Channel*, by way of Reprisal, without waiting the Ceremony of a declared War. So on *October* 15. Prince *Rupert* with a Squadron of sixteen Men of War, came to *Spithead*; and at the beginning of *November*, the Duke of *York* Lord High-Admiral of *England*, went down to *Portsmouth*; and joining with the Prince and Earl of *Sandwich*, took Charge of the Navy, and struck such a Terror upon the Coasts of *Holland*, that the *Dutch* Admiral *Opdam* was glad to lie still with his Fleet in the *Goree*, while their *Bourdeaux* Fleet laden home with Wine and Brandy, fell most of them into the Hands of the *English*, and with many other of their laden Ships to the Number of about one hundred and thirty, were brought into our Ports, and by the Admiralty condemned for lawful Prizes, tho no War had been actually declar'd. This way of dealing with our Friends was by some thought to be a Trick of *France*, or an Intrigue of our own Ministry; tho others said, it was the very Voice of the *English* People, and especially the Cry of all our Merchants and Traders.

Dutch Bourdeaux Fleet taken by the *English*.

A Royal Aid granted.

The Parliament, according to Prorogation, had met again on *November* 24. and by the 11th of *February*, an Act passed *for granting an Aid of twenty four hundred threescore and seventeen thousand and five hundred Pounds*. Still no War was proclaim'd, tho the Acts of Hostility had been in a manner commanded by an Order of the King in Council, dated in *December*, setting forth, 'That his Majesty taking into due Con-'sideration the Injuries, Affronts and Spoils done by 'the Subjects of the *United-Provinces* to the Ships, 'Goods, and Persons of his Majesty's Subjects; and 'having

Order of Council.

'having made frequent Demands of Redreſs, which 16 Car. II.
'were ineffectual, he did therefore now by Advice of
'his Privy-Council, order that general Repriſals
'ſhou'd be granted againſt the Ships, and Goods, and
'Subjects of the *United-Provinces*.' But on *February* 22. his Majeſty order'd the drawing up a formal Declaration of War.

Before we conclude this Year, it may be proper to look a little back on the Affairs of Religion in *Scotland*. In the beginning of the Year 1661. ſome of the *Scotch* Presbyters, *viz.* Mr. *James Sharp*, Mr. *Hamilton*, Mr. *Farwel*, Mr. *Loghton*, came to *London*, and were there firſt ordained Deacons and Preſbyters, and then conſecrated Biſhops by the Biſhop of *Winchester* and two other aſſiſting *Engliſh* Prelates; and ſoon after obtained a Proclamation, *September* 6. declaring the King's Pleaſure to be for reſtoring the Government of the Church of *Scotland* by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as it was exerciſed in the Year 1637. and further ſignifying, that he had nominated and preſented Archbiſhops and Biſhops to the ſeveral Sees, to be inveſted with the ſame Authority they had in the Reign of his Royal Grandfather. To execute this Deſign, the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, *June* 9. following, ſtrictly diſcharged all Eccleſiaſtical Meetings in Synods, Presbyteries, and Seſſions, until they ſhou'd be authoriz'd by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, upon their Entry on the Government of their reſpective Sees. And in further purſuance of the ſame Deſign, the reſtoring Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, the Parliament, in their ſecond Seſſions, made an *Act to redintegrate the Biſhops to the Exerciſe of their Epiſcopal Function, and to all their Privileges, Dignities, Juriſdictions, and Poſſeſſions, due and formerly belonging thereunto.* And another Act commanded *all Miniſters to repair to their Dioceſan Aſſembly, and concur in all Acts of Church-Diſcipline, as they ſhou'd be thereto requir'd by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioceſe, under pain of being ſuſpended from their Office and Benefice till the next Dioceſan Meeting, for their firſt Fault; and if they amend not, to be deprived, and the Church to be declared vacant.* And on *September* 5, 1662. the Parliament formed a Declaration, to be ſubſcribed by all who ſhall have any publick Charge, Office or Truſt within that Kingdom,

Affairs of Religion in *Scotland*.

An. 1664. in these Words: *I* A. B. *do sincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to Subjects, upon Pretence of Reformation or any other Pretence whatsoever, to enter into* Leagues *and* Covenants, *or to take up Arms against the King or those commissioned by him, and that all those Gatherings, Convocations, Petitions, Protestations, and erecting and keeping Council-Tables that were used in the Beginning, and for the carrying on the late Troubles, were unlawful and seditious: And particularly that those Oaths, whereof the one is called the* National Covenant, *and the other intituled,* A solemn League and Covenant, *were and are in themselves unlawful Oaths; and were taken by, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom, against the Laws and Liberties of the same; and that there lies no Obligation upon me, or any of the Subjects, from the said Oaths, or either of them, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of the Government either in Church or State, as it is now establish'd by the Laws of the Kingdom.* This Revolution in *Scotland* was during the Commission of the Earl of *Middleton*, who did all that was possible to assert the King's Supremacy, and to settle him a good Revenue: but in the beginning of the Year 1663. the Earl of *Middleton* was removed, and the Earl of *Rothes* was appointed to be High-Commissioner of *Scotland*; under whose Administration the Presbyterians lost ground more and more. The standing High-Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes was in Hands that extended their Authority in a most rigorous manner: And the Parliament, to demolish all the Remains of Kirk Discipline, ordered a new Constitution of a National Synod, or General Church-Assembly, whereby the external Government of the Church was declared to be inherent in the King, by virtue of his Prerogative Royal in Causes Ecclesiastical; that the Members of this Synod were to be only Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, the Moderators of Meetings for Exercises, with one Minister for each Meeting, to be chosen by the Moderator and Plurality of Ministers for the same; the Synod to meet at such time and place only as his Majesty should appoint, and to debate of such Matters only relating to the Government and Doctrine of the Church, as his Majesty should recommend: And lastly, no Assembly to be held without the Presence of his

his Majeſty or his Commiſſioner. And in the next Seſſion of Parliament, a Proclamation was iſſued, commanding all Miniſters who had enter'd before the Year 1649. and ſince the Reſtitution of the Church Government by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, had relinquiſhed their Miniſtry, or had been depoſed by their Ordinary, to remove within forty Days after their Relinquiſhment or Depoſal, out of the Pariſh wherein they had been Incumbents, and not to reſide within twenty Miles of the ſame, nor within ſix Miles of *Edinburgh*, or any Cathedral, nor within three Miles of any Burgh-Royal, nor to inhabit two in one Pariſh, upon pain of incurring the Penalties of the Laws made againſt Movers of Sedition. 16 Car. II.

This Year the Clergy of *England* began to be taxed in common with the reſt of the People in Parliament, and the way of taxing themſelves was laid aſide. It is to obſerved, that the Prelates and Clergy had been eſteemed one of the three Eſtates of the Realm, and therefore met in Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, on the account of giving their own Money, and ſecuring their own ſecular Rights and Liberties. And when the Church was reſtor'd in 1660. this Right which was ſwallow'd up in the late Troubles, was reſtor'd with it; and was exercis'd at the beginning of the preſent Convocation, when the Clergy granted the King four Subſidies, and had their ſeparate Grant confirmed by Act of Parliament. But it happened that the Biſhops and Clergy now thought themſelves aggrieved in this Method of taxing, by which they paid more in proportion than the Laity, and were ſubject more to the Pleaſure of the Court, and the Humour of the Commons, who often required that the Clergy ſhou'd give beyond their Proportion and Abilities. And beſides all theſe Miſchiefs and Dangers, the Body of the Clergy were left too much at the Mercy of the Convocation Divines, who were many of them Court Chaplains, and Seekers of Court Preferment, and ſo might be tempted to raiſe their own Fortune by laying a heavier Burden on their Brethren. The Experience or the Fear of theſe Evils put the Archbiſhop and ſome of the chief Biſhops upon a Conſult with the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord-Treaſurer, and other Miniſters of State; wherein it was concluded, that the Clergy ſhould tacitly recede from Clergy taxed.

An. 1664. from the Custom of taxing themselves, and be included in the Money Bills prepared by the Commons; and to encourage their Assent, shou'd have two of the four Subsidies remitted to them, and a Clause of *saving the antient Rights belonging to the Clergy*.

An. 1665. On *March* 23. the Duke of *York* set out to go on board the *English* Fleet; which being ready to sail, an Order was made for a *General Fast to be observed on* April 5. *to implore the Blessing of God upon his Majesty's Forces employ'd against the* Dutch. And it was observable, that the Queen-Mother and Queen-Consort did eminently shew their Zeal on this Occasion; and did by express and particular Appointment command all their Domesticks to set themselves apart with entire Abstinence and extraordinary Devotion for the Service of the Day: And there are other Instances to prove, that a War with the *Dutch* was pushed on by the *French* and Popish Interest: And even the Mediation of the *French* King on this Occasion was but a Feint to set us more effectually together by the ears.

General Fast appointed.

On *April* 21. his Royal Highness set sail with the whole Fleet, made up of one hundred and fourteen Sail; and finding the Channel clear, he resolved to visit the *Dutch* upon their own Coasts, and came before the *Texel* on *April* 28. and sent in a Squadron so near the Shore and Harbour, that the *Dutch* were in a great Consternation, and erected Beacons all along the Sands from the *Texel* to the *Maese*, to give notice upon any Attempt of Landing. All this Daring of the *English* could not draw out the *Dutch* Fleet; and therefore after the taking many rich Merchantmen in the very mouth of the Rivers and Ports, the Duke sail'd back to the *English* Coasts. The *Dutch* took that Opportunity of coming out, and by *May* 29. appeared about the *Dogger-Sands*, divided into several Squadrons; which, under the Command of *Opdam*, *Trump*, *Everts*, and others, in all amounted to 103 Men of War, 10 Fireships, and 7 Yachts, besides Tenders. And by the Duke's retiring from the *Holland* Coast, they took the Advantage of intercepting our *Hamburgh* Fleet, who had sent to the Duke lying before the *Texel* for a Convoy; which was dispatched to them, and bringing them along the *Hol-*

Duke of *York* sails with the Fleet.

land

land Coasts when the Duke was sailed away; and missing of the *Roe-Ketch* which the Duke had sent to meet them, and to give them notice of his Removal, they fell in with a Squadron of the *Dutch* sent out on purpose to watch them, and were most of them taken. 17 Car. II. *English Hamburgh* Fleet taken by the *Dutch*.

This incensed the Duke to come the sooner to a general Engagement: so having weigh'd Anchor from the *Gunfleet* on *May* 30. he came to *Southold-Bay* on *June* 1. and bore up to the *Dutch* Fleet, and engaged them *June* 3. and obtain'd a very signal Victory, taking 18 Capital Men of War, and sinking and firing about 14 more, and blowing up *Opdam* in his Flagship, with 500 Men and 84 Guns. On our side was lost but one Ship, the *Charity*, and that had been before taken from the Enemy; but we lost many brave Men of Quality and Courage; the Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Muskerry*, and Mr. *Boyle* fell all three by one Cannon Shot, so very near the Person of the Duke, that he was sprinkled with their Blood and Brains. The Earl of *Portland*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and Reer-Admiral *Sampson* were killed in the Fight; and Sir *John Lawson* soon after died of his Wounds. Duke gains a signal Victory.

Two thousand sixty three *Dutch* Prisoners, whereof thirteen were Commanders, were brought to *Colchester* on *June* 19. before which Day the Duke himself came Post to *White-Hall*, and received the Congratulations of the Court. And the King having waited on his Royal Mother to the Sea-Coasts of *Kent*, in order to her Return into *France*, *June* 29. went aboard the *Royal Charles* in the *Buoy of the Nore*, where he bestowed the Honour of Knighthood upon several Captains who had behaved themselves with the most distinguishing Valour in the late Fight, as Rear-Admiral *Tyddeman*, Captain *Jordan*, Captain *Spragge*, and Captain *Cuttings*; as he had some few Days before conferred the same Honour for the same Service on Captain *Christopher Mimmes* and Captain *Jeremy Smith*. Queen-Mother returns.

The Joys on account of this Victory were soon abated by the dreadful Calamity of a raging Pestilence, which broke out in *London* about the middle of *May*, and spread very much thro the City and Suburbs; and within those Bounds swept away 97306 Persons. The great Plague.

The

An. 1665. The King on this occaſion retired to *Hampton-Court*, and thence to *Salisbury*. A general Faſt was by Proclamation commanded to be obſerved throughout the Kingdom, that *Prayers and Supplications might be every where made for the Removal of ſo heavy a Judgment*, in a Form drawn up by the Biſhops, and appointed to be *uſed within the Bills of Mortality, on every* Wedneſday *during the Contagion.* Continual Collections, publick and private, were order'd for Relief of the Sick and Needy. And then to hinder the Tumults and Diſtractions that might ariſe upon this occaſion, a Proclamation was publiſh'd, requiring *all diſbanded Officers and Soldiers, who had ſerved in the Armies of any of the late uſurped Powers, to depart the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and not to return within twenty Miles of the ſame till* November *following.*

Earl of *Sandwich* commands the *Navy.*

It was thought proper by the King and Council, that the Lord High-Admiral, the Duke of *York*, ſhould not venture his Perſon in another Sea-Fight: Therefore the chief Command of the Navy was committed to the Earl of *Sandwich*, who having repaired the Loſſes ſuſtained in the late Action, and fitted out ſeveral of the *Dutch* Prizes, on *July* 5. weighed about ſixty Sail from *Sole-Bay*, and made for the Coaſt of *Holland.* The Royal Standard was borne by the Earl himſelf; under whom Sir *George Ayſcough* was Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Thomas Tyddiman* Rear-Admiral; Sir *William Penn* was Admiral of the *White*, and under him Sir *William Berkley* Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Joſeph Jordan* Rear-Admiral; and the Blue Flag was carried by Sir *Thomas Allen*, whoſe Flag-Officers were Sir *Chriſtopher Mimmes* and Captain *Harman.* The *Dutch* all this time waited for the Return of *De Ruyter* from *Newfoundland*, to which Place, after he had been beat off from *Barbadoes*, he had ſteer'd his Courſe with a Squadron of ſeventeen Men of War; and arriving at *St. Johns*, he took the *Diamond* of *Plymouth*, and the *Unity* of *Dartmouth*, and plundered the Colony of their Proviſion, and their very Clothes. At *Bay-Bull*'s Harbour he took two Ships more, and in *Pit's* Harbour three other Ships, and ranſack'd all the Fiſhing-Coaſts, and brought away about a hundred able Seamen, becauſe they refuſed to enter into the Service of the *States.* With

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theſe few Prizes, and his own Ships extremely damag'd, he crept home by the Coaſt of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and was immediately made Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet; yet rather to carry the Flag than to command the *Maritime* Affairs, which in a new Model were put under the Superintendency of three of their great Men, *De Wit*, *Huggens* and *Boreel*. 17 Car. II.

The Earl of *Sandwich* finding the *Dutch* Fleet not yet ready to meet him, ſailed in three Squadrons towards the North Seas; and having notice that the *Dutch Smyrna* and *Straits* Fleet, with ſome of their *Eaſt-India* Men, were gone into the Harbour of *Bergen* in *Norway*, he ſent a Squadron of twenty two Men of War under the Command of Sir *Thomas Tyddiman*, with orders to ſail directly and attack them. This Enterprize had been more ſucceſsful, but that the Wind did not ſerve the *Engliſh* at the Mouth of the Harbour, and the *Danes* aſſiſted the *Dutch* in raiſing a Battery on the Banks of it. But indeed what moſt of all ruined this Deſign, was the eager Impatience and Forwardneſs of the *Engliſh* Commanders; for the King of *Denmark* was brought privately to conſent, that his Subjects ſhould make no Reſiſtance againſt the *Engliſh*, but ſuffer the quiet ſeizure of the *Dutch* Ships, on condition he ſhould have an equal Share with the King of *England* in the Prizes; and he had ſent Orders to the Governour of *Bergen* to that purpoſe: but the *Engliſh* being over haſty, attack'd the *Dutch* before thoſe Orders could reach the Governour, ſo that the Caſtles diſcharged furiouſly upon the *Engliſh*, diſabled divers of their Men of War, and kill'd many Officers and Seamen. But however, the *Engliſh* Ships lay and fired with ſo much Reſolution, that ſome few of the *Dutch* were fired, and many diſabled. In this Action was ſlain a near Relation of the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Honourable *Edward Montague*, Son to the Lord *Montague* of *Boughton*.

Dutch Fleets attack'd at *Bergen*.

After this Attempt, the *Engliſh* Fleet on *Aug.* 30. ſet ſail for the Coaſt of *Holland*; and having ſuffered much by a Storm, that carried them back Northwards, on *September* 4. they met with the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Men and ſeveral other Merchant-Men, under a good Convoy; and tho the ſtormy Weather much favoured the Eſcape of the *Dutch*, yet the *Engliſh* took eight good

Advantages of the *Engliſh*.

An. 1665. good Men of War, two of their beſt *Eaſt-India* Ships, and twenty Sail of their Merchant-Men. On *September* 9. a Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet fell in with eighteen Sail of *Dutch*, and took the greateſt Part of them, bringing away with the other Prizes, four *Dutch* Men of War, and about 1000 Priſoners.

Parliament at *Oxford*.

The Parliament according to Prorogation, met on *Auguſt* 1. and then again was prorogu'd to meet at *Oxford* on *October* 9. the King and Court chuſing that Place as the moſt free from Infection. So on *October* 10. the King made a Speech to the two Houſes to this effect: 'That had it not been abſo-'lutely neceſſary to conſult with them, he would not 'now have called them together, when the Conta-'gion had ſpread it ſelf over ſo many Parts of the 'Kingdom: That he had entered upon a War with 'the *States-General* by their Advice and Encourage-'ment; and therefore he deſired they might receive 'Information of the Conduct and Effect of it, to the 'end he might have the Continuance of their chear-'ful Supply: That this War had proved more 'chargeable to him than he could imagine it would 'have done: That the Additions and Recruits which 'the *Dutch* made to their Fleets, render'd it neceſſary 'for him to make a proportionable Preparation: That 'as the *Dutch* endeavour'd by falſe Suggeſtions to 'make themſelves Friends, ſo he had not been want-'ing to encourage thoſe Princes who had been wrong'd 'by the *Dutch*, to recover their own by force; to 'which End he had aſſiſted the Biſhop of *Munſter* 'with a conſiderable Sum of Money: That for theſe 'Reaſons his Supply already granted was near ſpent, 'and the publick Occaſions would require much greater 'Aid: However, that he made not War for War's 'ſake, but was ready to receive all fair Propoſitions; 'tho he thought indeed the *Dutch* were no leſs in-'ſolent than ever, and yet had gained no Advantage 'that he knew of.' When his Majeſty had done, the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* made a much larger Speech, running over the whole Proceſs of State Affairs, from before his Majeſty's Reſtoration to the preſent Juncture, and concluding with an earneſt Motion for farther, ſpeedy, and effectual Supplies.

King's Speech.

In anſwer to this, the Houſe of Commons ſoon re-turn'd their Thanks to his Majeſty 'for his gracious

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'Care and Conduct for the Preſervation of his People, 17 Car. II.
'and Advancement of the Honour of the Nation;
'declaring they would aſſiſt him with their Lives and
'Fortunes in carrying on the preſent juſt and neceſſary
'War.'. And they readily made good their Promiſe by granting an additional Supply of 1250000 *l.* to be rais'd by monthly Aſſeſſments, and threw in for a Benevolence one Month's Continuation of the Tax, to come in the Rear after the Expiration of the other Payments; which they deſired his Majeſty would beſtow upon his Royal Highneſs. Supply granted.

In this Seſſion at *Oxford*, a Law was made more ſevere than any former againſt the Nonconformiſt Teachers; to prohibit their Dwelling or Coming, unleſs upon the Road, within five Miles of any Corporation, or any other Place where they had been Miniſters, or had preach'd after the Act of Oblivion, unleſs they firſt took the following Oath: *I* A. B. *do ſolemnly declare, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor the traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion: And I do ſwear that I will not at any time to come endeavour the Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State.* The Penalty was forty Pounds, and ſix Months Impriſonment, unleſs they took the ſaid Oath before their Commitment. Five-Mile Act.

After the paſſing of this Bill, the Money Bill, the Bill of Attainder of certain *Engliſh* Fugitives who had joined with the *Dutch*, and ſome other Bills, on the twentieth of *October* the Parliament was prorogu'd to the twentieth of *February* next enſuing, then to meet at *Weſtminſter*; and at that meeting was again prorogu'd to *April* 23. Parliament prorogu'd.

In the mean time, the *French* King began to be very ſenſible, that the *Engliſh* by Sea were much ſuperior to the *Dutch*; and therefore, his Deſign having been barely to keep the Ballance even, and to let them fight till they were each weaker than himſelf, he was now ſo much afraid of the Prevalency of the *Engliſh*, that he threatned to declare War againſt them: But yet, to make it rather an Intrigue than an open Rupture, he acquainted the Queen-Mother of *England*, that tho he could no longer keep off a *French* King's Deſigns.

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An. 1665. Declaration of War againſt his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, yet he ſhould always preſerve the ſame Eſteem for his Majeſty's Perſon, as before, and hopes his *Britannick* Majeſty would continue the ſame Affection for him. Accordingly upon *January* 27. the *French* King's Declaration of War was publickly proclaim'd, upon pretence of ſuccouring the *States-General*, in conſequence of the Treaty made with them in 1662. King *Charles* had no Inclination to break with the *French*, and therefore demurr'd awhile; but finding his People heartily diſpoſed to it, and knowing no other Way to ſave his Honour, he did on *February* 10. publiſh a Declaration, ſhewing, *That whereas the* French *King, pretending an Alliance Defenſive with the* States-General, *had proclaimed War againſt his Subjects, he was reſolved to proſecute the War, which the* French *King had ſo unjuſtly undertaken againſt him, with his utmoſt force by Sea and Land.*

War againſt *France.*

Death of Sir *Kenelme Digby.*

This Year died Sir *Kenelme Digby*, a Gentleman of the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Family, the head *Virtuoſo* of the Times; one of a moſt extenſive Genius, who by his unwearied Induſtry, and Travels into many foreign Countries, brought himſelf to a prodigious Inſight into all Parts of Knowledge: Yet with all his Accompliſhments, he was ſometimes ſo tranſported with Extravagancies, as was hardly conſiſtent with the Senſe and Judgment he ſo often manifeſted to the World.

An. 1666. The States of *Holland* having concluded a Peace with the Biſhop of *Munſter* a mercenary Prince, and alſo with the King of *Denmark*, and depending on a joint Fleet from the King of *France*, began to put early out to Sea. The *Engliſh* Navy was in equal forwardneſs; and becauſe the Duke of *York* was no more to venture in Perſon, and the Earl of *Sandwich* was ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, therefore Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle* were appointed Generals at Sea, for this Summer's Expedition; having Sir *Thomas Allen* Admiral of the *White*, and Sir *William Berkley* of the *Blue*: They lay ſome time in the *Buoy* in the *Nore*, where they were viſited by his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs on *May* 3. and on the twenty third arrived at the *Gunfleet*, and were riding in the *Downs* on *May* 29. when Prince *Rupert* receiv'd Orders to ſail with the White

Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle* Generals at Sea.

White Squadron to the Weſt, to fight the *French* Fleet, who by Report were come out to join the *Dutch*: An artificial Rumour that ſeems to have been given out on purpoſe to anſwer a double Deſign, of diſappointing the *Dutch*, and dividing the *Engliſh*. The Duke with the reſt of the Fleet engaged the *Dutch*, who in the firſt Day's Fight had two of their great Ships fired, and in the ſecond Day's Engagement loſt three Sail more; and in the laſt Day, when the Prince came up and join'd the Duke, the *Engliſh* fought thro the *Dutch* Fleet five ſeveral times with good Advantage, and ſo broke them that they had not above twenty five in any one Body, who only maintained a running Fight, having loſt above fifteen Ships and twenty one Captains, and of common Seamen above five thouſand. The *Engliſh* alſo in this Engagement ſuſtain'd great Loſs, and among many others, Sir *William Berkly* and Sir *Chriſtopher Mimmes* were killed. 18 Car. II. *Engliſh* Fleet divided.

The Policy of the *French* King on this occaſion was very remarkable and very odious; for inſtead of ſending his promiſed Fleet to aſſiſt the *Dutch*, he ſent it to deſtroy the *Engliſh* in their Plantations upon the Leeward Iſlands, and almoſt totally expelled the *Engliſh* out of *St. Chriſtophers*, and interrupted all the Trade in thoſe Parts: And to do ſecret Miſchief nearer home, he ſent the Governour of *Chouſey* over from *France* in a ſmall Boat, to carry a Letter to Major-General *Lambert*, who was in Priſon in the Iſle of *Guernſey*, and to offer him good Terms for contriving how to deliver up that Iſland to the *French*. But this perfidious Governour being apprehended, did at laſt confeſs the whole Matter; and he and the Pilot were executed both on the common Gallows for Spies. Policy of the *French* King.

The *Dutch* had the Credit of appearing at Sea again, before the *Engliſh* were ready to come out; and therefore ſeem'd to ride braving on our Coaſts, and often to make towards *France*, in a ſecond Expectation of meeting a *French* Fleet to join them, under the Command of *Beaufort*, who had other ſecret Orders. By *July* 19. the *Engliſh* Fleet ſailed from the *Buoy* in the *Nore*, the Flags being carried by Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, Sir *Robert Holmes*, Sir *Thomas Allen*, Sir *Thomas Tyddiman*, Captain *Utburt*, Sir *Jeremy*

An. 1666. *Jeremy Smith*, Sir *Edward Spragg*, and Captain *Kempthorn*. They soon came up with the *Dutch*, and obtained a glorious Victory, sinking and burning above twenty of their Ships, killing *Evertson* Admiral of *Zealand*, *Tirrick Hiddes* Admiral of *Friesland*, the Vice-Admiral of *Friesland*, and Rear-Admiral *Van Saen*, with above 4000 common Seamen, and near 3000 wounded; and chasing their Ships along the Coasts of *Zealand* and *Holland*, till with the Advantage of Flats and Banks, over which our great Ships could not follow them, they got into the *Weilings*.

Victory over the *Dutch*.

Dutch put to Sea again.

To recover these Disasters, or to seem not to feel them, the *Dutch* put to Sea again about the End of *August*; and *September* 1. passed by *Dover*, making for the Coasts of *France*, still pursuing the vain Hopes of being joined by the *French* Admiral the Duke of *Beaufort*, who lay at *Rochel* with forty Sail. The *English* Fleet under Prince *Rupert* stood after them to the *Bulloign*-Road; where the *Dutch*, to avoid fighting, haled close to shore, and had been there burnt and staved if a sudden Storm had not obliged the *English* to return to *St. Helens*, and given the *Dutch* Opportunity to reach their own Coasts. The *French* Fleet made a little shew of Sailing, when three or four Men of War being separated from the rest, fell among a Squadron of the *English* commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen*, who took the *Ruby* a Ship of 1000 Tuns and 500 Men, commanded by Monsieur *De Roche*; which Accident was a fair Pretence for the *French* Fleet to come no further. And *De Ruyter* being forced by Sickness to go home, made the *States* recall their Fleet, and brought the People into great Murmurs at the ill Success of it. *Van Trump* and *De Ruyter* fell out, and laid the Miscarriage upon one another: The States favoured the latter, and took away *Trump*'s Commission, and confined him to *Amsterdam*; and examined many of the Captains for Cowardise or ill Conduct, putting some to death, and fining others.

Fire of *London*.

In the mean time, there came a most dreadful Calamity upon the City of *London*, by a Fire which broke out on Sunday *September* 2. at one in the Morning; of which this Account is inscribed on the famous *Monument*, the most stately Pillar in *Europe*, erected in Memory of it. *The dreadful Fire broke out*

out in a Lane adjoining about Midnight, and being driven by a high Wind, consumed not only the adjacent Places but Places far remote, and with incredible Noise and Fury destroy'd eighty nine Churches, among which was the Cathedral of St. Paul, *City Gates,* Guild-hall, *many publick Structures, Hospitals, Schools, Libraries, a vast Number of stately Edifices, thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling Houses, four hundred Streets; of six and twenty Wards it utterly ruined fifteen, and left eight other shattered and half burnt. The Ruins of the City were four hundred thirty six Acres, extending from the* Tower *along the* Thames-*side to the* Temple-*Church, and from the North-east Gate along the City-Wall to* Holborn-Bridge *or* Fleet-Ditch. *It was mercileſs to the Eſtates and Fortunes of the Citizens, but favourable to their Lives, that it might in all things reſemble the laſt and great Conflagration. The Deſtruction was ſudden, for in a ſhort time the ſame City which was ſeen in a flouriſhing Condition, was reduced to nothing; and after three Days, when the fatal Fire had in appearance overcome all Means of Reſiſtance, and human Counſels, by the Will of Heaven it ſtopp'd and was extinguiſhed.* 18 Car. II.

Various were the Opinions how this Fire began. Moſt People did then look upon it to be the Hand of God in a terrible Judgment upon a wicked City. Some ſuſpected it as an inſidious Way of the *Dutch* and *French* making War upon us, their two Fleets being neareſt to joining at that very time. But others believed it was contrived and carried on by a Conſpiracy of Papiſts; which was offered to be made appear in the *Popiſh Plot.* Sir *Henry Capel*, in a Speech to the Houſe of Commons in 1680, ſpoke thus. 'In 'April 1666. ſome Perſons that were then hang'd, 'confeſſed they had been treated with, and had 'treated with others, to burn the City of *London* in 'September following; of which Confeſſion we then 'took as little notice as we have of other Diſcoveries 'ſince. However, accordingly in *September* thirteen 'thouſand of the Houſes of the City of *London* were 'burnt; and thoſe that were taken in carrying on that 'Work were generouſly diſcharg'd without any Tryal; 'and one Papiſt that confeſſed that himſelf and others 'did ſet the City on Fire, was in great haſte hang'd: Conjectures about it.

An. 1666. ‘ And so the Business was hush'd up, branding *Hubert*, ‘ who then made that Confession, with Madness, as ‘ these last Witnesses with Perjury, Sodomy, and ‘ what not.’ And Mr. *Hawles*, in his Remarks upon *Fitz-Harris*'s Trial, says, *That the Commons resolving to examine* Hubert *upon that Matter, next Day* Hubert *was hang'd before the House sat, and so could tell no farther Tales.* However, what Sense the Nation has had of the Papists setting *London* on Fire, appears from the Inscription round the Monument, signifying, That the said *Dreadful Fire was begun and carried on by the Treachery and Malice of the Popish Faction, in order to the carrying on their horrid Plot for extirpating the Protestant Religion and old* English *Liberty, and the introducing Popery and Slavery.*

Parliament meet.

The Parliament this Year was to have met on *April* 23. but for fear of the Contagion yet remaining, the King by Proclamation on *April* 6. prorogu'd it to *September* 18. next ensuing: At which time they met, and the King in a Speeeh expressed *his Satisfaction to see them happily come together, after the sad Calamities of the Pestilence and Fire.* He then spoke of the *Progress of the War, and his vast Expence in it*; and concluded with *recommending the urgent Occasion of Supply.* The Commons immediately resolv'd, ‘ That the humble and hearty Thanks ‘ of the House should be return'd to his Majesty for ‘ his great Care in the Management of the War; and ‘ that they would grant a Supply proportionable to ‘ the great Occasion of carrying it on:’ And soon after they voted *a Royal Aid of one Million eight hundred thousand Pounds.* And on *September* 25. about three in the Afternoon, the two Houses in a Body attended his Majesty, according to his Appointment, at the *Banquetting-House* in *White-hall*, to manifest their *hearty Concurrence in the Vote for supplying his Majesty, with whatsoever was necessary for carrying on the War*: Which his Majesty received with all the Satisfaction imaginable, and very graciously dismissed them.

Both Houses were truly sensible of the implacable and restless Spirit of the Papists, and made their Addresses to his Majesty for putting the Laws in execution against them. Upon which, on *November* 10.

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a Proclamation was iſſued, *for ſuppreſſing the Inſolence of the Papiſts*, by charging and requiring all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits to depart the Kingdom, *&c.* 18 Car. II.

Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

On *February* 8. his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Lords, where, after a kind and affectionate Speech, he was pleas'd to paſs ſeveral Acts, among which, was an *Act for rebuilding the City of London:* And then he prorogu'd the Parliament till *October* 10. next.

Parliament prorogu'd.

Before the Parliament roſe, there happened ſome little Diſorders among the Lords, principally occaſion'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Beginning was a Challenge between him and the Earl of *Oſſory*, Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, and lately called by the King's Writ to the Houſe of Peers. Upon Examination before their Lordſhips, both confeſſed the ſending and receiving the Challenge; and tho the Earl made it appear that it was upon an old Quarrel, and not for any Words ſpoken in the Houſe, as the Duke pretended, the Earl was committed to the *Tower*, and the Duke to the *Black-Rod*. Being both brought before the Houſe and releas'd, not long after there was another Diſturbance between the ſame Duke and the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, for Room at a free Conference between the Lords and Commons, in the *Painted-Chamber*. Here the Duke preſſing very hard upon the Marqueſs, the latter told him, *He ought not to croud him ſo much, for he was as good a Man as he*. The Duke made ſome very ſmart Reply; to which the Marqueſs return'd him the *Lye:* Upon which the Duke either gave him a Blow or pulled him by the Perriwig; which occaſion'd ſuch a Noiſe and Diſturbance, that the Houſe committed them both to the Tower. Shortly after, the Duke having got his Liberty, without begging the King's Pardon, preſum'd to appear in his Majeſty's Preſence on *Chriſtmas*-Day; for which he was immediately forbid the Court. In his Abſence, his inſolent Behaviour ſoon encreaſed to that Height, that tho he had been both Caterer and Sharer in his Majeſty's Pleaſures, the King thought it neceſſary to iſſue out a Proclamation againſt him, importing, 'That the ſaid Duke, who 'was of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and otherwiſe 'employ'd in great Truſt relating to his Perſon and 'the Publick, and not only bound by common Duty 'and Allegiance, but by ſpecial Ties of Gratitude

Story of the Duke of *Bucks*.

Proclamation againſt him.

An. 1666. 'and Fidelity to the Crown, had notwithſtanding held 'ſecret Correſpondencies tending to raiſe Mutinies in 'ſome of his Majeſty's Forces, and ſtir up Sedition 'amongſt his People, and other traiterous Practices. 'And that when to bring the ſaid Duke to anſwer 'what might be objected againſt him, his Majeſty 'had order'd one of his Serjeants at Arms to appre-'hend him, his Majeſty's Miniſter was ill treated 'and contemptuouſly reſiſted, not without the Know-'ledge of the ſaid Duke himſelf, who had now ſe-'cretly eſcaped, and withdrew himſelf: Therefore 'his Majeſty commands the ſaid Duke to ſurrender 'himſelf, *&c.*' Notwithſtanding this high Diſpleaſure, the King ſtill found ſomething ſo agreeable in the Duke's Perſon and Acquaintance, and his peculiar Services, that he was ſoon admitted to Court, and receiv'd into as great Favour as ever.

Diſturbance in *Scotland.* About this time, there was a Diſturbance in *Scotland:* Fifteen hundred of the Kirk Party got into a Body, and by degrees form'd themſelves into an Army, having their Foot commanded by one *Wallace*, and their Horſe by one *Lairmont*, formerly a Taylor: Moſt of the other Leaders of their Troops were caſhier'd Preachers, by whoſe Advice they all took the *Covenant* at *Lanerick*; and being drawn up for Battel on *Pentland Hills*, they were entirely defeated and diſpers'd by the King's Forces, about five hundred being kill'd, and a hundred taken Priſoners, of which moſt were executed.

This Year died Biſhop *Warner* and Mr. *Calamy*, Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, Mr. *Howel* the firſt Hiſtoriographer Royal, Mr. *Charles Hole* the famous Schoolmaſter, Mr. *Shirley* the celebrated Dramatick Poet, and Serjeant *Glynne*.

An. 1667. The Ambaſſadors extraordinary from *Sweden* (who took leave of his Majeſty in a ſolemn Audience on *April* 26.) were Mediators for a Treaty of Peace with the *Dutch*, to be negotiated at *Breda*: And the King appointed *Denzil* Lord *Hollis*, and *Henry Coventry* Eſq; his Ambaſſadors extraordinary for the ſaid Treaty; who arriving in a few Days at *Breda*, made their publick Entry in a very ſolemn Manner; and fell upon adjuſting the Preliminaries of a common Treaty: Which being ſettled about the Beginning of *June*, the

Treaty of *Breda.*

the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *France* and *Sweden*, the Plenipotentiaries of the *States* and of *Denmark*, repaired to the Caſtle belonging to the Prince of *Orange*, and fell on the Buſineſs of a general Accommodation with great Care and Diligence. Mr. *Coventry*, one of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, was ſent over to the *Engliſh* Court for further Inſtructions, and came back with the full Reſolutions of Agreement. So that on *June* 21. the Articles were ſigned by the ſeveral Miniſters; yet the Inſtruments of Ratification were not interchanged till *Auguſt* 14. when the Peace was immediately proclaim'd before the Doors of all the Plenipotentiaries, and publiſhed by Proclamation in the City of *London* on *Auguſt* 24. and afterwards confirmed by an additional Treaty concluded by Sir *William Temple*, in *January* following. 19 Car. II.

The *Dutch*, both before and after the Treaty of Peace began, had made their uſual Preparations for War: But the King of *England* being inclined to ſave ſo great a Charge for other Occaſions, ſet out no Fleet, and ſeemed to make no Preparations for it. The *Dutch* took advantage of this, and appear'd at Sea with a Fleet of above ſeventy Sail; and well knowing that our great Ships were laid up, they rode in triumph upon our Coaſts, and at the Mouth of the *Thames*; and ſeeing no oppoſition, ſail'd up the *Medway*, and made themſelves Maſters of the Fort of *Sheerneſs*, tho ſtoutly defended by Sir *Edward Spragge*. To ſtop their farther Progreſs, ſeveral Veſſels were ſunk about *Muſcle-Bank*, the narroweſt Part of the River, and a ſtrong Chain was put acroſs; and the Lord General, the Duke of *Albemarle*, was got down there with a Land Force to oppoſe them: but having the Advantage of an eaſterly Wind and a ſtrong Tide, they preſſed on and broke thro the Chain, and burnt the three Ships that lay to guard it, the *Mathias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles the Fifth*, all three *Dutch* Ships taken in the preſent War, damaging many other of our Veſſels, and carrying along with them the Hull of the *Royal Charles*, which was twice fired by the *Engliſh*, and as often quench'd by the Enemy. They advanced with ſix Men of War and five Fireſhips as far as *Upnore* Caſtle, and burnt the *Royal Oak*, and much injur'd the *Loyal London* and the *Great James*, which they left moſt part under

Advantages of the *Dutch*.

They burn the *Engliſh* Ships at *Chatham*.

An. 1667. der Water: And after all this Insult and Mischief, they fell down the River again with no great Damage to themselves, but the running a-ground two of their Men of War, which they were forced to set on fire.

Consternation in the City.

The Consternation at Court and in the City of *London* was extremely great on this Occasion: And when the *Dutch*, after this Advantage, got out to Sea again, they made many other Attempts of Bravery, or rather Revenge; which they continued even after the Peace was actually concluded at *Breda*. They twice more enter'd the River of *Thames*, and getting to Sea again, made to the Western-Coasts, and attempted to land first at *Wenbury* in *Devonshire*, and then near *Cawland* in *Cornwal*; and hovered about with continual Alarms, till not being able any longer to dissemble their Knowledge of a Peace, *De Ruyter* invited some of the *Cornish* Gentlemen on board him, and gave them a liberal Entertainment; and excusing some of his later Acts of Hostility, he dismissed them civilly and sail'd home. It was some wonder to the wiser Men, that these Attempts of the *Dutch* did not at all interrupt or retard the depending Treaty; and that there seemed to be no thoughts of Reprisal, or of any Demand of Satisfaction.

Disgrace of the Lord *Clarendon*.

The Miscarriages of this Summer made it necessary that some great Minister of State should bear the Odium of them, and be given up a Sacrifice to the Murmurs of the People. In pursuance of this common Policy, on *August* 31. his Majesty thought fit to take the Great-Seal from the Earl of *Clarendon*, and give it to Sir *Orlando Bridgman* with the Title of Lord-Keeper; and by that Mark of Disgrace to give up the Lord *Clarendon* to the Malice of his Enemies, who soon hunted him into Impeachment and Banishment.

Death of the Lord Treasurer.

The King discharged this wise Counsellor when he had greatest need of him; for he had within few Months before lost his other greatest Statesman, the Lord Treasurer *Southampton*: and the King not knowing where to find a single Person of equal Capacity for so great a Trust, appointed Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Treasurer of *England*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Lord *Ashley* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Thomas Clifford* Comptroller of the Household, Sir *William Coventry*, and Sir *John Duncomb*, Knights, and Privy-Counsellors.

The

The *French* King with a mighty Army had fallen into *Flanders*, and taken *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Tournay*, *Doway*, *Courtray*, *Liſle*, and other Parts of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and had further advanced his Conqueſts in *Alſatia* and *Franche Comte*, ſo that he began to ſtrike a Terror into the *Dutch*, and a reaſonable Jealouſy into the *Engliſh*, and to make it their mutual Intereſt and Inclination to ſtop the furious Progreſs of his Arms. Under this Diſpoſition the King ſent to Sir *William Temple*, his Reſident at *Bruſſels*, to concert Meaſures with the States for a defenſive Alliance againſt the *French*. The States being very apprehenſive of their Danger, did readily comply with the Propoſals offered by Sir *William*; who came over to wait on the King, and to take his more immediate Inſtructions, and within five Days was ſent back with Powers to conclude a ſtricter defenſive League between his Majeſty and the States-General; which was ſoon concluded and ſigned at the *Hague*, and brought over to *Whitehall* by Mr. *Temple*, Brother to the Envoy, on *January* 19. And becauſe the *Swedes* ſoon after enter'd into it, it was called the *Triple Alliance*, and was ſo grateful to the Parliament, and ſo pleaſing to the People, that it was of mighty Service to the King and his Miniſtry, and cover'd them awhile from all Suſpicion of Popery and a *French* Intereſt.

19 Car. II

Conqueſts of the *French* King in *Flanders*.

Triple League.

About the ſame time, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Sandwich*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador extraordinary to *Spain*, and of Sir *Robert Southwell* his Envoy to *Portugal*, a Peace was concluded between thoſe two Crowns, and the King of *England* declared the Mediator and Guarantee of it: So that all things ſeemed to be put into a Condition of reducing the growing Power of *France*, and eſtabliſhing the Balance of *Europe*.

Peace between *Spain* and *Portugal*.

The Nonconformiſts had this Year ſome Encouragement from a Clauſe in his Majeſty's Speech to the Parliament, on the tenth of *February*, ſignifying, 'That for the ſettling a firm Peace, as well at home 'as abroad, he held himſelf obliged to recommend 'to them, that they would ſeriouſly think of ſome 'Courſe to beget a better Union and Compoſure in 'the Minds of his Proteſtant Subjects in matters of 'Religion, whereby they might be induced not only 'to ſubmit quietly to the Government, but alſo chear-

King's Speech in favour of the Nonconformiſts.

An. 1667. ‘ fully give their Aſſiſtance to the Support of it.’ But the Commons not liking this Propoſal, ſoon preſented a *Petition* to his Majeſty, ‘ That he would iſſue out ‘ his Proclamation for enforcing the Laws againſt Con- ‘ venticles, and that Care might be taken for the Pre- ‘ ſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom, againſt un- ‘ lawful Aſſemblies of Papiſts and Nonconformiſts.’ And accordingly on *March* 10. his Majeſty, who expected a liberal Supply from the Commons, was pleaſed to iſſue out his *Proclamation*, ‘ requiring all his ‘ Magiſtrates and Officers whatſoever to be vigilant ‘ in executing the Laws now in force againſt unlaw- ‘ ful Conventicles; ſtrictly charging them to take care ‘ for the Preſervation of his Kingdom againſt unlaw- ‘ ful Aſſemblies of Papiſts and Nonconformiſts.’

Commons diſlike it.

Proclamation againſt Nonconformiſts.

This Year died Dr. *Matthew Wren*, Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Jeremy Taylor*, Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor* in *Ireland*, and Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, the famous Poet.

An. 1668. The *French* King was ſo afraid of the Conſequence of the Triple League, and the Peace between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, that he immediately enter'd upon a Treaty at *Aix la Chapelle*, employing his greateſt Miniſter Monſieur *Colbert*; and the King of *England* ſending thither his Ambaſſador extraordinary Sir *William Temple*, by their Negotiation a Peace was there concluded between *France* and *Spain*. The Miniſters of the King of *England* and of the *States-General* attended the *French* King at *Paris* on *May* 18. and there exchanged the Inſtrument of Ratification.

Peace between *France* and *Spain*.

Parliament adjourn'd.

On *May* 9. his Majeſty came to the Houſe, and paſſed ſeveral Bills; and the Parliament afterwards adjourn'd till the eleventh of *Auguſt* enſuing: And then again by his Majeſty's Direction they adjourned to the firſt of *March*. But the King being in Peace and Plenty, did, by Proclamation, *December* 18. prorogue the Parliament from the ſaid firſt of *March*, until the nineteenth of *October* following.

And prorogued.

King makes ſeveral Progreſſes.

This Summer the King, the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, &c. made ſeveral Progreſſes into the Country, to *Newmarket*, to *Bagſhot*, to *Portſmouth*, again to *Newmarket* and *Audley-Inn*, to *Ipſwich*, *Harwich*, and other Places; partly for the Diverſion of Hunting, &c. and

and partly for Service in viewing of Ports and the Strength of the Nation. The Navy was the King's particular Delight, and was ſingularly well known and underſtood by him; and tho it was in the Time of a profound Peace, yet he thought it for the Honour of the Nation to ſet out a conſiderable Part of it this Summer, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Allen*. Having with his Royal Highneſs viſited and viewed the Fleet in the *Downs*, on the twenty third of *June* he ordered Sir *Thomas* to ſail thro the Channel, and to the Mediterranean Sea; where he arrived at the City and Port of *Algiers*. Here threatning the Place, they ſoon made an Offer of releaſing all the *Engliſh* Captives, and renewed their former Peace with *England* upon good additional Articles. From hence Sir *Thomas* ſailed for *Tripoli*, at whoſe Appearance the King of the Place ſent out a Brigantine, and a Favourite of his to bid him welcome, aſſuring him of his Readineſs to maintain the antient Friendſhip, and obſerve the Articles already agreed on. 20 Car. II.

After the general Peace of *Europe*, the King, to maintain a friendly Correſpondence, ſent away Sir *William Godolphin*, lately knighted by him, to reſide as his Ambaſſador in the Court of *Spain*; and Sir *Edward Spragge* as Envoy to the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, upon his Entry on the Government of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and Sir *William Temple*, as his Ambaſſador extraordinary in *Holland*; and Sir *Daniel Harvey* as Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*; Sir *John Trevor*, as Envoy extraordinary to *France*; the Earl of *Carliſle* Ambaſſador to the Crown of *Sweden*. And he receiv'd Monſieur *Colbert* as Ambaſſador from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who made his publick Entry into *London*, *Auguſt* 17. as did likewiſe on *September* 17. Signior *Pietro Mocenigo*, Ambaſſador from the State of *Venice*. Ambaſſadors ſent abroad.

This Year died the Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *William Davenant*, and Sir *John Denham*.

While Pleaſures, Diverſions and Entertainments abounded in *England*, on the End of *March* there arrived the famous *Coſmo de Medicis* Prince of *Tuſcany*, whoſe Deſign was to viſit and view the moſt conſiderable An. 1669. Arrival of the Prince of *Tuſcany*.

An. 1669. rable Countries and Places in *Europe*. Removing from *Portugal* and *Spain*, he landed at *Plymouth*, where he was honourably received by Sir *John Skelton* the Governour; and repairing to *Exeter*, he was complimented and attended by the Mayor and his Brethren. On the first of *April* he came to *Salisbury*, where he was waited on by the Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Mayor and Aldermen in their Habits, and the next Day was magnificently entertain'd by the Earl at his House in *Wilton*. And proceeding on his Road, he was met and complimented in the King's Name at *Brentford* by the Lord Viscount *Mandeville*, in one of his Majesty's Coaches; and coming to *London* in private, he was at his Arrival attended by Sir *William Killigrew* with a Compliment from the Queen, by the Earl of *Peterborough* from the Duke of *York*, and from the Dutchess by her Master of the Horse, Sir *William Powel*. At the End of the Month his Highness went along with the King and the Duke and Prince *Rupert* to *Newmarket*; and having diverted himself with the Recreation of that pleasant Place, he went to visit the University of *Cambridge*, and afterwards that of *Oxford*, at both which Places he was receiv'd with all imaginable Respect. A few Days after his Highness's Return to *London*, he was carried by the King into *Hyde-Park*, to take a View of his Majesty's Guards, all drawn up in excellent Order and Equipage. On the last Day of *May*, the King and the Duke of *York*, were pleas'd to do the Prince the Honour to sup with him at St. *Albans-House* in St. *James*'s-*Fields*, and were entertained by him with great Splendor and Magnificence. The next Day he took his leave of the Court, and soon after imbarked for *Holland*, after he had continued in *England* nine Weeks.

Arrival of the Prince of *Denmark*.

About a Month after the Departure of the Prince of *Tuscany*, young Prince *George* of *Denmark* having made a short Tour in *France*, came over to visit the Court of *England*, and about the middle of *July* was by the Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold conducted to his Majesty, and in the Afternoon with equal Ceremony introduced to the Queen; and after a very honourable Reception at the Court, he return'd again for *Denmark*.

On

On the ninth of *July*, in this peaceful Year, was opened the new Theatre of *Oxford*, the noble and magnificent Benefaction of Dr. *Sheldon* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; when the Univerſity in a full Body went to take poſſeſſion of the Place: where after reading his Grace's Grant by the Regiſter of the Univerſity, Dr. *South*, the publick Orator, made a Speech on this occaſion. Shortly after the Archbiſhop reſign'd his Place of Chancellor of the Univerſity, in a Reſolution of retiring from publick Buſineſs, and the Satisfaction of having ſerved the Univerſity with as much Affection as any of his Predeceſſors. He recommended the Duke of *Ormond* to ſucceed him in this honourable Charge, as he accordingly did.

Opening of the new Theatre at *Oxford*.

Tho a Proclamation was this Year alſo iſſued out againſt the Nonconformiſts, yet ſuch was the King's Inclination to Indulgence, that in the Month of *September* Sir *John Baber* was ſent to Dr. *Manton* to inform him, 'That the King was inclined to favour the 'Nonconformiſts, and that an Addreſs now would be 'accepted, and that it ſhould contain a thankful Ac'knowledgment of the Clemency of his Majeſty's Go'vernment, and the Liberty enjoy'd under it.' Whereupon ſuch an Addreſs was ſhortly agreed on, and preſented by Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Ennis*; and the King was pleaſed to meet them in the Earl of *Arlington*'s Lodgings, and promiſed them *to do his utmoſt to get them comprehended within the publick Eſtabliſhment:* Which undoubtedly gave them great Hopes and Encouragement, tho they ſhortly after met with very different Uſage from the two Houſes of Parliament.

King inclin'd to favour the Nonconformiſts.

On the third of *January* died the famous *George Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*, General of his Majeſty's Forces, *&c.* in the ſixty ſecond Year of his Age. As he had been the chief Inſtrument of the King's Return, the King always expreſſed his Senſe of ſo great an Obligation: And it ſhew'd him to be a Man of true Judgment, that the Duke of *Albemarle* behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner to the Prince he had thus obliged, as never to ſeem to overvalue the Services of General *Monk*.

Death of the Duke of the *Albemarle*.

The Queen-Mother *Henrietta Maria*, having left *England* four Years to reſide in her native Country, departed this Life on the tenth of *Auguſt*, at her

Death of the Queen Mother.

 Houſe

An. 1669. Houſe of *Colombe*, four Leagues from *Paris*, in the ſixtieth Year of her Age. Her Body was imbalmed and expoſed ſome time in an Apartment within the Caſtle of *Colombe*, with great Ceremonies. She was no more popular in the Reign of her Son than ſhe had been in that of her Royal Husband, having had the common Imputation of bringing no leſs Misfortunes on the one Reign than ſhe did Miſeries on the other.

An. 1670. The Parliament having prepared their Bills, and diſpatch'd all other Buſineſs, on *Monday April* 11. in the Afternoon his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers; where the two Houſes being met, the King gave his Royal Aſſent to ſeveral Acts; among which were, *An Act to ſuppreſs and prevent ſeditious Conventicles*: *an Act for authorizing ſeveral Commiſſioners of the Realm of* England, *to treat with Commiſſioners of* Scotland, *for the Weal of both Kingdoms*; and *an additional Act for rebuilding of the City of* London, *uniting of Pariſhes, and rebuilding of the Cathedral and Parochial Churches within the ſaid City*.

Act to ſuppreſs Conventicles.

The Subſtance of the Act againſt Conventicles was, 'If any Perſon upwards of ſixteen ſhould be preſent 'at any Aſſembly, Conventicle or Meeting, under co- 'lour or pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, in any 'other manner than according to the Liturgy and 'Practice of the Church of *England*, where there 'were five Perſons or more beſides thoſe of the ſaid 'Houſhold; in ſuch Caſes the Offenders were to pay 'five Shillings for the firſt Offence, and ten Shil- 'lings for the ſecond; and the Preachers and Teach- 'ers in any ſuch Meetings, were to forfeit twenty 'Pounds for the firſt, and forty for the ſecond Of- 'fence: And laſtly, thoſe who knowingly ſuffer any 'ſuch Conventicles in their Houſes, Barns, Yards, &c. 'were likewiſe to forfeit twenty Pounds.'

Fruitleſs Attempt to unite the two Kingdoms.

The Act of treating for a Union between the two Kingdoms, was by concert followed in *Scotland* with an Act of that Parliament for appointing their Commiſſioners to meet and act in purſuance of that great Affair: But after many Conferences and ſeeming Reſolutions of Agreement in the main things, they broke off in mutual Jealouſies and a general Diſſatisfaction.

Dutcheſs of *Orleans* comes into *England*.

The Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, the King's Siſter, was preparingfor a Voyage to *England*, in Appearance for

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a Viſit of Love and Reſpect to her Brothers, in De- 22 Car. II.
ſign with a Meſſage from the *French* Court, to break the Triple League, and to draw in the King of *England* to aſſiſt *France* againſt the *Dutch*. His Majeſty ſent ſeveral Yachts, to receive her at *Dunkirk*, and haſted to *Dover* on *Sunday*, *May* 15. accompany'd by the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and many other Perſons of Honour. The Dutcheſs landed the next Morning, and was received by his Majeſty with all poſſible Expreſſions of Kindneſs. She was attended by ſeveral Perſons of conſiderable Quality, beſides a beautiful Servant, Madam *De Quenovaille*, whom ſhe left behind her an Object of the King's Affection and the Nations, Hatred, who was afterwards made Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*.

The *French* King ſeem'd impatient for his Siſter's Return, as if ſhe were to bring him News of very great Importance; and therefore he came to *Dunkirk*, and ſtay'd there ſome Days for her Arrival; the King of *England* ſending over the Lord *Buckhurſt*, and his Royal Highneſs ſending Mr. *Thynne*, to compliment his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in that Port, which ought rather to have been ſtill in *Engliſh* hands. The Dutcheſs embarked from *Dover* on *Thurſday*, *June* 2. and landed at *Calais* the ſame Evening. But her ſtay in *England* having been longer than Monſieur her Husband allowed or expected, it raiſed a Jealouſy, or at leaſt a Diſcontent in him; and it was plainly owing to his unkind Reception of her, that in her Perfection of Strength, and Health, and Age, ſhe was hurried out of the World within few Days after her Return. Our Court in great Amazement durſt not betray a Suſpicion of her indirect way of dying, but gave this ſoft Account of it: *June* 22. *This Day arrived an Expreſs from Mr.* Montague, *his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at* Paris, *with the ſad News of the Death of Madam, his Majeſty's only Siſter, to the infinite Grief and Affliction of their Majeſties and Royal Highneſſes, as well for the Greatneſs of this Loſs, as for the aſtoniſhing ſuddenneſs of it. She died at* St. Clou, *about four of the Clock on* Monday *Morning, of a ſudden and violent Diſtemper which had ſeized her at five of the Clock the Evening before,*

She returns.

And dies.

An. 1670. *before, and was by the Physicians taken for a kind of Bilious Cholick.*

Arrival of the Prince of *Orange.*

His Majesty received this Year a more happy Visit from his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, who had lately at eighteen Years of Age been chosen first Noble of *Zealand*, and began now to 'shew himself very 'forward, and to deserve the Character of being a 'most extreme hopeful Prince; and to speak more 'plainly (in Sir *William Temple*'s own Words) some-'thing much better than he expected, a young Man 'of more Parts than ordinary, and of the better sort, 'not lying in that kind of Wit which was neither of 'use to one's self nor any body else, but in good plain 'Sense, which shews Application if he had Business 'that deserved it.' He embarked at the *Brill*, *October* 27. upon one of his Majesty's Yachts that waited for him, and arrived at *Margate* the 29th. When he came to *White-Hall*, he was received at the Stair's-foot by the Lord-Chamberlain, and conducted to the Presence of both their Majesties, who embraced him with all possible Demonstrations of Affection and Joy. On *November* 10. the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London* came and complimented his Highness upon his Arrival, as foreboding his being the Restorer and Preserver of their Rights and Liberties. On the 26th being at *Newmarket*, he visited *Cambridge*, and afterwards *Oxford*; and on *Monday*, *Feb.* 15. he parted from *White-Hall* early, in order to his Return for *Holland*, extremely satisfy'd with the universal Esteem and Respect of the Court and People here. Having viewed the Ships that lay in the River, he embarked at *Sheerness*, being accompany'd by the Earl of *Ossory*, whom his Majesty had appointed to attend his Highness in his Passage over. He came to the *Hague* privately in an ordinary Stage-Coach, attended by one or two Servants, to avoid all publick Ceremony; but this could not hinder the People, who had knowledge of his Arrival, from flocking to see him, and expressing by loud Acclamations their Joy for his Highness's safe Return.

King dispos'd to an Alliance with *France.*

The King, by his Sister's Importunity, and other Sollicitations, was now unhappily disposed to a nearer Alliance and Correspondence with the *French* King, who had seconded the Motions supposed to be whispered from the Dutchess of *Orleans*, by his Ambassador

dor in ordinary Monſieur *Colbert*, and by another expreſs Agent the Marquiſs *De Bellefond's*; and to ſoften things, had deſcended from his former Stiffneſs, and deliver'd up to Sir *Charles Wheeler* the *Engliſh* Portion of *St. Chriſtophers*, tho he deſtroy'd all the Plantations, and carry'd away all that was portable, and left the Country in a worſe Condition than if it had never been inhabited. By this Intrigue of new Friendſhip, the *French* King was enabled to keep the Emperor and Duke of *Lorrain* from entring, as before inclined, into the Triple League, and to engage the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, two Princes of the Empire, againſt the *Dutch*, and to prepare a Fleet more formidable than *France* had ever before pretended to ſhew; wherein he was aſſiſted by *Engliſh* Shipwrights and *Engliſh* Timber, to the eternal Reproach of the *Engliſh* Court, and the great Damage of their Dominion and Trade at Sea. 22 Car. II.

His Majeſty, by entring into new Counſels and this ſtricter Correſpondence with the *French* King, became the more jealous of the Diſcontents of his own People; and it was on this account, that on *June* 10. his Majeſty ordered a Proclamation to be iſſued out, 'commanding all Officers and Soldiers, who had 'ſerved in any of the Armies of the late uſurped 'Powers, not having a conſtant Habitation, to depart 'out of *London* and *Weſtminſter* on or before the '16th of *June*, and not to return again or come with-'in twenty Miles, till after the 10th Day of *Decem-'ber* next; and in the mean time to carry no Sword, 'Piſtol, or other Arms.' Proclamation.

James Duke of *Monmouth* was admitted into the Privy-Council on *April* 28. He was the eldeſt and beſt beloved Natural Son of King *Charles* by Mrs. *Lucy Walters*, born at *Rotterdam*, *April* 9. 1649. and bearing the Name of *James Croſts*, till his Majeſty's Reſtoration; bred chiefly at *Paris* under the eye of the Queen-Mother, and the Government of *Thomas Roſs* Eſq; afterwards Secretary to Mr. *Coventry* Ambaſſador to the King of *Sweden*, Keeper of the King's Library, and Groom of the Privy-Chamber. Duke of *Monmouth* riſes in favour.

His Perſon, Mien, and Behaviour in thoſe Years of Childhood, were ſaid to be graceful and majeſtick, and to charm all who ſaw him. He was brought over

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dor in ordinary Monſieur *Colbert*, and by another expreſs Agent the Marquiſs *De Bellefond's*; and to ſoften things, had deſcended from his former Stiffneſs, and deliver'd up to Sir *Charles Wheeler* the *Engliſh* Portion of *St. Chriſtophers*, tho he deſtroy'd all the Plantations, and carry'd away all that was portable, and left the Country in a worſe Condition than if it had never been inhabited. By this Intrigue of new Friendſhip, the *French* King was enabled to keep the Emperor and Duke of *Lorrain* from entring, as before inclined, into the Triple League, and to engage the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, two Princes of the Empire, againſt the *Dutch*, and to prepare a Fleet more formidable than *France* had ever before pretended to ſhew; wherein he was aſſiſted by *Engliſh* Shipwrights and *Engliſh* Timber, to the eternal Reproach of the *Engliſh* Court, and the great Damage of their Dominion and Trade at Sea. 22 Car. II.

His Majeſty, by entring into new Counſels and this ſtricter Correſpondence with the *French* King, became the more jealous of the Diſcontents of his own People; and it was on this account, that on *June* 10. his Majeſty ordered a Proclamation to be iſſued out, 'commanding all Officers and Soldiers, who had 'ſerved in any of the Armies of the late uſurped 'Powers, not having a conſtant Habitation, to depart 'out of *London* and *Weſtminſter* on or before the '16th of *June*, and not to return again or come with-'in twenty Miles, till after the 10th Day of *Decem-'ber* next; and in the mean time to carry no Sword, 'Piſtol, or other Arms.' Proclamation.

James Duke of *Monmouth* was admitted into the Privy-Council on *April* 28. He was the eldeſt and beſt beloved Natural Son of King *Charles* by Mrs. *Lucy Walters*, born at *Rotterdam*, *April* 9. 1649. and bearing the Name of *James Crofts*, till his Majeſty's Reſtoration; bred chiefly at *Paris* under the eye of the Queen-Mother, and the Government of *Thomas Roſs* Eſq; afterwards Secretary to Mr. *Coventry* Ambaſſador to the King of *Sweden*, Keeper of the King's Library, and Groom of the Privy-Chamber. Duke of *Monmouth* riſes in favour.

His Perſon, Mien, and Behaviour in thoſe Years of Childhood, were ſaid to be graceful and majeſtick, and to charm all who ſaw him. He was brought over

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An. 1670. to *England* in *July* 1662. and received by the King at *Hampton-Court* with great Joy and Affection. He had an Apartment in the Privy-Gallery at *White-Hall*, with all things ſuitable to his Birth and Royal Relation. The ſame Year he was created Duke of *Orkney* in *Scotland*, and the 25th of *February* Duke of *Monmouth*. He then took his Seat in the Houſe of Peers; and in *April* 1663. he was inſtalled Knight of the Garter, with the uſual Solemnities at *Windſor*. This Year he was made Maſter of the Horſe, and ſoon after married *Anne* Daughter and Heir to *Francis* Earl of *Buccleugh* in *Scotland*, generally eſteem'd the greateſt Fortune and the fineſt Woman in the three Kingdoms. His Majeſty gave him ſeveral other Places of Honour and Profit, as General of his Land Forces, Captain of his Life-Guards, Lord-Lieutenant of the *Eaſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*, Governor of *Kingſton upon Hull*, Chief Juſtice in Eyre on the South ſide of *Trent*, and in Right of his Lady Duke of *Buccleugh* and Lord Great Chamberlain of *Scotland*; and what was above all the reſt, he grew every Day more and more a Favourite of the King and of the People.

This Year died Biſhop *Skinner*, Biſhop *Hackett*, Dr. *Tuckney*, Sir *Jeffry Palmer*, and *Vavaſor Powel*.

Death of old *Henry Jenkins*.

This Year alſo died old *Henry Jenkins*, a poor Fiſherman of *Yorkſhire*, remarkable for his almoſt incredible Age. He was born in 1501. the 16th Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, and lived a hundred and ſixty nine Years, in the Reigns of eight Kings and Queens of *England*, being 17 Years older than the noted *Thomas Parr*.

An. 1671. Death of the Dutcheſs of *York*.

This Year began with the Death of *Ann* Dutcheſs of *York*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, late Lord Chancellor of *England*: She died *Friday*, *March* 31. in the 34th Year of her Age at the Palace of *St. James's*; and on *Wedneſday*, *April* 5. was interred in a large Vault on the South ſide of *Henry* the ſeventh's Chappel. This Lady, who had lived a firm and zealous Member of the Church of *England*, was in the time of her long Weakneſs importuned and prevail'd upon to declare herſelf a Roman-Catholick; and ſhe left a Paper written not long before her Death, in which ſhe attributed her Converſion

sion chiefly to the reading *Dr.* Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, and to her Diſcourſe with two Biſhops, *Sheldon* of *Canterbury*, and *Blandford* of *Worceſter*. Yet her Change of Religion was by ſome imputed to the Zeal of the Duke her Husband, who prevail'd upon her, notwithſtanding all the Care of her Father, who fearing her Deſertion, wrote two pathetick and expoſtulatory Letters to prevent, or at leaſt lament the Misfortune. She left Iſſue one Son, *Edgar* Duke of *Cambridge*, who died the 8th of *June*, and three Daughters, the Princeſs *Mary*, and the Princeſs *Ann*, afterwards Queens of *England*; and *Catherine*, who at about ten Months old died *December* 6. within this ſame Year. 23 Car. II.

Addreſs of the two Houſes.

The two Houſes, *April* 22. addreſs'd his Majeſty, 'That he wou'd be pleaſed by his own Example, 'to encourage the conſtant wearing of the Manu'factures of his own Kingdoms and Dominions, 'and diſcountenance thoſe made in foreign Countries.' His Majeſty was pleas'd to declare, 'That he wou'd 'comply with their Deſires; that he had in his own 'Perſon as little uſed them as any, and for the future 'wou'd diſcountenance thoſe that ſhould.' The ſame Day, his Majeſty having paſs'd ſeveral Bills, prorogu'd the Parliament till the 16th of *April* next.

Coventry's Act.

About this time an Act paſs'd for *preventing malicious Maiming and Wounding*, by which it was made Felony to diſfigure any Member of the Body. This was occaſion'd by a late barbarous Aſſault upon the Perſon of Sir *John Coventry* by ſeveral Aſſaſſins, one of whom gave him a Wound in his Face, by ſlitting his Noſe.

Attempt to ſteal the Crown.

On the 9th of *May*, a bold and incredible Attempt was made to ſteal the Crown out of the *Tower of London*. About 7 in the Morning, four Men came to Mr. *Edwards* Keeper of the Jewel-Houſe, and deſired to ſee the Crown. Having carried them where it was kept, they clapt a Gag into the old Man's Mouth, who making what Noiſe and Reſiſtance he could, they ſtabbed him in the Belly with a Stilletto, and gave him ſeveral Wounds in the Head with a ſmall Beetle which they had brought to beat together and flat the Crown, in order to make it the more portable: Which having together with the Globe put into Bags provided for that Uſe, they fairly walked out, leaving

An. 1671. ving the old Man grovelling on the Ground, and passed by all the Centinels but one. In the mean time, the Son-in-Law of Mr. *Edwards*, accidentally passing by, and hearing the Door shut and some Bustle, went in to see what was the matter; where he found his old Father in the sad Condition they had left him: Whereupon running out in all haste, and crying to stop the Rogues, they began to mend their Pace; which the last Centinel perceiving, bid them stand: But instead of standing, one of them fired a Pistol at the Centinel, and he his Musket at them; which gave the Alarm so, as with the Pursuit of Mr. *Edwards*'s Son-in-Law, two of the Malefactors were immediately seized: But the other two, with one that held their Horses without the *Tower* Gate, escaped. With the two who were taken, were found the Crown and Globe, only some few Stones missing, which had been loosen'd by the beating of the Crown together with the Mallet. They were immediately carried to *White-Hall*, and one of them proved to be *Bloud*, who some time before had assaulted the Duke of *Ormond* in the Streets; the other was *Perrot* a Silk-Dyer in *Thames-street*. *Bloud* was apparel'd like a Clergy-man, to cover all Suspicion. Within two Hours after, a third was apprehended, as he was escaping on Horseback; and he proved to be *Thomas Hunt*, one of *Bloud*'s Accomplices in his Attempt on the Duke of *Ormond*: But whatever Name he went by, he was indeed the Son of the said *Bloud*, who with great Impudence confessed, that they two were with seven others in that Action; and that before his Majesty, who had the Curiosity to have them examin'd before him. But *Bloud* telling his Majesty, that there were hundreds of them bound by Oaths to revenge the Deaths of any of their Fraternity; but if they were spar'd, he might oblige all the rest to him, who as they were bold and fearless, might signalize themselves by their Service to his Crown; the King not only pardon'd *Bloud* and his Accomplices, and set them at liberty, but the Arch-Villain had five hundred Pounds a Year in Land conferr'd upon him in *Ireland*, and was admitted to all the Privacy and Intimacy of the Court. It was then justly observ'd, That nothing could could render the publick Authority more despicable, than to be terrified from executing Justice upon so great

great a Malefactor, for fear his Confederates ſhould meditate Revenge. 23 Car. II.

Ill Counſellors, Ladies, and Relations, had now ſo great an aſcendent over the King, that they prevail'd on him to promote the Grandeur of *France* and the Growth of Popery. To incite the Court to theſe fatal Meaſures, great Sums of Money were ſent over from the *French* King, to buy off the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, and even their Maſter himſelf. The Deſign of *France* was no leſs than to diſſolve the Triple-Alliance, to promote a new War between *England* and *Holland*, to procure Liberty and Relaxation of Laws to the Papiſts, and (to prevent Interruptions in theſe Deſigns) to keep the Parliament from ſitting; all which things were fatally accompliſhed.

Engliſh Court brib'd by the *French*.

As to the Parliament, for fear they ſhould enquire into the Intrigues that were now depending, his Majeſty was pleaſed to iſſue a Proclamation, *September* 22. for the farther proroguing it from *April* the 16. next enſuing, till *October* 30. following, which ſhou'd be in the Year 1672. Some then were inclin'd to think, that the King would never enter into a War with *Holland* without advice of his Parliament, or at leaſt that he could never ſupport himſelf in it without their Aſſiſtance. But to ſolve this Matter, a fatal Expedient was found out, which was ſaid to be ſuggeſted by the Lord *Aſhley* to Sir *Thomas Clifford*, or at leaſt was the joint Project of the Miniſters who then governed all, *viz. Clifford*, *Aſhley*, *Buckingham*, *Arlington*, and *Lauderdale*, the initial Letters of whoſe Names made up their proper Title of *CABAL*. This Expedient was to ſhut up the *Exchequer*, wherein the Bankers, who had furniſhed the King with vaſt Sums of Money at a high Intereſt, had lodged between thirteen and fourteen hundred thouſand Pounds of other Subjects Money.

Shutting up of the *Exchequer*.

The *French* King having got the King of *England* into his Net, was ſaid to uſe him very ill, by openly declaring, 'That to break with the *Dutch* was none 'of his own Quarrel, and that he only engaged in 'it out of reſpect to his Perſon; and therefore be'fore any War was declared, the King of *England* 'muſt firſt break the Peace by ſome Attempt at Sea.' Accordingly Sir *Robert Holmes* was ordered to lie off of *Portſmouth*, to meet the *Dutch Smyrna*, and

Attempts of quarrelling with the *Dutch*.

An. 1671. *Straits* Fleet, and find a Pretence to intercept them; as he accordingly did. But the first Attempt of breaking the Peace with *Holland*, was in *August*, when the *Dutch* Fleet floating in the Channel, were commanded to strike Sail to a single Yacht, that carried over Sir *William Temple*'s Lady; and upon their not doing it, the Captain of the Yacht fired at them, according to the Orders he received from the Court.

A Declaration of War was resolved upon, but it required some Art to offer sufficient Reasons for it. To furnish the Government with some Pretensions at least, the Committee for the *East-India* Company was ask'd, Whether the *Dutch* had not broke in upon their Trade, or committed any Violence abroad, for which publick Satisfaction ought to be demanded of them. They gave it under their Hands, 'That 'since the Treaty at *Breda*, the *Dutch* had suffi-'ciently observed the Articles of Trade; and they 'knew no Cause on that account of breaking with 'them.' However, the Ministry was resolved to find Causes, or make them; and therefore on the 17th of *March* was publish'd his Majesty's Declaration of War against the States-General of the *United Provinces*, containing the Motives and Reasons inducing his Majesty thereunto; of which the first was, 'The 'Insults of the *Dutch* upon the *English* in their 'Trade in the *East* and *West Indies*, and particularly 'the detaining our *English* Planters in *Surinam*, af-'ter it was restored into their Hands.' A second was, 'The making bold with the King's Person, by 'abusive Pictures, and false Historical Medals and Pil-'lars.' A third was, 'Their invading the Right of 'the Flag, and refusing Satisfaction.' To these Reasons the *Dutch* answer'd, 'That as to Trade, they 'had made no unjust Inroads upon any of the *Eng-'lish* Factories or Plantations; and as to the *English* 'Planters in *Surinam*, they themselves were not wil-'ling to forsake their Effects and Subsistence, and 'therefore staid behind upon their own Choice. As 'to the Pictures and Medals, they said they knew 'of none, except one Medal which might be liable 'to any ill Construction; but as soon as they knew 'of it, they caused the Stamp to be broken. As to 'the Flag, the *States* disowned their Refusal of it, 'and offered to make any reasonable Satisfaction.'

War declar'd against the *Dutch*.

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The States of *Holland* ſeeing this dreadful Storm falling on them, had recourſe to the young Prince of *Orange*, and ſeemed to depend upon Him as born for their Defence and Protection; and therefore they created him, being now 22 Years of Age, General of their Armies, and Admiral of the *United Provinces*. The *States* did this the more willingly upon a Proſpect of ſoftning the *Engliſh* Court, and talked of ſending an Extraordinary Ambaſſador thither, hoping *that the Prince's Promotion, and Satisfaction as to the Flag, wou'd certainly appeaſe them*; wherein it ſeems, they were encouraged by their own Ambaſſador then at *London*. The Prince having accepted of theſe Commands, went to the Army that lay not far from *Nieukop*, where he kept his Poſt againſt the united Forces of the *French*, and conſtrained them to retire with Loſs and Diſhonour: But the Frontier Towns and Gariſons in *Holland* falling every Day into the Hands of the *French*, the People wou'd not be ſatisfied without the Advancement of the Prince of *Orange* to the Office of Stadt-holder, which had been oppoſed and reſolved againſt by the *States* and the Miniſtry. This Affection of the People appeared firſt at *Dort*, where they roſe in Arms, and wou'd not be pacified till the Magiſtrates had ſent for the Prince from the Army, and declar'd him Stadt-holder, with the ſame Power, Dignity, and Authority, which his Anceſtors had formerly enjoy'd. This Example, by the Importunities of the People, was ſoon followed by all the Cities of *Holland*, and *Zealand*, and *Weſt-Frieſland*: And becauſe it was chiefly oppoſed by the Penſionary *De Witt*, and his Brother *Cornelius* Bailiff of *Putten*, they were torn in pieces by the Rabble at the *Hague*.

23 Car. II.

The *States* repair to the Prince of *Orange*.

He goes to the Army.

He is made Stadt-holder.

When the Prince was thus advanced, the *French* made their Applications to him, with a Propoſal of making him Sovereign of thoſe Provinces under the Protection of *England* and *France*: But tho the Temptation at that time was very inviting, he had the Honour to deſpiſe it, and anſwer, 'That he 'wou'd not betray the Truſt repoſed in him, nor ever 'ſell the Liberty of his Country, which his Anceſtors 'had ſo long defended.' Yet the Game he play'd was then thought ſo deſperate, that one of his greateſt Confidents expoſtulated with him, and asked him,

French make Propoſals to him.

An. 1671. *How he pretended to live after* Holland *was lost; and whether he had thought so far.* He answered, *He was resolved to live upon his Lands in* Germany; *and that he had rather spend his Life in Hunting there, than sell his Country or his Liberty to* France *at any Price.*

Declaration of Indulgence.

To conclude the Affairs of *England* for this Year, on *March* 15. his Majesty, by Advice of his Privy-Council, publish'd a Declaration of Indulgence to Nonconformists, signifying his Will and Pleasure, 'That the Execution of the Penal Laws in Matters 'Ecclesiastical, against whatsover sort of Noncon-'formists or Recusants, be immediately suspend-'ed; and all Judges, Judges of Assize and Goal-'Delivery, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, 'Bailiffs, and other Officers whatsoever, whether Ec-'clesiastical or Civil, are to take notice of it, and 'pay due Obedience thereunto.'

This Year died the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Bishop *Nicholson*, Bishop *Wishart*, Dr. *Meric Casaubon* Son of the most learned *Isaac Casaubon*, Dr. *Worthington*, and Judge *Keeling*.

An. 1672. On the 7th of *April*, the *French* King seeming to follow an Example that he had really given, publish'd his Declaration of War against the *States-General*, containing, 'That the Dissatisfaction his Majesty 'has in the Carriage of the *States-General* of the '*United Provinces* towards him for some Years past, 'being come to that point that his Majesty cannot 'longer, without diminution of his Glory, dissemble 'the Indignation raised in him by a Treatment so un-'suitable to the great Obligations which his Majesty 'and the Kings his Predecessors have so liberally 'heaped upon them; he had resolved to declare 'War against the said *States*, forbidding therefore 'all his Subjects to hold any Correspondence with 'them on pain of Death, *&c.*'

French King's Declaration of War.

Honours and Preferments.

On *April* 20. his Majesty of *England* was pleased to create the Right Honourable *John* Earl of *Lauderdale*, Principal Secretary of State for *Scotland*, Duke of *Lauderdale* in the said Kingdom; *Henry* Lord *Arlington*, his Majesty's Principal Secretary, Earl of *Arlington* and Viscount *Thetford*; *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Earl of *Shaftesbury*, and Baron *Cooper* of *Paulet*;

Paulet; and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold, Baron *Clifford* of *Chudleigh*. 24 Car. II.

Engliſh and *French* Fleets.

The *French* King ſent out a Squadron of Ships under the Count *D'Eſtrees*, Vice-Admiral of *France*; who arriving at *St. Hellens* on *May* 3. the King and his great Officers went immediately to *Portſmouth* to compliment him; and the *Engliſh* Fleet ſailed from the *Downs* and joined with them: The Duke of *York* as Admiral was Commander of the Red, Monſieur *D' Eſtrees* of the White, and the Lord *Sandwich* of the Blue. The *Dutch* were as early abroad, and were ſeen off of *Dover*, ſtanding for *Calais*, on *May* 9. and chaſed the *Gloceſter* and other Frigats into the River as far as *Sheerneſs*, on *May* 13. On the 19th the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleet got the firſt ſight of the *Dutch*, about eight Leagues E. S. E. of the *Gunfleet*, and put themſelves in a readineſs for Engagement the next Morning; but being again ſeparated by hazy Weather, the *Engliſh* ſtood into *Sold-Bay*, and lay there at Anchor till *May* 28. when the *Dutch* fell in with them and ſurprized them. They began the Engagement with the Blue Squadron, and the *Royal James* commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich*, was the firſt Ship they fired, which after great Execution was at laſt burnt by a *Dutch* Fireſhip, and the brave Earl periſhed in her, with many gallant Gentlemen, Captain *Haddock* getting off with a Wound in his Thigh. The Duke was becalmed, and could not draw into a Line of Battel, but yet received much Damage. The *French* had not Sea-room, and might have weathered the *Dutch* and diſengaged the *Engliſh*; but they fired at a diſtance, and moſt of their Shot fell ſhort: yet their Vice-Admiral was killed. The Fight continued till nine at Night, when Sir *Joſeph Jordan* getting the Weather-gage of the *Dutch*, they ſtood away, and the Duke ſailing after them, got the appearance of a Victory.

An Engagement.

Death of the Earl of *Sandwich*.

Shaftsbury made Lord-Chancellor.

The Change of the Lord Keeper was thus reported by Authority, 'November 17. His Majeſty reflecting upon the Age and continual Indiſpoſition of Sir 'Orlando Bridgeman Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal 'of *England*, hath thought fit to admit of his Reſignation thereof, with all Demonſtration, on his Majeſty's part, of his Kindneſs and Eſteem of the ſaid

An. 1672. 'Lord-Keeper's Merit towards him. And his Majesty willing to gratify the uninterrupted good Service of the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, Chancellor of his Exchequer and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, was pleas'd this Day to give unto him the Keeping of the Great-Seal, with the Title of Lord-Chancellor of *England*.' But whatever was pretended, the Earl of *Shaftesbury* had the Seals given him for the Part he had in breaking the Triple-League, and entring into the new Alliance with *France*; into which Measures Sir *Orlando Bridgman* would not enter, and therefore was obliged to resign the Seals on the forementioned Day. He had honestly declar'd, as soon as the Triple-League was made, *That he would endavour in his Station the inviolable Observance of it.*

Duke of *Monmouth* sent into the Field.

The Duke of *Monmouth* was now sent abroad to distinguish himself by Arms and some Experience in them. The King of *England* by his Agreement with *Lewis* the Fourteenth of *France*, was to send six thousand Men into his Service by Land. These Forces being *English* and *Scots* were commanded by the Duke of *Monmouth*, who arrived in the *French* Camp near *Charleroy*, towards the End of *April*. A Detachment of twenty thousand Men and a Train of Artillery under the Viscount *De Turenne*, were sent towards *Maestricht*; and the next Day the *French* King followed with the Body of the Army, accompanied by the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Monmouth*. The Count *De Lorge* invested the Place with three thousand Horse; but the King calling a great Council, at which the Duke of *Monmouth* assisted, 'twas there resolv'd to turn the intended Siege of *Maestricht* into a Blockade. So twenty thousand Men were left before it for that purpose; and the rest of the Army march'd to the *Rhine*. The Duke was at the taking of *Orsoy*, *Rhineberg*, *Wezel*, *Emmerick*, *Doesburg*, and *Zutphen*; and was in the *French* King's Camp near *Utrecht*, when that City sent her Keys to the Conqueror. On the fifth of *July*, the Duke, with the *English* Noblemen and Gentlemen, Voluntiers in the *French* Army, went to view the Town, and were honourably entertain'd by the Magistrates. On the eleventh of *July* the Army broke up, and march'd back to *Flanders*; and the Campaign being over, the King return'd

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to *St. Germains* and the Duke to *England*. On his Arrival at *London*, he was received with univerſal Joy; for tho the People diſliked the War, yet they were pleas'd to hear how much the Duke of *Monmouth* was a Hero in it. 24 Car. II.

September 17. his Majeſty in Council order'd a Proclamation to be ſet forth, 'That whereas he had 'lately prorogu'd the Parliament from the ſixteenth 'Day of *April* laſt, unto the thirtieth of *October* next 'enſuing, for divers weighty Reaſons he did again 'prorogue the ſaid Parliament from the ſaid thirtieth 'of *October* until the fourth Day of *February* next 'enſuing.' In the mean time his Majeſty was to raiſe Men and provide Money by his own Intereſt and Authority. On the ſaid fourth of *February*, the two Houſes met at *Weſtminſter*, where his Majeſty having commanded the Houſe of Commons to attend him in the Lords Houſe, the Lord Chancellor did by his Majeſty's Command acquaint them, 'that by the late Ad-'vancement of Sir *Edward Turner* to the Place 'of Lord chief Baron of his Majeſty's Court of Ex-'chequer, the Place of Speaker of that Houſe was 'now void; and that it therefore was his Majeſty's 'Pleaſure, they ſhould forthwith return to their Houſe 'to chuſe a Speaker, and preſent him the next day.' Which the Houſe accordingly did, having unanimouſly made choice of Sir *Job Charlton* to ſupply that Place. But he being ſoon weary of the Chair, the Houſe unanimouſly choſe *Edward Seymour* Eſq; to ſucceed him. Parliament meet.

Soon after, both Houſes join'd in an Addreſs to his Majeſty, repreſenting their 'Fears and Apprehenſions 'of the Growth of Popery in theſe Kingdoms, to-'gether with the Cauſes thereof, and alſo ſuch Re-'medies as they conceived may be proper to prevent 'ſuch growing Miſchiefs.' Upon which his Majeſty, *March* 13. iſſued out his Proclamation, ſtrictly charging all Jeſuits and *Romiſh* Prieſts to depart the Kingdom, and the Laws to be put in execution againſt all *Popiſh* Recuſants, or ſuch as are juſtly ſuſpected to be ſo. Addreſſes of both Houſes, as to the Growth of Popery.

But Proclamations of this kind having been formerly things of courſe, the two Houſes were not ſatisfied; but on the next Day preſented to his Majeſty another Addreſs, repreſenting *the beſt Means in their Opinion for the ſatisfying and compoſing the Minds of his Subjects.* Another Addreſs.

An. 1672. *jects.* And the King ſeeing them now in earneſt, began to recede from his Diſpenſation of Indulgence, and his declared Reſolution of keeping to it, and aſſured them, 'That he readily agreed to what they had 'propos'd, and would take care to ſee it perform'd ac-'cordingly.' And the next day, his Majeſty renew'd it in a more ſolemn manner by a Speech to both Houſes, in which he alſo earneſtly preſs'd the Commons to a ſpeedy Diſpatch of the Supply. This Speech ſo far ſweetned the Commons, that they proceeded in the Supply, and the other Bills before them; and yet in the Money-Bill they would not expreſly own the *Dutch* War, or ſeem to maintain it, but worded it only, *to ſupply the King's extraordinary Occaſions*: And before they parted with the Bill, they tack'd a Proviſo to it, *That no Papiſt ſhould be capable of holding any publick Employment.* It muſt be obſerved, that while the Commons ſhewed ſo much Reſentment at the King's Indulgence to Proteſtant Diſſenters, they excepted more againſt the Way of doing it than againſt the Thing it ſelf, if done in a legal manner: And 'twas much for the honour of Alderman *Love*, one of the Members for the City of *London*, that tho he was a Diſſenter, no one ſpoke more warmly againſt the King's diſpenſing with the Laws in their favour by his own arbitrary Power. And on *February* 14. the Commons reſolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, *That a Bill be brought in for the Eaſe of his Majeſty's Subjects, who are Diſſenters in Matters of Religion from the Church of* England: And the Bill having paſs'd that Houſe, was carried to the Lords, but thrown out by them.

Bill for Eaſe of Diſſenters dropt.

The Prince of *Orange* being now Stadt-holder of *Holland*, was in effect the only Protector of the Liberties of *Europe*, and the only Oppoſer of the exceſſive Power of *France*. It was a general report that deſerves Credit, when the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Lords *Arlington* and *Halliſax*, were ſent upon an Embaſſy this Summer to the *French* King at *Utrecht*, his Grace had a long Diſcourſe with the Prince about the bad Poſture of the Affairs of his Country, and uſed many Arguments to him in vain for his accepting the Sovereignty of it under the Protection of *England* and *France*. He told him at laſt, *He wonder'd what he could propoſe to himſelf in ſuch a deſperate Caſe, ſince according to the Humour he perſiſted in,*

he

he muſt unavoidably ſee the final Ruin of his Country: To which the Prince replied, *That what his Grace ſaid concerning their dangerous Condition was indeed true; but yet that he had one way ſtill left not to ſee it compleated, which was, to lie in the laſt Dike*: by which he meant the fighting of it out to the laſt. Under this intrepid Reſolution he attack'd *Woerden*, and beat off the Duke of *Luxemburg* from two ſeveral Attempts of relieving the Town; but having loſt Colonel *Zuleſtein* who refuſing Quarter was ſlain, he was forced to riſe from that Siege, and to march for *Roſendale*, the Place appointed for the general Rendezvous. A certain Colonel by the way had the Curioſity to ask him, *What great Deſign he had at that time againſt the* French: He put another Queſtion to him by way of Reply, *Whether he would diſcover his Deſign to any Perſon in the World, that ſhould be ſo impertinently inquiſitive to ask him*; the Colonel anſwering in the Negative, *Then*, ſaid the Prince, *my Tongue is alſo endued from Heaven with the ſame Grace*. From *Roſendale*, with an Army of 24000 Horſe and Foot, he march'd directly towards the Country of *Liege*, and made the Count *De Duras* retire with his Army to *Waſſemburgh*, and decline a Battel which the Prince provok'd him to. After this, the Prince with a great Detachment took in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Volkeren*, and then inveſted *Charleroy*: but finding a formal Siege impracticable, made himſelf Maſter of *Binch*; and retiring thro *Brabant*, diſpoſed his Army into Winter Quarters. And when *Luxemburgh*, with an Army of 14000 Horſe and Foot, marched over the Ice to invade the Province of *Holland*, about the end of *December*, the Prince haſted to *Alſen*, and by his Preſence upon a ſudden Thaw made the *French* glad to retire with conſiderable Loſs.

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Bravery of the Prince of *Orange*.

This Year died Dr. *John Coſen* Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *Wilkins* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, Mr. *Philip Nye*, and Mr. *Francis Willoughby*.

On *March* 26. the Commons preſented an Addreſs to the King, for the more effectual reſtraining and puniſhing of Popiſh Recuſants, and for the better Security of the Proteſtant Religion. And on *March* 29. his Majeſty came to the Houſe, and paſs'd ſeveral Bills;

An. 1673.

An. 1673. Bills; among which the most remarkable was, *for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants.* This was commonly called the *Test-Act*, which required, 'That all Persons bearing any Office 'or Place of Trust or Profit, should take the Oaths 'of Supremacy and Allegiance, in open Court; and 'should also receive the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper according to the Usage of the Church of *England*, in some Parish-Church on some Lord's-Day, immediately after Divine Service and Sermon, and deliver a Certificate of having so received it under the 'Hands of the respective Minister and Church-Wardens, proved by two credible Witnesses upon Oath, 'and put upon Record in Court: And that all Persons 'taking the said Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, 'should likewise make and subscribe this following 'Declaration: *I* A. B. *do declare, that I do believe, 'that there is not any Transubstantiation in the 'Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person whatsoever.*' After passing this Act, many Popish Officers quitted their Trusts; and the Duke of *York* himself, who was High Admiral of *England*, and the Lord Treasurer *Clifford*, both laid down their Places. The latter is said to have been so much disgusted at the King's passing this Bill, and some other Condescensions, that he retired and died in Privacy and Discontent in his own Country of *Devonshire*. Upon passing the Bills aforemention'd, his Majesty adjourn'd the Parliament to the twentieth of *October*.

Test-Act.

Actions at Sea.

This Summer was full of Action at Sea: The *Dutch* with their usual Diligence were first abroad, and intended some Advantage by their early Expedition: For on *April* 30. O. S. Admiral *De Ruyter* sail'd from the *Maese* with forty two Ships of War to the Mouth of the *Thames*, in hopes by sinking some Vessels to block up the River, and hinder the *Canary*, *Bourdeaux* and *Newcastle* Fleets from getting in: But they had happened to go up the River two Days before. *De Ruyter* hearing this, return'd to *Schonevelt*, where he was join'd by Admiral *Trump* with the *Amsterdam* Squadron, in the Command whereof he succeeded the Baron *Van Ghent*, kill'd in the last Summer's Engagement. By *May* 12. the *English* Fleet was ready, and Prince *Rupert* as Admiral went on board the *Royal Charles*

Charles at *Dungeneſs*; and on the *16th* the *French* Squadron commanded by the Count *D' Eſtrees* came up and join'd the *Engliſh* off of *Rye*. The King and the Duke went down to ſee the Fleet, and left them on *May* 19. ready to ſail with the firſt fair Wind. Before his coming away, his Majeſty made the Earl of *Oſſory* Rear-Admiral of the Blue. Prince *Rupert* commanded the main Body, Sir *Edward Spragge* the Blue Squadron, and the Count *D' Eſtrees* the White. The *French* were mingled with the *Engliſh* to prevent their running away, as they were ſaid to have done in the Fight at *Sole-Bay* the laſt Year. The *Engliſh* and *French* made about a hundred and ten Sail, the *Dutch* near a hundred. When *De Ruyter* ſaw the Confederates appear, he weigh'd anchor to meet them; and the firſt Engagement began near *Schonevelt* on *May* 28. In which 'tis certain that both Sides were well beaten; and therefore both ſides claim'd the Victory: The greateſt Argument of the Victory inclining to the *Dutch*, was their ſetting out early again, and ſailing to the *Engliſh* Coaſts, where they challeng'd and attack'd the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleet on *June* 4. The Fight laſted ſix Hours without much Loſs on either ſide, ſo that both again pretended to the Victory, and both indeed deſerv'd it. By the latter end of *July*, the *Engliſh* and *French* having repaired their Ships, return'd to the Coaſts of *Zealand*; and *De Ruyter* left his Port of *Schonevelt* to meet the Enemy. A third Engagement begun on Monday *Auguſt* 11. Count *D' Eſtrees* led the Confederates White Squadron, Prince *Rupert* the main Line, and Sir *Edward Spragge* the Blue Squadron. The *French*, as was uſual for them to do in this War, fled, and kept out of the reach of the Cannon. *Tromp* and *Spragge* fought with their wonted Bravery. *Tromp* forced *Spragge* twice out of his Ship, and *Spragge* compelled *Tromp* once to change his. *Bankert* of the *Zealand* Squadron met with very little Reſiſtance from *D' Eſtrees* in the White: ſo he join'd with *De Ruyter*, who engaged Prince *Rupert*, and very much diſtreſſed him. Vice-Admiral *De Liefds* and *Sweers* were killed of the *Dutch*, and Sir *Edward Spragge* drown'd, a Cannon-Ball ſtriking his Boat and ſinking it, as he was going out of his ſecond Ship into the third.

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The

An. 1673. The greateſt Change this Year in the *Engliſh* Court, was by the Diſgrace of the Lord Chancellor *Shafteſbury*, who had lately ſet himſelf at the Head of the diſcontented Party, and earneſtly oppoſed all thoſe Meaſures which were thought to tend to the Growth of Popery, or to the Exerciſe of arbitrary Power. He was particularly inſtrumental in getting the Teſt-Act paſs'd. For which reaſons he became very uneaſy to the Duke of *York*, who prevailed with his Brother to remove him, which he did on Sunday *November* 9. He reſigned the Seals with great Chearfulneſs, and putting on his Sword, he return'd home as unconcern'd as if he had brought the Mace back with him. The Great-Seal was immediately given to Sir *Heneage Finch*, his Majeſty's Attorney-General, with the Title of Lord-Keeper.

Lord *Shafteſbury* remov'd.

Sir *Heneage Finch* made Lord-Keeper.

October 20. the two Houſes met according to Adjournment, and were prorogu'd by Commiſſion to the 27th Inſtant. The Commons ſeem'd very uneaſy in their Fears of Popery and a Popiſh Faction at Court, and preſented to his Majeſty two bold Addreſſes againſt the Match, which had been this Summer treated and concluded by his Majeſty's Conſent between the Duke of *York* and *Mary* Princeſs of *Modena*; but contrary to their Opinion and Importunity, the King told them it was too late to prevent it. And the Liberty they took of interpoſing in this Affair, was ſo unacceptable to the Court, that on Tueſday *November* 4. his Majeſty prorogu'd the Parliament till the ſeventh of *January* next. In the mean time, to make ſome ſhew of ſatisfying the Commons, in ſuppreſſing the Fears of Popery, his Majeſty was pleas'd on *November* 14. to call before him in Council the Lords Chief-Juſtices, and the Lord Chief-Baron, and to command them to conſider of the moſt effectual Means of putting the Laws in execution for preventing the Growth of Popery, and ſpeedily to report the ſame to him. On the ſeventh of *January*, the two Houſes met in purſuance of their late Prorogation; and both began to ſhew their Diſcontent at the Continuance of a War with *Holland*, and at the Progreſs of the *French* Arms, and at the Prevalence of Popiſh Counſels. The Commons on *October* 31. had voted, 'That conſider-'ing the preſent Condition of the Nation, they 'will not take into further Conſideration any Aids 'or

Commons uneaſy at the Duke of *York*'s Match.

Parliament prorogu'd.

Meets again.

'or Charges upon the Subject, except it ſhall ap- 25 Car. II.
'pear, that the Obſtinacy of the *Dutch* ſhall ren-
'der it neceſſary; nor before this Kingdom be effec-
'tually ſecured from Popery and Popiſh Counſels, and
'other Grievances be redreſs'd.' And they now join'd with the Lords in another Addreſs, to expreſs themſelves paſſionately ſenſible of the Calamities of this Kingdom, 'not only by reaſon of the War, wherein it 'is at preſent involv'd, but many other inteſtine Di-'viſions; which are chiefly occaſion'd by the under-'mining Contrivances of Popiſh Recuſants, whoſe 'Numbers and Inſolencies are greatly of late encreas'd, 'and whoſe reſtleſs Practices threaten a Subverſion 'both of Church and State.' Nay, the Commons were ſo weary of the War with *Holland*, and ſo apprehenſive of the Power and Intrigues of *France*, and of the Delays in the Treaty now depending at *Cologn*, that they did in effect declare for a ſpeedy Peace, and encourage the States of *Holland* to a ſecret Correſpondence with them on that Occaſion. And indeed it was this univerſal Inclination of the Parliament and People of *England*, that induced the King to deſert the *French*, and to make the United-Provinces once more his Friends and Allies: And therefore on *January* 24. his Majeſty communicated to both Houſes a Letter together with Propoſitions for Peace, which he had received from the States-General, by the Hands of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; and on *January* 27. the Commons, upon peruſing the ſaid Propoſals, agreed, that his Majeſty be deſired to proceed in a Treaty in order to a ſpeedy Peace. This Treaty was happily managed by Sir *William Temple*, and ſoon concluded to the great Satisfaction of both Nations. The Articles were ſigned on *February* 9. by the Lords his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, and by the Marqueſs *Del Freſno* Extraordinary Ambaſſador of *Spain*, on the part of the States-General, by virtue of the Power he had received from them. And on *February* 11. his Majeſty acquainted the Parliament, That he had made an honourable, and (as he hop'd) a laſting Peace with the States-General of the United Provinces; which was entertain'd with an univerſal Satisfaction in both Houſes. This great Work being happily accompliſh'd, his Majeſty on *February* 24. prorogu'd the Parliament till the tenth of *November* next.

Peace between *England* and *Holland*.

Parliament prorogu'd.

An. 1673. This Year died Dr. *Thomas Browne*, Dr. *Thomas Horton*, Sir *Robert Murrey* one of the first Contrivers and Institutors of the famous *Royal-Society*, of which he was made the first President; Dr. *John Wilson*, the most noted Musician in *England*; *Oliver St. John* Esq; who obtain'd the Name of *Oliver Cromwel's Dark Lanthorn*; and the Lord *Clifford*.

An. 1674. The King was thought to have been so much offended with the Parliament in their last Session, that he had no mind to meet them again, tho they had been so long endeared to him by so many agreeable Acts and continual Supplies: Hence the popular Rumour was, That his Majesty intended to dissolve the Parliament. But the King apprehending that a Report of this nature might irritate some of the leading Members, and be otherwise prejudicial to his Affairs, publish'd a Proclamation, *May* 2. against all such Reports. Yet still he did not think fit to suffer them this Year to sit and remonstrate against Popery; and therefore on *September* 22. by Proclamation he further prorogu'd them from *Nov.* 10. to the thirteenth of *April* ensuing. And in the mean time, that he might seem to answer the Addresses of their last Meeting, his Majesty on *June* 10. in Council at *Hampton-Court* issu'd out his Proclamation for suppressing of Popery, and convicting *Romish* Priests and Jesuits, who daily grew more numerous and insolent.

Reports of dissolving the Parliament.

There were certainly great Reasons for the popular Jealousies of Popery: for the Plot that had been more or less carried on for several Years to support, if not restore, the *Romish* Religion in *England*, began now to work in a more vigorous Manner; as appears by several Letters written this Year by Mr. *Coleman* the Duke of *York*'s Secretary, to the *French* King's Confessor, and the Pope's Internuncio. In one to the latter, dated *September* 4. 1674. he tells him, 'That the 'Duke's principal Design is to use the Pope's Interpo- 'sition, and by that means to establish himself in the 'possession of his Estate, thro the Assistance of *France* 'and *Spain*; and to turn all their Cares for the Ease 'of the Pope's Friends, and particularly for the Ca- 'tholicks of the Church against their great Enemies; 'and assures him, he will find that the Pope never 'had an Occasion so favourable as at this Hour, to

Jealousies of Popery.

'enrich thoſe of his Family, and to augment the Num- 26 Car. II.
'ber of his Friends; and if he lets it ſlip, he will ne-
'ver find the like: ſo that if ever they propoſe to
'make uſe of the Treaſure of the Church, it is now
'they ought to do it, for they can demand nothing,
'that the Duke will not be capable to do for the
'Pope's Friends.' And in another Letter of *October* 23. Mr. *Coleman* to the Pope's Internuncio begins thus: 'You agree with me, that Money is the only means 'of bringing the King into the Duke's Intereſt, and 'of diſengaging him from the Parliament; and you 'muſt alſo agree with me, that nothing can more 'promote the Intereſt of the Catholick Party, which 'is the particular Object of the Duke's Care and Af-'fection, and of the Hatred of the Parliament, and 'which muſt hope or fear according as the one or the 'other of them increaſe in Power.' Theſe Letters, with the other written to the *French* King's Confeſſor, without any other concurring Evidence, are more than ſufficient to prove, that the *Roman* Catholicks in *England* were full of Hopes and Expectations under the Influence and Protection of the Duke of *York*, and under the Proſpect of his Succeſſion to the Crown; not to ſay that they knew the King would fall into the ſame Meaſures, ſo far as was conſiſtent with his preſent Peace and Quiet.

King accepts of the Freedom of the City.

His Majeſty being nobly entertain'd at *Guild-Hall* on *October* 29. when Sir *Robert Viner* was ſworn Lord-Mayor, did condeſcend to accept of the Freedom of the City in the Chamberlain's Office from the Hands of Sir *Thomas Player*: Upon which the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council unanimouſly agreed to teſtify their Senſe of ſo unparallel'd a Favour done to the City, beyond the Example of all his Progenitors. And accordingly the Lord-Mayor, attended by his Brethren and the Common-Council, waited on his Majeſty *December* 18. in the Banqueting-Houſe, where on his Knees he preſented the King with a Copy of the ſaid Freedom, curiouſly written on Vellum, and adorned with gilding after the beſt manner, in a large ſquare Box of maſſy Gold; the Seal of the ſaid Freedom hanging at it, incloſed in another Box of Gold, ſet all over with large Diamonds to a conſiderable Value: which his Majeſty was pleaſed graciouſly to

An. 1674. accept, with many Expreſſions of great Kindneſs to the City.

The King having made Peace with *Holland*, had the Honour of a Mediation for the general Peace of Chriſtendom, being the principal Neutral and uningaged; notwithſtanding which, he became in effect a ſecret Penſioner to the *French* King, as ſufficiently appears by the Letters publiſh'd by the late Duke of *Leeds*; wherein we find that that Monarch being apprehenſive of the Power of his *Britannick* Majeſty, and his reſuming the Triple Alliance, tho much diſobliged at the ſeparate Peace, was willing to comply with his Wants and his Pleaſures, and to allow him a conſiderable annual Stipend or Gratuity of at leaſt a hundred thouſand Pounds, beſides caſual Donatives.

King *Charles* a Penſioner to *France*.

On the third of *February* ſeveral Orders and Reſolutions were taken by the King in Council for the more effectual Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants, and the Suppreſſion of Conventicles; of which the laſt was this: 'And his Majeſty doth further order and 'appoint, that effectual Care be taken for the Sup'preſſion of Conventicles; and whereas divers pretend 'Licences from his Majeſty, and would ſupport them'ſelves by that Pretence, his Majeſty declares, That 'all his Licences were long ſince recall'd, and that 'no Conventicle hath any Authority, Allowance, or 'Encouragement from his Majeſty.' And ſoon after the King publiſhed a Declaration for enforcing the ſaid Orders made in Council.

Orders of Council.

This Year died Dr. *Benjamin Laney* Biſhop of *Ely*; Judge *Vaughan*; Dr. *Jonathan Goddard*, a celebrated Phyſician and Virtuoſo belonging to *Cromwel* himſelf, who made him one of his Council of State; the Earl of *Clarendon*, who ended his Days at *Roan* in *France*, after ſeven Years Exile from his native Country, to which Exile the World owes a conſiderable Part of his Hiſtory; and laſtly, that incomparable Poet Mr. *John Milton*, who in his *Paradiſe Loſt*, has manifeſted ſuch a wonderful ſublime Genius as perhaps was never exceeded in any Age or Nation in the World.

An. 1675. Teſt of Abhorrence.

The Houſe of Commons had been thought ſullen in their two laſt Seſſions, and had proceeded contrary to the Humour and Deſign of the Court; and therefore

fore to purge them, or refine them, a Bill was now brought into the Houſe of Lords, entitled, *An Act to prevent the Danger that may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government*: Wherein was to be impoſed an Oath or Teſt of Abhorrence on all who enjoy'd any beneficial Offices Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military, and on all Privy-Counſellors, Juſtices of Peace, and Members of Parliament. It was at firſt propoſed to be in the ſame Form with that required from the diſſenting Clergy by the *Oxford Five-Miles Act*, and was carried on vehemently by the Court-Party, and as vehemently oppoſed by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and thoſe Peers who were reputed to be in the Intereſt of their Country; who look'd upon it as a Project to divide the Proteſtants, and to ſtrengthen the Popiſh Party. It was debated in Paragraphs for ſeventeen Days together, and ſhewn by the Country Lords to be in the ſeveral Parts of it either vain or ſuperfluous, or inconſiſtent with it ſelf, or oppoſite to the preſent Conſtitution of this Kingdom. It ſeems probable that theſe Debates would have proceeded to greater Heats and Animoſities, if they had not been interrupted by another Difference ariſing between the two Houſes in a Caſe of Judicature and Privileges, occaſion'd by Dr. *Shirley*'s bringing an Appeal in the Houſe of Lords from a Decree in *Chancery* againſt Sir *John Fagg* a Member of the Houſe of Commons. The Diſpute on this Occaſion was carried to ſuch a Height, that Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Peck*, Sir *John Churchill*, and Mr. *Porter*, being concern'd as Council in this Cauſe, were taken up in *Weſtminſter-Hall* by the Speaker's Warrant, and committed to the *Tower* for Breach of Privilege. The Managements in this Affair growing ſtill more vehement, his Majeſty ſeemed to be glad of the Occaſion for proroguing the Parliament; and accordingly on *June* 9. he came to the Houſe, and the Lord-Keeper by his Majeſty's Command prorogued the Parliament till *October* 13. next. 27 Car. II.

The general Peace in which his *Britannick* Majeſty was ſo nearly concerned, proceeded by ſlow Steps beyond Sea. After the *Engliſh* Mediation had been fully accepted, the firſt Point conſidered was the Place of Treaty, which occaſioned no ſmall Diſpute, the ſeveral Parties reciprocally propoſing or rejecting ſeveral Places; but at laſt Sir *William Temple*, who was very General Peace goes ſlowly on.

An. 1675. active in it, having named *Cleve* and *Nimeguen*, the latter was agreed on first by *France*, and afterwards by the Allies. But it soon appear'd, that nothing of Moment could be brought to bear till the finishing of the next Campaign, which proved but of little Honour or Advantage to the *French* in *Flanders*, but much worse to them upon the *Rhine*. There they received a Blow much more considerable than the Loss of a Province, which was the Death of the famous Mareschal *de Turenne*, who was taken off by a Cannon Ball in a Skirmish.

Dangers from Popery.

It is very manifest, that the Papists in *England* had a mighty Influence on publick Affairs, and were afraid of nothing but an *English* Parliament, and flattered themselves that they had gained over Members enough to carry on the Interest and Designs of the Duke of *York* and that Party: This appears from another Letter of *Coleman*'s written this Year to the Pope's Internuncio. And by many other Papers and Letters dated this Year, it does abundantly appear, that a vigorous Design was carried on *to extirpate the Northern Heresy*. The Papists in *London* were about this time so insolent, that they set upon Monsieur *Luzancy*, a late Convert from Popery, and offered extreme Indignity and Violence to him, with so great Scandal, that on *November* 10. his Majesty in Council order'd a Proclamation to be published for the Discovery and Apprehension of a *French* Jesuit, styling himself *Monsieur St. Germain*, and his Accomplices in the late Violence offered to Monsieur *Luzancy*, alias *Chastelet*.

Under this just Apprehension of Popery, raised by the Countenance and Protection of the Duke of *York*, it was the greatest Joy and Comfort to observe that his Royal Highness could have no Influence upon the young Princesses his Daughters, the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Anne*, who were strictly brought up in the Principles of the Protestant Religion.

Dissenters gain Advantages.

The Dissenters, who had been so severely treated by this Parliament, had now some Advantage of improving in popular Reputation, by shewing a great Aversion to the Measures conducing to Popery and the Grandeur of *France*, and by readily joining with those Patriots in both Houses, who were most zealous in the Service of their Country.

This

This Year died Dr. *Humphry Henchman* Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *John Lightfoot* the famous Rabbinical Divine, Dr. *Thomas Willis* the moſt renowned Phyſician of his Time, and Mr. *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, a Perſon who in the late Times made a very great Figure; about twenty Years of his Life were moſt publick and active, and the laſt fifteen as obſcure and retired. 27 Car. II.

In the Beginning of this Year the People of *England* were ſo impatient for a general ſecure Peace, and ſo jealous of Popery and the *French* Power, that they took the liberty of reflecting upon the King and his Miniſtry, in ſo open a manner, that it was thought fit by Order of Council to put down all common Coffee-Houſes by Proclamation, with this Reaſon given, 'Becauſe in ſuch Houſes, and by the Occaſion 'of the Meeting of diſaffected Perſons in them, di-'vers falſe, malicious, and ſcandalous Reports were 'ſpread abroad to the Defamation of his Majeſty's 'Government, and the Diſturbance of the Peace of 'the Realm.' An. 1676. Coffee-houſes put down.

His Majeſty had undertaken, by the Conſent of all Parties, to be the Mediator of the Peace of the Weſtern World. *Nimeguen*, as aforeſaid, was the Place appointed for this great Treaty; and to this Place repaired the Ambaſſadors and Plenipotentiaries for the Emperor, *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, *Brandenburg*, *Savoy*, *Lorrain*, and ſeveral Princes of the Empire. The *Engliſh* Mediators and Ambaſſadors were Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, who arrived at the Place in *July*; but they only found there two of the Parties concern'd, namely, the *French* and the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries: The reſt were ſome Months in coming in; and to the *Engliſh* were afterwards added the Lord *Berkley* and Mr. *Lawrence Hyde*, ſecond Son to the late Earl of *Clarendon*. Tho the King of *England* was offered by ſome of the Parties to be Arbiter as well as Mediator in the preſent Differences, and was known by all to have it in his power to make what Figure he pleaſed, yet he choſe the latter, and gave Orders to his Miniſters only to perform the Offices of a Mediation, and to avoid the Parties ſubmitting their Differences to his Determination. And indeed the Coun- Treaty of *Nimeguen*.

An. 1676. sels at Court were so in Balance between the Desires of living at least fair with *France*, and the Fears of too much displeasing the Parliament, that their Steps upon the whole looked like cross Purposes, which none at home or abroad could well understand, and were often mistaken by both Parties engaged in the War, as well as by both Parties in the House of Commons.

All this Time the War was carried on with Vigour by the *French*, and the Campaign began with sufficient Glory to them; which being ended, all Parties began to turn their Thoughts towards the Motions of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*: and the Prince of *Orange*, no ways satisfied with the dilatory Progress of the Emperor, the *German* Princes, and the King of *Spain*, was by Pensionary *Fagel* advised of the Necessity of making a separate Peace, if no other could be obtained. Sir *William Temple* had several Conferences with the Prince upon the Subject, and one Day told him, 'That the Pensionary in a Discourse with him 'was of opinion that nothing else could be done but 'to make a separate Peace; and that he knew not a 'Man in *Holland* who was not of his Mind.' Upon which his Highness interrupting him said, *Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is my self, and I will hinder it as long as I can; but if any thing should happen to me, I know it would be done in two Days.*

Prince of *Orange* against a separate Treaty.

People impatient for a sitting Parliament.

As the People of *England* grew impatient for a sitting Parliament, so a great many appeared suspicious of their Meeting; and the long Interval began so much to open the Mouths of the City and Country, that on *December* 23. his Majesty thought fit to quiet his Subjects by a certain Prospect of a sitting Parliament, and by a Proclamation to declare, 'That ha-'ving been pleased to continue this Parliament by 'Prorogation until the fifteenth of *February* next, he 'was fully resolved it should be then holden; and he 'was desirous for divers weighty Considerations to have 'then a full Assembly of the Members of both 'Houses.' Accordingly on the fifteenth of *February* the Parliament met, after a Prorogation of near fifteen Months, being the longest single Prorogation that ever had been known. This was the sixteenth Session of the second and long Parliament; at which Meeting a vast Number of People crouded into *Westminster-Hall*, and the Places adjacent, full of Doubts and Expecta-

Parliament meets.

tions.

tions. The general Diſpoſition of the Commons was to a War with *France*, or to ſtricter Alliances at leaſt, for preventing the Progreſs of the *French* in *Flanders* and on the *Rhine*. But that which much interrupted the Proceedings in both Houſes, was an important Queſtion, *Whether they were any longer a legal Body; and whether their long Prorogation were not in its true Effect a Diſſolution of them.* This Conteſt was carried higheſt in the Houſe of Lords, where the Duke of *Buckingham* begun, and argued with a great Shew of Reaſon and Wit, That according to the Law and Conſtitution of Parliaments, an unprecedented Prorogation was null, and conſequently the Parliament was in Truth diſſolved; offering to maintain it to the Face of all the Judges, and deſiring (as is uſual in ſuch Caſes) that they might give their Opinion in it. But this Motion reliſhed ſo ill with the Court-Lords, that one of them mov'd that the Duke for that Speech might be called to the Bar. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* oppoſed this Motion as improper and extravagant, and did with Courage and Sharpneſs of Application ſecond and inforce the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Arguments; and the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Wharton* fell in boldly on the ſame ſide. But the Majority were ſo warm upon them, that they were all ſent Priſoners to the *Tower*, for Contempt of the Authority and Being of the preſent Parliament, and were to remain there during his Majeſty's and the Houſe's Pleaſure. The ſame Matter was debated in the Houſe of Commons, and there too the Majority reſolved againſt a Diſſolution; yet they committed none of their Members for arguing the contrary. 28 Car. II.

This Year died Biſhop *Reynolds*; Judge *Hale*, who was one of the greateſt Patterns the Age afforded, whether in his private Deportment as a Chriſtian, or in publick Employments either at the Bar or on the Bench: Mr. *John Tombes* a learned Antipædobaptiſt, but yet a conſtant Communicant with the eſtabliſh'd Church; a moſt excellent Diſputant, and ſo exceeding apprehenſive, that he could find out the End upon the firſt Entry of a Diſpute: Mr. *Henry Stubbe*, the noted Phyſician and Philoſopher, commonly called the Doctor of *Warwick*, from the Place of his Abode; Mr. *John Ogilby*, and *George Digby* the famous Earl of *Briſtol*.

An. 1677.

Parliament for a Breach with *France*.

The Parliament, to encourage the King to a ſeaſonable Breach with *France*, gave him an effectual Aid for the ſpeedy Building of thirty Ships of War, and had before them many other Bills for the Honour and Safety of the Nation. His Majeſty ſeemed to be afraid of their ſitting too long, and making too bold with the great depending Affair of Peace and War, which at this Juncture he was for reſerving to his own Will and Pleaſure: And therefore on *April* 16. he came ſuddenly in the Evening to the Houſe of Lords, and paſſed ſeveral Bills; after which he gave them leave to adjourn to the twenty-firſt of *May* next. Three or four Days after which Meeting they were again adjourned to the ſixteenth of *July* next: On which Day they were again adjourned till the third of *December*. And on *October* 16. the King publiſhed a Proclamation, 'That he had upon weighty Con-'ſiderations reſolved upon a further Adjournment of 'the Parliament; and therefore declares his Inten-'tion, that his Houſe of Peers may adjourn themſelves, 'and alſo his Houſe of Commons may adjourn them-'ſelves on the third Day of *December*, (being the Day 'prefixed for their aſſembling) until the fourth of '*April* next.' But however, at the Time of Meeting, *Monday Decemher* 3. the two Houſes received a Meſſage, 'That his Majeſty having given notice by his 'Proclamation, that he intended the Houſes ſhould be 'adjourned till the fourth of *April*, had now for 'weighty Conſiderations thought fit to meet the 'Houſes ſooner; and therefore his Pleaſure was, that 'they ſhould be adjourned only till the fifteenth of '*January* next.'

Parliament ſeveral times adjourn'd.

Marriage of the Prince of *Orange*, and Lady *Mary*.

In the mean time came on the happy Match between *William* Prince of *Orange*, and the Lady *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter of *James* Duke of *York*. The firſt Motion of his Deſign was made by the Prince to Sir *William Temple*, at the Beginning of 1676. After ſome Diſcourſe with him on this Subject, the Prince wrote both to the King and the Duke, to beg their Favour and Leave to go over into *England* at the End of the Campaign; who both gave him ſo much Encouragement, that on the ninth of *October* he landed at *Harwich*, accompanied by a great many Perſons of the chiefeſt Quality in *Holland*. The ſame Eve-

Evening he arrived at *Newmarket*, and was received by his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs with all the Marks of Affection and Eſteem. They invited him often into Diſcourſes of Buſineſs, which they wonder'd to ſee him avoid and induſtriouſly divert: So that the King commanded Sir *William Temple* to find the Reaſon of it. Upon which the Prince frankly told him, *He was reſolved to ſee the young Princeſs before he enter'd upon any Affair of Peace or War.* The King laughed at this Piece of Nicety, but ſaid he would humour the Prince in it. The Prince, upon ſight of the Lady, was ſo well pleaſed with her Perſon and Temper, that he immediately made his Application to the King and Duke for their Conſent: by whom he was well received, and they allowed of it; but with this Condition, *That the Terms of the Peace abroad might be firſt adjuſted between them.* The Prince excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, *He muſt end this firſt Buſineſs before he began the other.* The King and the Duke were both poſitive in their Opinion, and the Prince as firm in his Reſolution, ſaying at laſt, *That his Allies who are like to have hard Terms of Peace, as things then ſtood, would be apt to believe that he had made this Match at their Coſt, and that for his part he never could ſell his Honour for a Wife.* The Lord Treaſurer, and thoſe in the ſecret Miniſtry, did verily believe that the whole Buſineſs would break off upon this Punctilio; and Sir *William Temple* happening to go to his Highneſs after Supper, found him in the worſt Humour he had ever ſeen him, complaining that *he repented he had ever come into* England, *and reſolved he would ſtay but two Days longer, and then would be gone, if the King perſiſted in his Reſolution of treating about the Peace before the Marriage was conſummated: but that before he went, the King muſt chuſe how they ſhould live together from thenceforward; he was ſure it muſt be either as the greateſt Friends or as the greateſt Enemies:* deſiring Sir *William* to let his Majeſty know ſo much the next Morning, and give him an Account of what he ſhould ſay upon it. In purſuance of this, Sir *William* early in the Morning acquainted the King with what the Prince had ſaid, and the bad Conſequences of a Breach between them, conſidering the ill Humour of many of his Subjects upon our late Meaſures with *France*, and

29 Car. II.

the

An. 1677. the Invitations made the Prince by ſeveral of them during the late War. The King gave great Attention to what was ſaid, and anſwered, *Well, I never was yet deceiv'd in judging of a Man's Honeſty by his Looks* (of which he gave ſome Examples) *and if I am not miſtaken in the Prince's Face, he is the honeſteſt Man in the World; and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife, and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo, and that it is a thing I am reſolved on.* Sir *William* having accordingly acquainted the Duke with it, he ſeemed at firſt a little ſurprized; but then ſaid, *The King ſhall be obeyed, and I ſhould be glad all his Subjects learn'd of me to obey him; I do tell him my Opinion freely upon any thing, but when that is done, and I know his Pleaſure upon it, I obey him.* From the Duke he went to the Prince, and told him the whole Tranſaction; which at firſt his Highneſs would hardly believe; but then embraced him, and ſaid, *He had made him a very happy Man, and that unexpectedly.*

On *October* 24. in the Morning, his Majeſty declared to the Lords of the Privy-Council, (whom he had cauſed to meet extraordinarily for that Purpoſe) that he had concluded a Marriage between the Lady *Mary* and the Prince of *Orange*; upon which their Lordſhips, about three in the Afternoon, went in a Body to make their Compliments firſt to the Lady, and afterwards to the Prince. On *Sunday*, *November* 4. being the Birth-day of the Prince, the Marriage was privately ſolemnized at St. *James*'s about 11 at Night, by the Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of his Majeſty who gave the Bride, their Royal Highneſſes, and ſome of the chiefeſt Nobility.

The Prince, after his Return to *Holland*, preſſed the King by Letters not to recede from his late Engagements to him, of joining in the War with all the Confederates, in caſe of no direct and immediate Anſwer from *France* upon the Terms of a Peace propoſed to that Court: But his Majeſty contented himſelf to ſend Mr. *Thynne* over into *Holland* with a Draught of an Alliance to be made with the *Dutch*, in order to force *France* and *Spain* into a compliance with the Propoſals agreed on, and to conſign the ſame into the Hands of Mr. *Hyde* then at the *Hague*; which was done, and the Treaty ſigned on the 16th of *January*,

tho

tho not without great Difficulties and much Diſſatiſfaction on the part of the Prince of *Orange*, who was brought into it by the private Conſent of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter there in behalf of his Maſter, ſo that the War could not break out but upon *France*, in caſe of their Refuſal. 29 Car. II.

On *January* 15. the two Houſes met at *Weſtminſter*, purſuant to their laſt Adjournment, and received this Meſſage from his Majeſty, 'That his Majeſty 'had Matters of very great Importance to communi-'cate to both Houſes, in order to the Satisfaction of 'their late Addreſſes for the Preſervation of *Flan-'ders*: But it ſo happening, that Matters were not 'yet ſo ripe, as within a few Days it wou'd be, 'therefore his Majeſty's Pleaſure was, that they 'ſhou'd be immediately adjourned till the twenty 'eighth Inſtant.' On that Day his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, made a Speech to them on the Occaſion of their Meeting. The Commons being return'd to their Houſe, on *January* the 31ſt, addreſſed the King to make no Treaty of Peace with *France*, whereby the *French* King ſhou'd be left in poſſeſſion of any greater Power or Dominion than was left him by the *Pyrenean* Treaty. This mightily offended the King, who looked upon it as too bold an Invaſion of his Prerogative. But however, the Commons wou'd give no Money, without an expreſs Condition of applying it to a Maintenance of a War with *France*; and being exceedingly more alarm'd by the Succeſs of the *French* in taking *Ghent*, and beſieging *Ypres*, they reſolv'd to addreſs the King, *That he wou'd forthwith enter into an actual War with* France. Parliament meets.

A few Days after the Marriage of the Prince of *Orange*, his future Proſpect ſeemed to be interrupted by the Delivery of the Dutcheſs of *York*, who on *November* 7. was brought to bed of a Son, entitled Duke of *Cambridge*; but on *December* 12. this young Prince died at St. *James*'s, to the unſpeakable Grief of their Royal Highneſſes. Birth of the Duke of *Cambridge*.

Under the Apprehenſions of Popery, it was thought to be ſome Wiſdom of Prevention, to make an Act for taking away the Writ *De Hæretico Comburendo*, whereby it was enacted, 'That the Writ, commonly 'called *Breve de Hæretico comburendo*, with all Pro-'ceſs Act for taking away the Writ *De Hæret. Comb.*

An. 1677. 'ceſs and Proceedings thereon, in order to the exe-
'cuting ſuch Writs, or following or depending there-
'upon, and all Puniſhment by Death in purſuance of
'any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, be from henceforwards
'utterly taken away and aboliſhed.'

This Year died Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, Dr. *Lucy* Biſhop of *St. Davids*, Dr. *Iſaac Barrow*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, Dr. *Gliſſon* one of the famous Phyſicians of the Age, and Mr. *James Harrington*.

An. 1678. The Treaty of *Nimeguen* was managed with great Artifice by the *French*, and with much Remiſſneſs and Negligence by moſt of the Confederates. The King of *France* about the beginning of *April* made a publick Declaration of the Terms upon which alone he was reſolved to make a general Peace: But it being diſhonourable and unſafe for the ſeveral Confederates to accept of them, and the *Dutch* finding the Counſels of *England* to be uncertain, and being weary of a War that hinder'd their Trade and drained their Treaſure, they reaſſum'd their Inclinations to a ſeparate Peace. Under this Diſpoſition, the King ſent over Sir *William Temple* once more to *Holland*, who conſulting with the Prince of *Orange*, and the chief Burgomaſters, concluded a Treaty in ſix Days; whereby *France* was obliged within fourteen Days after the Date of it, to declare, That they wou'd evacuate the *Spaniſh* Towns, or in caſe of their Refuſal, *Holland* was engaged to go on with the War, and *England* immediately to declare againſt *France* in conjunction with *Holland* and the reſt of the Confederates. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* employ'd themſelves very earneſtly in finiſhing the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, and no longer like Parties and Confederates, but as Mediators; while the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiary, who continued ſtill there in that figure, declined the Office, as being a Matter wherein he found the Court of *England* wou'd not take any part, or allow themſelves to have had any in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*.

Separate Peace.

Unſteddineſs of the *Engliſh* Court.

And it ſeemed indeed a Myſtery in the Politicks of the *Engliſh* Court, that having been hitherto averſe to a War with *France*, they were now as angry at the Proſpect of a Peace. They did this either to fall in with the general Inclination of the Parliament and People

People of *England*, who were forward to quarrel with the *French*, or elſe in hopes that the Proſecution of ſuch a grateful War wou'd cover the Duke of *York* and his Friends, from the Conſequence of the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot. But whatever the Reaſon was, 'tis certain, that about the middle of *Auguſt* Mr. *Hyde* was ſuddenly diſpatched over from *England*, to the ſurprize even of all in *Holland*, and more eſpecially of our Ambaſſador there, who had not the leaſt Intimation of it. He preſented the *States* with a Memorial to this effect, 'That his Majeſty having 'underſtood a ſeparate Treaty of Peace had been 'concluded and ſigned between the *French* King's 'Ambaſſadors and thoſe of the *States*, he was ex'tremely ſurprized at that manner of Proceeding, 'there being no Security given for evacuating the 'Towns in *Flanders*, nor for providing a ſufficient 'Barrier on the ſide of the Empire; and there'fore he had ſent over his Ambaſſador to aſſure 'them, that if the Lords *the States* will refuſe to 'ratify that which was ſigned by their Ambaſſadors 'at *Nimeguen*, his Majeſty, three Days after ſuch a 'Declaration ſhall be notify'd to him, will declare 'actual War againſt *France*, and carry it on accord'ing to the Articles of his late Treaty with the '*States*.' 30 Car. II.

When the Prince of *Orange* was made acquainted with this Proceeding of *England* by Mr. *Hyde*, he was no ſooner withdrawn, but the Prince lift up his Hands two or three times, and ſaid to Sir *William Temple*, *Was ever any thing ſo hot and ſo cold as this Court of your's? Will the King, who is ſo often at Sea, never learn the Word that I ſhall never forget ſince my laſt Paſſage, when in a great Storm the Captain was crying out to the Man at the Helm all Night,* Steddy, ſteddy, ſteddy? *If this Diſpatch had come twenty Days ago, it wou'd have changed the face of all things in* Chriſtendom, *and the War might have been carried on till* France *had yielded to the Treaty of the* Pyrenees, *and left the World in quiet for the reſt of their Lives; but it is my Opinion, as it comes now, it will have no Effect at all, at leaſt it is my Opinion, tho I wou'd not ſay ſo to Mr.* Hyde. And indeed the Event prov'd anſwerable to the Prince's Judgment; for the *French* at *Nimeguen* managed their Buſineſs with

An. 1678. with so much Art and Application, that another separate Peace with the *Spaniards* was concluded and ratify'd; and before the end of *January*, another Peace with the Emperor and Princes of the Empire, to the Exclusion of none but the brave Duke of *Lorrain*. And all this without the Intervention of Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, the *English* Mediators, because the Imperial Plenipotentiaries wou'd not allow them the Precedency of signing.

Other separate Peaces.

Discovery of the Popish Plot.

There now happen'd a very great turn of Affairs in *England*, by the Discovery of the *Popish Plot*, first made by *Titus Oates*, who had been educated and admitted into Orders in the Church of *England*, and employ'd upon a Cure in *Kent*; but afterwards, seemingly at least, was reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and going over to *St. Omers* was enter'd into the *English* College there, and from thence going into *Spain*, he ingratiated himself with the Jesuits and Priests in those Parts; and so by degrees came to the Knowledge of what he now informed the King and Council, *A Plot carried on by the Jesuits and other Roman Catholicks against his Majesty's Life, the Protestant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom.* It seemed to make no great Impression on the King; but the Privy-Council sat twice a Day, from the 28th of *September*, for above a Week; and several Persons were examined and committed by them, *viz.* Sir *George Wakeman*, Mr. *Coleman*, Mr. *Langhorn*, *Thomas Whitebread*, *John Gauan*, *Anthony Turner*, *William Ireland*, *William Marshal*, *William Rumsey*, *James Corker*, *Thomas Pickering*; of which Number the last eight were Jesuits and Priests; with divers others. Mr. *Oates* for a Confirmation of his Testimony, referred himself to Letters and Papers, which he said were in the Custody of Mr. *Coleman*, then Secretary to the Duke of *York*; who before his House was searched, had time enough to carry away all the Papers of the two last Years, with his Book of Entries of them. However, those Letters which were found and afterwards published, did enough convince the World of the dangerous and desperate Intrigues of the Popish Party. Dr. *Welwood's* Remark is here very proper: 'That there was at 'that time, *says he*, a Popish Plot, and that there 'always has been one since the Reformation, to sup-

'port if not reſtore the *Romiſh* Religion in *England*, 30 Car. II.
'ſcarce any body calls in queſtion: How far the
'near Proſpect of a Popiſh Succeſſor ripen'd the
'Hopes, and gave new vigor to the Deſigns of that
'Party, and what Methods they were then upon to
'bring thoſe Deſigns about, *Coleman*'s Letters alone,
'without any other concurring Evidence, are more
'than ſufficient to put the Matter out of doubt. But
'what Superſtructures might have been afterwards
'built upon an unqueſtionable Foundation, and how
'far ſome of the Witneſſes of that Plot might come
'to darken Truth by ſubſequent Additions of their
'own, muſt be deferred till the great Account to be
'made before a higher Tribunal: And till then a
'great part of the Popiſh Plot, as it was then ſworn
'to, will in all human probability lie among the
'darkeſt Scenes of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory.' He goes on thus: 'However, this is certain, the Diſcovery of
'the Popiſh Plot had great and various Effects upon
'the Nation; and it is from this remarkable Period
'of Time we may juſtly reckon a new *Æra* in the
'*Engliſh* Account. In the firſt place, it awaken'd
'the Nation out of a deep Lethargy they had been
'in for nineteen Years together, and alarmed them
'with Fears and Jealouſies, that have been found to
'our ſad Experience but too well grounded. In the
'next, it gave the Riſe to, at leaſt ſettled, that un-
'happy Diſtinction of *Whig* and *Tory* among the Peo-
'ple of *England*, that has ſince occaſioned ſo many
'Miſchiefs. And laſtly, the Diſcovery of the Po-
'piſh Plot began that open Struggle between King
'*Charles* and his People, that occaſion'd him not on-
'ly to diſſolve his firſt favourite Parliament, and the
'three others that ſucceeded, but likewiſe to call no
'more during the reſt of his Reign. All which made
'way for bringing in queſtion the *Charters* of *London*
'and other Corporations, with a great many diſmal
'Effects which followed. It was likewiſe about this
'time that a certain ſet of Men began a ſecond
'time to adopt into our Religion a *Mahometan* Prin-
'ciple, under the Names of Paſſive Obedience and
'Non-Reſiſtance, which ſince the Time of that Im-
'poſtor who firſt broached it, has been the Means to
'enſlave a great Part of the World.'

The

An. 1678. Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* murder'd.

The most unhappy Demonstration of the Truth of this Popish Conspiracy was the violent Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, a Justice of Peace for *Middlesex*, before whom the Depositions of Mr. *Oates* had been taken, and who had appeared very zealous for the Discovery and Prosecution of the Plot. For which reason he was extremely hated by the Papists, and so much threatned with their Revenge upon him, that he himself was apprehensive of his own Danger, according to the Informations of Mr. *Mulys* and Mr. *Robinson* before the House of Commons. According to these Presages, he was found missing from his House on *October* 14, and some Days after his dead Body was found in the Fields, cast into a Ditch by *Primrose-Hill*. It appeared by concurring Evidence, that as he was walking by *Somerset-House*, he was thrust in at the Water-Gate, thence hurried to a private Chamber, there barbarously assassinated, and his Body afterwards carried to the foresaid Place, and exposed in such a manner as that the World might imagine he had killed himself. The Discovery of this Murder was first made by *William Bedloe*, and afterwards confirmed by the Confession of Mr. *Miles Prance*, and the Execution of the Actors in it, *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*, who yet at their Death denied it.

King comes to the House.

His Majesty coming to the House on *October* 21. could not forbear mentioning what had raised such an universal Amazement and Abhorrence in the Nation; and therefore in his Speech to both Houses, he had these Words: 'I now intend to acquaint you, (as I shall always do with any thing 'that concerns me) that I have been informed of a 'Design against my Person by the Jesuits, of which I 'shall forbear any Opinion, lest I may seem to say 'too much or too little; but I will leave the Matter 'to the Law, and in the mean time will take as 'much Care as I can to prevent all manner of Practices by that sort of Men, and of others too, who 'have been tampering in a high degree with Foreigners, and contriving how to introduce Popery 'amongst us.'

Address of the two Houses,

First the two Houses agreed in an Address to his Majesty, 'That Information had been given of an 'horrible Design against his sacred Life; and being 'very sensible of the fatal Consequence of such an At-

'tempt, and of the Dangers of the Subverſion of the 30 Car. II.
'Proteſtant Religion and Government of this Realm,
'they humbly beſeech his Majeſty, That a Day of
'Faſting and Humiliation may be appointed, to im-
'plore the Mercy and Protection of Almighty God to
'his Majeſty's Perſon, and to all his Loyal Subjects;
'and to pray that God will bring to light more and
'more all ſecret Machinations againſt his Majeſty and
'the whole Kingdom.'

Vote of the Truth of the Plot.

And becauſe ſome artfully endeavour'd to ſtifle the Belief of this Plot, and others inſolently ridiculed it, therefore on *October* 31. the Commons reſolved, *Nem. Con.* 'That upon the Evidence that has already appear-
'ed to this Houſe, this Houſe is of Opinion, that there
'is and hath been a damnable and helliſh Plot con-
'trived and carried on by Popiſh Recuſants, for aſ-
'ſaſſinating and murdering the King, for ſubverting
'the Government, and deſtroying the Proteſtant Re-
'ligion.' And to this Vote the Lords alſo ſoon agreed.

Bill againſt Popiſh Members.

The Commons were apprehenſive of Danger from the Intereſt of Popiſh Members of Parliament, but eſpecially in the Houſe of Peers; and therefore they paſs'd a Bill, which with ſome difficulty was agreed to by the Lords, and with ſome Reluctancy paſs'd by his Majeſty, *For the more effectual preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling Papiſts from ſitting in either Houſe of Parliament.* But that which moſt threatned the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, was the Proſpect of a Popiſh Succeſſor; and therefore the leading Members of both Houſes began to form the Deſign of a Bill of Excluſion, as the only Means to extinguiſh the Hopes of the Popiſh Faction. The Commons began gently on this Occaſion, and on *November* 4. let a Debate ariſe in their Houſe for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, *That his Royal Highneſs may withdraw himſelf from his Majeſty's Perſon and Counſels.* But then they adjourned this Debate till *November* 8. and then again to the 12th. The King underſtood their Meaning, and being extremely tender of his Brother, on *November* 9. came to the Houſe of Lords and made a Speech, wherein he has theſe Words: —— 'And therefore
'I am come to aſſure you, That whatſoever reaſona-
'ble Bills you ſhall preſent to be paſſed into Laws, to

An. 1678. 'make you easy in the Reign of any Successor, so as 'they tend not to impeach the Right of Succession 'nor the Descent of the Crown in the true Line, and 'so as they restrain not my Power nor the just Rights 'of any Protestant Successor, shall find from me a 'ready Concurrence.'

On *November* 18. the House being informed that there were several Commissions granted to Popish Recusants, and Warrants also that they shou'd be muster'd, tho they had not taken the Oaths and subscribed the Declaration; according to the Act of Parliament, and that they were signed by Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, they immediately sent him to the *Tower*. This much offended the King, who next Day sent for the Commons to the *Banquetting-House*, and told them, *Tho they committed his Servant without acquainting him, yet he intended to deal more freely with them, and acquaint them with his Intention to release his Secretary*. Hereupon the House addressed his Majesty not to do as he had intended; but the Secretary was releas'd before the Address was presented.

Secretary *Williamson* committed.

The Commons apprehended Danger from the *English* Army in *Flanders*, which upon the late Juncture of a separate Peace had nothing to do, but to be ready to be employ'd in some ill Service; and therefore, *November* 27. it was resolved *Nem. Con.* 'That it is 'necessary for the Safety of his Majesty's Person, and 'the Peace of the Government, that all the Forces 'which have been raised since the 29th of *September* '1677. and all other that since that time have been 'brought over from beyond Sea from foreign Service, 'be forthwith disbanded: And it was resolved to be '*the humble Opinion and Desire of this House, that* '*the Forces which are now in* Flanders *may be im-* '*mediately called over in order to their disbanding.*' And they presented an Address for this Purpose, and made an Entry of his Majesty's Answer as a Refusal to comply with their Desires: But his Majesty soon after was pleased to declare, 'That he never gave 'any Order for such Answer, but that his Intention 'was only in relation to the Forces that were in *Flan-* 'ders, and the Circumstances as to those Forces were 'altered since that time; and that his Majesty had 'already given Orders for calling them over in order 'to their disbanding.' And so the King fell easily into

Commons for disbanding the Army.

into this Deſign, becauſe of a Bill for granting a Supply to his Majeſty by a Land-Tax, for diſbanding the ſaid Forces. 30 Car. II.

Intrigues with *France*.

The Intrigues of the Miniſtry with the Court of *France*, was another Danger which raiſed the Jealouſy of the Commons. This appeared more eſpecially by a Meſſage from the King to the Commons on *December* 19. 'That his Majeſty having received Information, that his late Ambaſſador in *France* Mr. *Mountague*, a Member of that Houſe, had held ſeveral private Conferences with the Pope's Nuncio there, without any Direction or Inſtruction from his Majeſty, his Majeſty to the end that he might know the Truth of that Matter, had given Orders for the ſeizing Mr. *Mountague*'s Papers.' Upon which Mr. *Mountague*, in his own Defence, acquainted the Houſe, That he had in his Cuſtody ſeveral Papers, which he conceived might tend very much to the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Preſervation of the Kingdom. And accordingly a Box of Writings was ſent for, and opened in the Houſe, and two Letters were produced and read in the Houſe, ſubſcribed *Danby*: Upon which it was immediately reſolv'd, That there was ſufficient Matter of Impeachment againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*; and Articles of Impeachment were drawn up and agreed to on *December* 21. Theſe Articles were carried up to the Lords, with a Deſire *That* Thomas *Earl of* Danby *might be ſequeſter'd from Parliament, and forthwith committed to ſafe Cuſtody*. Before this, there had been an Impeachment of Treaſon and other high Crimes and Miſdemeanors againſt *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, *William* Earl of *Powis*, *John* Lord *Bellaſis*, *William* Lord *Petres*, and *William* Viſcount *Stafford*; who had been all committed to the *Tower*.

Earl of *Danby* impeach'd.

Parliament prorogu'd.

The King was ſo much diſturbed with theſe Proceedings, that on *December* 30. he came to the Houſe of Lords, and prorogu'd the Parliament till the 4th of *February* next. This Prorogation ſo encourag'd the Papiſts, that they flocked to *London* and *Weſtminſter* in great Numbers, and began to talk with ſo great Inſolence, that the King, by the Advice of his Council, was forced to iſſue out a Proclamation againſt them. But his Majeſty having no hopes of

An. 1678. Ease or Satisfaction from the present Parliament, was now at last inclined to dissolve them: And therefore by Proclamation, dated *January* 24. he declared, 'That 'he had taken into his serious Consideration the ma- 'ny Inconveniences arising by the over-long Conti- 'nuance of one and the same Parliament; wherefore 'he publishes and declares his Royal Will and Plea- 'sure to dissolve this present Parliament. ——— But 'to the intent his loyal Subjects may perceive the 'Confidence his Majesty hath in their good Affections, 'and how desirous his Majesty is to meet his People, 'and have their Advice in Parliament, he will cause 'Writs to be issued for the calling of a new Parlia- 'ment, which shall begin and be holden at *Westmin- 'ster* on the 6th of *March* next.' Thus ended with Honour to themselves this *Long Parliament*, which being first called and begun on the 8th of *May* 1661. had been continued by several Prorogations and Adjournments for seventeen Years, eight Months, and seventeen Days.

And dissolv'd.

Duke of *York* retires.

To prevent any Question of the Duke of *York* in the next Parliament, his Majesty thought fit to send him out of the Way, that his Absence, if possible, might drop the Disputes about him. Accordingly the Duke with his Dutchess and Family left St. *James*'s, took shipping, and for a while retired to the *Hague*, and from thence to *Brussels*.

Executions for the Popish Plot.

In prosecution of the *Popish* Plot, Mr. *William Staley* being convicted of treasonable Words against his Majesty's Life, was drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at *Tyburn* on *November* 26. *Edward Coleman* Esq; found guilty of high Treason, in conspiring the Death of the King, the Subversion of the Government, and the Extirpation of the true Protestant Religion, was executed on the like Sentence, *December* 3. having depended on a Promise of Pardon with so much Assurance, that some of his last Words were said to be, *There is no Faith in Man.* On *January* 24. *William Ireland* a Jesuit, and *John Grove*, having been on the fourteenth of *December* convicted at the *Old-Baily*, of having conspired the Destruction of the King's Person, the Subversion of his Government, and the Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, were accordingly executed at *Tyburn*; but their Heads and Quarters were deliver'd to their Friends. *Green*, *Hill* and *Berry*,

ry, who were indicted at the *King's-Bench-Bar* on *February* 10. for the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, and upon a full Evidence found guilty, were ſoon after executed: but Mr. *Samuel Atkins* being likewiſe indicted as an Acceſſary to the ſaid Murder, was, after a full Hearing of the Evidence againſt him, acquitted. 30 Car. II.

On Thurſday *March* 6. the new Parliament met, and the Commons choſe for their Speaker *Edward Seymour* Eſq; Speaker of the former Parliament: But the King taking this to be an ill Preſage, that this Parliament would begin where the laſt did end, would not approve their Choice, commanding them to proceed to the Election of a new Speaker, and to preſent him at eleven a Clock on Saturday *March* 8. But the Houſe being in a ſurprize at this, made application to his Majeſty to grant them longer time; whereupon his Majeſty allow'd them further time, which he appointed to be on *Tueſday* next: At which time the Houſe deliver'd their humble Repreſentation to his Majeſty, to deſire him *to reſt ſatisfied with their Proceedings*; and ſeem'd ſo to inſiſt on having the Speaker they had choſen, that his Majeſty on *March* 13. prorogu'd the Parliament till Saturday following, to convince them that he would have a new Speaker. On that Day, his Majeſty came into the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons attending, the Lord Chancellor by his Majeſty's Command directed them to return to their Houſe, and to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker: Which they accordingly did, and by the Recommendation of the Lord *Ruſſel*, immediately made choice of *William Gregory* Serjeant at Law, who the next Morning was preſented to the King and approved by him. The third Parliament.

The Houſe was diſpos'd to purſue the Methods taken in the former Parliament; and therefore reſolv'd, on the 19th Inſtant, 'That a Committee be appointed 'to inſpect the Journals of the laſt Seſſion of the laſt 'Parliament, and to prepare and draw up a State 'of the Matters then depending and undetermin'd, 'and the Progreſs that was made therein.' And on the next Day they reſolv'd, 'That a Committee of 'Secrecy be appointed to take Informations, and pre-'pare Evidence and draw up Articles againſt the 'Lords that are impeach'd, and now in the Tower; This Parliament takes the ſame courſe with the former.

An. 1678. ‘ and to take ſuch further Informations as ſhall be ‘ given, relating to the Plot and Conſpiracy againſt ‘ his Majeſty and the Government, and the Murder ‘ of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*.’

This Year died Dr. *Joſeph Henſhaw* Biſhop of *Peterborough*; Mr. *Francis Potter*, who was choſen a Member of the Royal Society, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by many ingenious Inventions both mechanical and medical, as in Water-Engines and the Transfuſion of the Blood; Dr. *John Godolphin*, diſtinguiſh'd by his noted *Abridgment of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm*; Mr. *Thomas Stanley*, noted for his *Hiſtory of Philoſophy*; Mr. *Henry Oldenburg*, ſometimes called *Grubendole*, a learned Foreigner, who upon the founding the Royal Society, became Fellow and Secretary to that noble Eſtabliſhment, in which Poſt he publiſh'd the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* from the Year 1664 to 1677; and laſtly, Mr. *Andrew Marvel*, who made himſelf very remarkable by his *Rehearſal tranſpros'd*, and his *Growth of Popery*, the latter of which brought him into Danger from the State.

An. 1679. Earl of *Danby* par-don'd.

The Commons hearing that the King had ſigned a Pardon for the Earl of *Danby*, appointed a Committee to repair to the Lord-Chancellor, to enquire into the Manner of ſuing forth that Pardon; and upon his Lordſhip's Report, the Commons reſolv'd, ‘ That ‘ an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, to re- ‘ preſent the Irregularity and Illegality of the Pardon ‘ granted to the Earl of *Danby*, and the dangerous ‘ Conſequence of granting Pardon to any Perſons that ‘ lie under an Impeachment of the Commons of *Eng- ‘ land*.’ The Earl ſeeing the Stir that was like to be made about him, abſented himſelf; whereupon the Commons order'd, ‘ That a Bill be brought in, to ‘ ſummon him to render himſelf to Juſtice, by a cer- ‘ tain Day; or in default thereof to attaint him.’ This Bill of Attainder, after ſeveral Conferences between the Lords and Commons, did at laſt paſs both Houſes. But the Earl render'd himſelf before the Day limited, and pleaded his Pardon: Which Plea he ſeem'd to inſiſt on as the quickeſt way to get out of the Peril he was in. Wherefore the Commons reſolv'd, ‘ That it was the Opinion of the Houſe, that ‘ the Pardon pleaded by the Earl of *Danby* was ille- ‘ gal

'gal and void, and ought not to be allowed in bar of 31 Car. II.
'the Impeachment of the Commons of *England*.'
And Mr. Speaker, with the Houſe, went up to the Lords Bar, and demanded Judgment againſt the ſaid Earl: And underſtanding afterwards that the Lords would admit the Earl of *Danby* to have the Validity of his Pardon pleaded at their Bar, they reſolv'd, *May* 10. 'That no Commoner whatſoever preſume 'to maintain the Validity of the Pardon pleaded by 'the Earl of *Danby*, without the Leave of this 'Houſe firſt had; and that the Perſons ſo doing ſhould 'be accounted Betrayers of the Liberties of *Eng-* 'land.' And ſo his Lordſhip continu'd in the Tower till *Hilary-Term* 1683.

Reſolution againſt the Duke of *York*.

On *April* 27. the Commons reſolv'd, 'That the 'Duke of *York*'s being a Papiſt, and the Hopes of 'his coming thus to the Crown, has been the greateſt 'Countenance and Encouragement to the preſent Con- 'ſpiracies and Deſigns of the Papiſts, againſt the King 'and the Proteſtant Religion:' And ſent up this Vote to the Lords by the Lord *Ruſſel*, deſiring their Concurrence to it.

Addreſs againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*.

May 8. the Commons agreed upon an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from all Offices, Employments and Places of Truſt, and from his Majeſty's Council in *England* and *Scotland*, and from his Preſence for ever; as being the chief of thoſe, who *by their arbitrary and deſtructive Counſels, tending to the Subverſion of the Rights, Liberties and Properties of his Majeſty's Subjects, and the Alteration of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd, have endeavour'd to alienate the Hearts of his loyal Subjects from his Perſon and Government*. To which the King only made this cold Return, *That he would conſider of it, and return an Anſwer*.

On the tenth of *May*, the Lords and Commons, in an Addreſs to his Majeſty, *taking notice of the great Reſort of Jeſuits, Popiſh Prieſts and other Popiſh Recuſants, to the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Parts adjacent, and their obſtinate Continuance there, in contempt of his Majeſty's Laws, and Royal Proclamations; humbly beſeech his Majeſty, that the Militia of* London, Weſtminſter, Southwark, *the* Tower-Hamlets, *and the Counties of* Middleſex *and*

An. 1679. Surrey, *may immediately be rais'd and put in a Poſture of Defence.*

Reſolve of the Commons.

Under theſe Apprehenſions of Danger, both Houſes ſat on Sunday *May* 11. and the Commons reſolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, 'That in defence of the King's 'Perſon and the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth 'declare, that they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their 'Lives and Fortunes, and that if his Majeſty ſhould 'come by any violent Death (which God forbid) they 'will revenge it to the utmoſt upon the Papiſts.' And they order'd that the Vote ſhould be drawn in form of an Addreſs, to be preſented to his Majeſty.

Bill againſt the Duke of *York.*

On Thurſday *May* 15. a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, to *diſable the Duke of* York *from inheriting the Imperial Crown of* England; which was read the ſecond time *May* 21. and it was reſolved by a great Majority, That the Bill ſhould be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe. This inclined his Majeſty to bring this Seſſion to a ſpeedy Period: And therefore on *May* 27. his Majeſty came to the Houſe, and having paſs'd ſome few Bills, he intimated to both Houſes his Reſolution to prorogue them; and the Lord Chancellor accordingly, by his Majeſty's Command, did prorogue the Parliament till the fourteenth of *Auguſt* next: And ſoon after it was diſſolv'd.

Parliament diſſolv'd.

Another Parliament was ſummon'd to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 17th Day of *October* next: But before the Meeting, his Majeſty by Proclamation declar'd, That the ſaid Parliament ſhould be prorogu'd to the 30*th* of the ſame Month; and afterwards order'd a Commiſſion for proroguing the ſaid Parliament till the 26*th* of *January* next. At which time his Majeſty made a ſhort Speech to the two Houſes; and without allowing them to enter upon any Debates, he commanded the Lord-Chancellor to prorogue them till the 15*th* of *April* next.

The fourth Parliament prorogu'd.

Executions for the Popiſh Plot.

On *June* 13. *Thomas White* alias *Whitebread*, Provincial of the Jeſuits in *England*, *William Harcourt*, pretended Rector of *London*, *John Fenwick*, Procurator for the Jeſuits in *England*, *John Gaven* alias *Gaveen*, and *Anthony Turner*, all Jeſuits and Prieſts, were brought to their Trial at the *Old-Bailey*, by virtue of a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, being indicted of High-Treaſon for conſpiring the Death of his Majeſty, and the Subverſion of the Government

and

and the Proteſtant Religion; and upon full Evidence were found Guilty. And the next Day *Richard Langhorne* Counſellor at Law, who was indicted for the ſame Crime, was after a long Trial likewiſe found Guilty. And then Sentence paſs'd upon them all ſix, to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd. When they came to Execution, they all proteſted upon their Salvation at the very Moment of Death, that they were wholly innocent of the Crimes objected againſt them, and for which they were about to ſuffer. Many People were ſurpriz'd at theſe dying Aſſeverations, when the Evidence was ſo clear in all the Facts, and in every Circumſtance of them: Some imputed their obſtinate Denial to an Expectation of Pardon, others to an extravagant Notion of Merit; and few believ'd them but thoſe who had been proſelyted to them. On *June* 18. Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Phyſician, Mr. *William Marſhal*, Mr. *William Rumſey* and Mr. *James Corker*, were try'd upon a like Indictment of High-Treaſon for conſpiring the Death of the King, and the Subverſion of the Government and the Proteſtant Religion: But the King's Witneſſes were now ſo far diſcountenanced, that the Jury brought the Priſoners in Not-Guilty. 31 Car. II.

King indiſpos'd.

The King was much indiſpos'd by two or three Fits of a Tertian Ague about the end of *Auguſt*. The News of this, and of the Parliament's Diſſolution, coming to the Duke of *York* in *Flanders*, he reſolv'd upon an immediate Return into *England*. His Arrival very much ſurpriz'd moſt of the Court, (tho others of them were in the Secret) and was very alarming to the greateſt Part of the Nation, who had ſo much Reaſon to fear a Plot upon the King's Life, even for the ſake of a Popiſh Succeſſor. The King himſelf was ſenſible that he could not enjoy his Brother's Company, without a univerſal Diſcontent among his Subjects: But the Duke was very unwilling to croſs the Seas again, and therefore when he ſaw that he muſt leave the Court, he deſir'd rather to retire into *Scotland*, where his Figure might be greater than abroad, and his Return upon any Exigence might be more quick and eaſy. Accordingly on *October* 27. their Royal Highneſſes, attended by many of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, follow'd with a numerous Train of Coaches, began their Journey towards

Duke of *York* returns.

Goes into *Scotland*.

An. 1679. wards *Scotland*; where being arriv'd, they were receiv'd at *Edinburgh* with great Solemnity; and his Royal Highneſs, on *December* 4. took his Place in the Council.

Duke of *York* jealous of *Monmouth*.

The Duke of *York* was ſo jealous of the Competition of *Monmouth*, that he had prevail'd with the King to take from him his Commiſſion of Captain-General, and all his other Places, and to command him to depart the Realm. Accordingly, the Duke of *Monmouth* went over to *Utrecht*, and reſolv'd to reſide there while the Duke of *York* ſtaid at *Bruſſels*. But hearing of the Duke's ſudden going back [to *England*, he thought fit to follow him, and on *November* 27. arriv'd at *London* about Midnight: And the Watch ſpreading the News of it, the Bells rung, and Bone-fires were made throughout the City and Suburbs, in a very diſtinguiſhing manner.

Petition for the Parliament's ſitting.

Upon the ſeveral Prorogations of Parliament, the Members were very uneaſy, and the People much griev'd; ſo that many Petitions were preſented to the King *for the ſitting of the Parliament, as highly neceſſary for the ſafety of his Perſon, and the Peace of his Kingdom.* But the King reſolving there ſhould be no Seſſion, this Manner of Petitioning was call'd *tumultuous* and *unlawful*; and the King in Council *December* 10. order'd the Lord Mayor of *London* to ſuppreſs them, and puniſh thoſe who went about collecting Hands to ſuch Petitions.

Duke of *York* returns.

During theſe Intervals of Parliament, the Duke of *York* thought fit to return out of *Scotland*: And to break the Deſign with more Softneſs to the People, on *January* 28. his Majeſty was pleas'd to declare in Council, 'That he had ſent for his Royal Highneſs, 'not having found ſuch an Effect from his Abſence as 'ſhould incline him to keep him longer from him; 'that ſome Queſtions had been ſtarted of late of ſuch 'a Nature and of ſo great Concern to the Duke, as 'made it reaſonable to have him preſent at the next 'Seſſion of Parliament; and that tho his Majeſty 'would take care to preſerve his Right, yet it might 'be for his Satisfaction to be here himſelf; and his 'Majeſty was ſo well aſſur'd of the Duke's Compli-'ance, that he would anſwer his Return ſhould have 'no ill Influence upon the Publick.' So on *February* 24. their Royal Highneſſes arriv'd at *Deptford*, and went

went up the River in a Barge, and were ſaluted by the Guns from the Tower; and at their landing at the Privy-Stairs, his Majeſty receiv'd them in a moſt affectionate manner, and led the Dutcheſs to the Queen's Apartment, and from thence to her own; where many of the Nobility repair'd to compliment their Highneſſes upon their ſafe Return. 31 Car. II.

In the Beginning of *October*, the Earl of *Shaftesbury* was remov'd from being Preſident of the Council: For he had been now a hearty Oppoſer of Popery and of the Duke's Succeſſion; and tho he had been once in the moſt arbitrary Meaſures of the Court, yet now either to make an Atonement or to ſhew his Reſentment, he was the greateſt Patron of the eſtabliſh'd Religion and Laws. He had at the opening of the Seſſion made a famous Speech; wherein were theſe odd and notable Words: *We have a little Siſter, and ſhe has no Breaſts; what ſhall we do for our Siſter in the Day when ſhe ſhall be ſpoken for? And we have ſeveral little Siſters without Breaſts: the* French *Proteſtant Churches, the two Kingdoms of* Ireland *and* Scotland. *The Protection of the Proteſtants abroad is the greateſt Power and Security the Crown of* England *can attain, and which can help us to give a Check to the growing Greatneſs of* France. Scotland *and* Ireland *are two Doors, either to let in Good or Miſchief upon us.* Popery *and* Slavery, *like two Siſters, go hand in hand: Sometimes the one goes firſt, ſometimes the other; but wherever the one enters, the other is always following cloſe at Heels. In* England, Popery *was to have brought in* Slavery: *In* Scotland, Slavery *went before, and* Popery *was to follow*, &c. Upon this Removal of the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to make the Lord *Roberts*, lately created Earl of *Radnor*, Preſident of the Council; who took his Place at the Board on *October* 25. Diſgrace of the Earl of *Shafteſbury*.

Nothing was become more acceptable to the Court, than the Humour of ſtifling and ridiculing the Popiſh Plot. For this Cauſe Articles of Complaint were preferr'd by Dr. *Oates* and Mr. *Bedloe* againſt the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*; which with his Lordſhip's Anſwer were openly heard and debated before his Majeſty in Council on *Wedneſday January* 21. where his Lordſhip was favour'd and vindicated in all Particulars by the King and Council, who therefore diſmiſſed the Court for ridiculing the Plot.

An. 1679. the Matter from the Board, and left his Lordſhip to take ſuch Courſe at Law as he ſhould think fit. Theſe and other Proceedings in Council were thought to be ſo partial, that on *January* 31. the Lord *Ruſſel* and the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capel* and Mr. *Powle*, pray'd his Majeſty to give them leave to withdraw from the Council-board: To which his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer, *With all his heart.*

This Year died Mr. *Matthew Pool*, a learned Nonconformiſt Divine, juſtly celebrated for thoſe admirable and elaborate Books, entitled, *Synopſis Criticorum Bibliorum*, &c. Dr. *John Smith*, and Dr. *Jaſper Needham*, both eminent Phyſicians; the Earl of *Orrery*, and Mr. *Thomas Hobbes* of *Malmesbury*.

An. 1680. The Parliament, by the laſt Prorogation was to have met on *April* 15. But on Monday *April* 5. his Majeſty was pleas'd to declare in Council, 'That he 'thought fit for ſeveral weighty Conſiderations to make 'a further Prorogation till the 17*th* of *May* next:' At which time the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and was prorogu'd by Commiſſion till the firſt of *July* next: At which time 'twas further prorogu'd by Commiſſion till the 22*d* of the ſame Month. But in the mean time his Majeſty declar'd in Council, on *July* 14. 'That he thought fit to prorogue the Parliament 'from the 22*d* Inſtant till the 23*d* of *Auguſt*:' When it was again prorogu'd by Commiſſion till the 21*ſt* of *October*.

Several Prorogations.

Abhorrence of Petitioning.

In the mean time, Inſtructions were given, and great Intereſt was made, to obtain, at ſeveral Seſſions and Aſſizes, a Declaration of Abhorence of petitioning for the ſitting of a Parliament; and many of their Forms of Abhorrence were preſented to the King, who ſeem'd to be very fond of them. The City of *Weſtminſter* was the firſt, who by *Francis Wythens* Eſq; (knighted for the Service) preſented ſuch an Addreſs of Abhorrence made by the Grand-Jury, and ſubſcrib'd by the Juſtices. The like Addreſſes were brought up from the Counties of *Surrey*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex* and *Norfolk*; which laſt County particularly gave the King their humble Thanks for recalling the Duke of *York* from *Flanders*.

Parliament meets.

On Thurſday *October* 21. the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; and his Majeſty coming to the Houſe of

of Lords, with the Commons attending, was pleas'd to make a Speech to both Houſes: After which Speech, the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, directed the Commons to return to their Houſe, and proceed to the Choice of a Speaker; which they accordingly did, and unanimouſly elected *William Williams* Eſq; of *Grays-Inn*, Counſellor at Law and Recorder of *Cheſter*, who the next day was preſented to his Majeſty, ſeated in his Throne in the Houſe of Lords, and approv'd by him. 32 Car. II.

On Tueſday *October* 26. they began their Debates: And foraſmuch as the Senſe of the Houſe, and the Condition of the Kingdom, is beſt repreſented by what was then ſpoken, we thought fit to inſert the two leading Speeches. The Lord *Ruſſel* began thus: Debates.

'*Sir*, ſince by God's Providence and his Majeſty's Favour, we are here aſſembled to conſult and adviſe about the greateſt Affairs of the Kingdom, I humbly conceive it will become us to begin firſt with that which is of moſt conſequence to our King and Country, and to take into conſideration how to ſave the *Main* before we ſpend any time about *Particulars*. *Sir*, I am of opinion, that the Life of our King, the Safety of our Country, and the Proteſtant Religion, are in great danger from Popery; and that either the Parliament muſt ſuppreſs the Power and Growth of Popery, or elſe that Popery will ſoon deſtroy not only Parliaments, but all that is near and dear to us: And therefore I humbly move, that we may reſolve to take into our conſideration in the firſt Place, how to ſuppreſs *Popery* and prevent a *Popiſh Succeſſor*; without which all our Endeavours about other matters will not ſignify any thing, and therefore this juſtly challengeth the Precedency.' Lord *Ruſſel's* Speech.

He was ſeconded by Sir *Henry Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*, in this remarkable Speech: '*Sir*, I ſtand up to ſecond that Motion, and to give ſome Reaſons why I agree in it, not doubting but other Perſons will be of the ſame Opinion, if they have the ſame Sentiments what Influence the Popiſh Party have had in the management of moſt of our Affairs, both at home and abroad, for many Years paſt, and how that Party hath increas'd and been encourag'd. Sir *Henry Capel's* Speech.

'*Sir*, I remember, that after his Majeſty's Reſtoration, it was thought convenient that an *Act of Uniformity*

An. 1680. ‘ *niformity* ſhould paſs, as the beſt Law to ſecure the
‘ Church from the Danger of *Popery*, and *Fanaticiſm*;
‘ and accordingly it did paſs in 1662. But in 1663,
‘ ſome that then manag'd the Affairs of State, or
‘ at leaſt had great Intereſt with his Majeſty, were
‘ of another Opinion; for they had prevail'd with
‘ him to grant a Toleration, and to make a Declara-
‘ tion to that purpoſe. The Parliament aſſembling
‘ ſoon after, thought it ſtrange, that in one Year an
‘ *Act of Uniformity* ſhould be the beſt Way to pre-
‘ ſerve the Church, and in the next Year, a Tolera-
‘ tion and Indulgence; therefore after a ſerious De-
‘ bate about it in *February* 1663, they made an Ad-
‘ dreſs to his Majeſty, repreſenting how it would re-
‘ flect on the Wiſdom of the Parliament, to have ſuch
‘ an Alteration made ſo ſoon; and that ſuch Proceed-
‘ ings might end in *Popery*. Upon which, his Ma-
‘ jeſty ſtopt the iſſuing out of the ſaid Toleration,
‘ hearkening rather to the Advice of his Parliament
‘ than to any private Counſellors.

‘ *Sir*, I cannot inform you who it was that gave
‘ that Advice to his Majeſty, or certainly affirm they
‘ were popiſhly affected; but if I may take the Li-
‘ berty to judge of a Tree by its Fruit, I have ſome
‘ Reaſon to think ſo; becauſe I find by *Coleman*'s
‘ Letters, and other Diſcoveries, that a Toleration
‘ and Indulgence ſhould be one of the great Engines
‘ for the eſtabliſhing of Popery in this Nation. But
‘ the Project thus failing at this time, they were forc'd
‘ to wait with Patience till they could have another
‘ Opportunity; employing in the mean time their
‘ diabolical Counſels in weakening the Proteſtant In-
‘ tereſt (in order to a general Deſtruction of it) by
‘ engaging in a War with *Holland*: In which the
‘ *French* acted the ſame Part in behalf of the *Dutch*,
‘ as they did afterwards in our behalf againſt them in
‘ 1672, very fairly looking on both times, while we
‘ poor Proteſtants with great Fury deſtroy'd one the
‘ other. But this was not ſo ſtrange as the dividing
‘ our Fleet under Prince *Rupert* and General *Monk*,
‘ and the Deſign of deſtroying them as well as their
‘ Ships and the reſt of our Navy Royal at *Chatham*.
‘ And as they thus acted their Part at Sea, ſo they
‘ did not forget to do their beſt aſhore. In *April* 1666,
‘ ſome Perſons that were then hang'd, confeſs'd they
‘ had

'had been treated with, and had treated with others, 32 Car. II.
'to burn the City of *London* in *September* following;
'of which Confeſſion we then took as little notice,
'as we have of other Diſcoveries ſince: However,
'in *September*, thirteen thouſand Houſes in *London*
'were burnt; and thoſe that were taken in carrying
'on that Work, generouſly diſcharg'd without any
'Tryal: And one Papiſt that confeſs'd that himſelf
'and others did ſet the City on fire, was in great haſte
'hang'd; and ſo the Buſineſs was huſh'd up as com-
'pletely as the laſt great Plot is like to be now, brand-
'ing *Hubert*, who then made that Confeſſion, with
'Madneſs, as now theſe laſt Witneſſes with Perjury,
'Sodomy and what not. However theſe Buſineſſes
'were not ſo carried on, but his Majeſty diſcern'd ſome
'of the Intrigues of them; which made him alter
'his Council, and contrary to the Endeavours of that
'Party, enter into new Alliances, by making up that
'excellent League, uſually call'd the *Triple-League*;
'which put a ſtop to theſe Mens Deſigns as to Affairs
'abroad, but not to their Deſigns here at home. For
'having obtain'd the *Oxford* Act, and ſome others,
'againſt the Diſſenters, great Endeavours were us'd
'to have them executed ſeverely, in expectation that
'the Diſſenters would ſo be made weary of living
'quietly under them, and in the end be glad of a
'Toleration: But the Diſſenters deceiv'd them, and
'ſubmitted to the Laws; inſomuch that in 1670 till
'1671, there was hardly a Conventicle to be heard of
'in *England*; and might never have been more, if
'that Party had not been afraid of a great Diſap-
'pointment thereby. Wherefore to revive our Divi-
'ſions, and to bring in (as they hop'd) their own Re-
'ligion, they employ'd all their Force again to get a
'Toleration: I ſay, they did it, becauſe it cannot be
'imagin'd it could be from any Proteſtant Intereſt;
'both Churchmen and Diſſenters publickly declaring
'their Deteſtation of it: And in 1672 it was obtain'd,
'printed and publiſh'd; after we had, in order to the
'carrying it on, broke that never-to-be-forgotten *Tri-*
'*ple-League*, ſacrificed our Honour to the *French*, not
'only by making a ſtrong Alliance with them, but by
'ſeizing the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, and then proclaim-
'ing War with them: which War was continu'd in
'order to ruin us both; for the *French* prov'd but

'Lookers

An. 1680. ‘ Lookers on at Sea, (as they had done when engag'd
‘ with the *Dutch* in 1665) tho great Conquerors at
‘ Land, especially of the Protestants in *Germany* and
‘ *Holland*. And as this Toleration was accompany'd
‘ with these great Alterations in Affairs abroad, so it
‘ was back'd, 1. With a great Minister of State at the
‘ Helm at home, who was so confident of resixing
‘ Popery here, that he could not forbear to declare
‘ himself to be of that Religion, I mean my Lord
‘ Treasurer *Clifford*: As also 2. With a great Army
‘ at *Black-Heath*, ready upon all Occasions: And
‘ 3. With the greatest Violence on the Property of the
‘ Subject, that ever happen'd in this Nation, the
‘ seizing of one Million and a half or thereabout in
‘ the Exchequer. All which indeed made our Condi-
‘ tion desperate, and, as many thought, past retrieve.
‘ But, *Mr. Speaker*, here again the Goodness and
‘ Wisdom of his Majesty sav'd us, refusing to follow
‘ such pernicious Counsels: Upon which *Clifford* not
‘ only lost his Place, but his Life too, breaking his
‘ Heart, (as is by most believ'd) to see himself so dis-
‘ appointed in this great Design. And here, as we
‘ can never too much detest my Lord *Clifford*, and such
‘ others, who contriv'd our Ruin, so we can never suf-
‘ ficiently admire his Majesty's Royal Care, in work-
‘ ing out our Security, by refusing to follow any Ad-
‘ vice that tended to those Ends. And therefore to
‘ the great Disappointment of that Party, at the Re-
‘ quest of the House of Commons at their next Meet-
‘ ing, he recall'd the said Toleration, disbanded the
‘ Army, and in convenient time made a Peace with
‘ *Holland*. But tho this Party were thus defeated of
‘ their Design, yet not so discourag'd as to give it
‘ over. They chang'd their Measures, but not their
‘ Principles; and altho they desisted from further aim-
‘ ing at a Toleration, yet they no way neglected pur-
‘ suing a Reformation; but in order thereunto prose-
‘ cuted a Correspondence, formerly begun for that
‘ purpose, with the *French* King, and by promising him
‘ considerable Supplies to carry on the War he was
‘ then engag'd in, secur'd themselves, as they thought,
‘ of his Assistance for settling of Popery here. Ac-
‘ cordingly, it is not unknown, what a Party of Men,
‘ and what Quantities of Ammunition, and other Ne-
‘ cessaries for War, were sent to the *French* King

‘ during

'during the War he was then engag'd in, and how 32 Car. II.
'it was done contrary to the Advice of the Parlia-
'ment, and the Sollicitations of moſt of the Princes
'of *Europe*, and the true Intereſt of *England*, to the
'aſtoniſhment of all good Men; eſpecially becauſe it
'was contrary to his Majeſty's own Proclamation, and
'when the *French* had declar'd they made that War
'for Religion, endeavouring to force the *Dutch* to
'allow of Popiſh Churches. However, ſuch was
'the ſtrength of this Party, that this Aſſiſtance was
'continu'd until the *French* King was willing to make
'a Peace; and then who more inſtrumental than our
'Miniſters to effect it? Several Ambaſſadors and
'Plenipotentiaries too, being ſent as well to the Court
'of *Spain* as *Germany* and *Holland*, for that purpoſe.
'And at laſt, the *Dutch* being weary and conſum'd
'with the War, they were perſuaded to be willing for
'a Peace; and accordingly on *January* 10, 1677. en-
'ter'd into a Treaty with us for a general Peace, to
'be accompliſh'd by ſuch Ways and Means as are
'therein preſcrib'd: Which League was kept private
'for ſome time, and inſtead of any Diſcovery thereof,
'about the end of *February* following, the Parlia-
'ment being then ſoon after to aſſemble, a great Noiſe
'was made of entring into a War againſt *France*;
'it being concluded that nothing like that would in-
'cline the Parliament to give Money, nor the People
'freely to part with it, becauſe it was the only way
'to extinguiſh thoſe Fears they lay under by reaſon of
'the growing Greatneſs of *France*. At the meeting
'of the Parliament, the Project was ſet on foot with
'all the Induſtry poſſible; and ſo far were the major
'Part of the Members perſuaded of the reality there-
'of, that they were inclinable to give a great Sum
'for carrying on the War: But while they were con-
'ſulting about it, the League formerly mention'd,
'agreed at the *Hague*, was unluckily made (in ſome
'meaſure) publick, and occaſion'd a great Jealouſy of
'the reality of the pretended War; and the greater,
'becauſe upon enquiry they could not find there was
'any Alliance made to that purpoſe. And yet not-
'withſtanding this, and the great Endeavours of ſome
'worthy Members of that Parliament (now of this)
'an Army of thirty thouſand Men was rais'd, and a
'Tax of about one Million two hundred thouſand

An. 1680. ‘ Pounds was given. And then inſtead of a War, a general Peace, according to that Treaty agreed with ‘ *Holland*, was preſently made: By which that Party ‘ thought they had ſecur'd not only the Power of ‘ *France*, but the Men and Money here rais'd at home, ‘ to be made ſerviceable for their Ends, there want- ‘ ing nothing but a Popiſh King to perfect all theſe ‘ Deſigns: For which we have great reaſon to believe ‘ they had made all neceſſary Preparations, as well by ‘ employing Men and Money, to find out wicked In- ‘ ſtruments to take away the King's Life, as by pro- ‘ viding one *Claypool* to be a Sacrifice, to make an ‘ Atonement for the Act, and to caſt the Wickedneſs ‘ thereof on the Fanaticks; to which purpoſe the ſaid ‘ *Claypool* was really impriſoned ſome time before in ‘ the *Tower*, upon the Evidence of two Witneſſes, ‘ that he ſhou'd ſay, that he and two hundred more ‘ had engaged to kill the King the next time he ‘ went to *Newmarket*; for which in all probability he ‘ had as really been hang'd, if the breaking out of ‘ the Plot had not prevented their Deſigns. Then ‘ was *Claypool* the next Term after publickly cleared ‘ at the *King's-Bench* Bar, the Witneſſes appearing ‘ no more againſt him. Thus were we again reduced ‘ to a miſerable Condition: but it pleas'd God, by the ‘ Diſcovery of the Plot by Dr. *Oates*, once more to ‘ ſave us, whoſe Evidence (he being but one Witneſs) ‘ they thought at firſt to have out-brav'd; but ſome of ‘ them being ſo infatuated as to kill Juſtice *Godfrey*, ‘ and *Coleman* ſo unfortunate as to leave ſome of his ‘ important Papers in his Houſe, notwithſtanding the ‘ time he had to carry them away, it wrought ſo great ‘ a Ferment in the People, as that there was no re- ‘ medy, but the further purſuit of the Plot muſt be a- ‘ gain laid aſide, and a fair face put upon things: And ‘ ſo accordingly there was for a few Months; but how, ‘ after *Wakeman*'s Trial, things turn'd again, what En- ‘ deavours have been ſince us'd to ridicule the Plot, ‘ to diſparage the old Witneſſes, to diſcourage new ‘ ones, to ſet up Presbyterian Plots, and to encreaſe our ‘ Diviſions, I ſuppoſe may be freſh in every Man's Me- ‘ mory here; therefore I ſhall not offer to trouble you ‘ therewith.

‘ But, *Sir*, I cannot conclude without begging your ‘ Patience, while I obſerve how things have been car-

‘ ried

'ried on in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, anſwerable to 32 Car. II.
'what was done here.

'In *Ireland*, the Papiſts are at leaſt five to one in 'Number for the Proteſtants, and may probably de-'rive from their Cradle an Inclination to maſſacre 'them again: At leaſt the Proteſtants have no Secu-'rity but by having the Militia-Arms, and the Com-'mand of the Towns and Forts in their Hands. But 'about the ſame time, or a little before, that the To-'leration came out here in 1672. an Order went from 'hence, which after a long Preamble of the Loyalty 'and Affection of the Papiſts to his Majeſty, required 'the Lord-Lieutenant and Council to diſpenſe with 'the Papiſts wearing of Arms, and living in Corpora-'tions, and a great many other things in their Favour: 'of which they have made ſuch Uſe as that the Plot 'there was in as good readineſs as that here; but 'how carried on, and what Endeavours were there al-'ſo uſed to ſtifle it, will appear, when your leiſure 'may permit you to examine thoſe Witneſſes.

'In *Scotland* the Government is quite altered, the 'Uſe of Parliaments in a manner aboliſhed, and the 'Power of that Government lodged in a Commiſſioner 'and Council; a ſtanding Army of twenty two thou-'ſand Men ſettled, all Endeavours uſed to divide the 'Proteſtant Intereſt, and to encourage the Papiſts. By 'which we may conclude, that the ſame Intereſt hath 'had a great Hand in the Management of Affairs 'there alſo.

'And, *Sir*, may we not as well believe that the 'World was at firſt made by Chance, without the help 'of an omnipotent Hand, as that theſe Affairs in this 'our little World have been thus carried on ſo many 'Years together, ſo contrary to our true Intereſt, with-'out ſome great original Cauſe? By which the Po-'piſh Intereſt hath ſo far got the Aſcendant of the 'Proteſtant Intereſt, that notwithſtanding all his Ma-'jeſty's Endeavours, things have been ſtrangely over-'ruled in favour of that Party; how, and which way, 'his Majeſty's Declaration made in *April* 1679. is to 'me a great Manifeſtation.

'*Sir*, I hope the Weight of the Matter I have diſ-'courſed on will plead my Pardon with the Houſe, for 'having troubled you ſo long. I ſubmit what I have 'ſaid to your Judgment, humbly deſiring a favourable

An. 1680. 'Conſtruction: And tho I have ſaid ſome things that 'are very ſtrange, and others grounded only on Con-'jectures, yet I believe no Man will have juſt reaſon to 'doubt the Probability of the Truth, if they will but 'conſider what a potent Friend the Papiſts have had 'of *James* Duke of *York*, and how emboldened by 'the Hopes of having him for King. And as it is not 'to be doubted but they have had his Aſſiſtance, ſo 'they have had the *French* Ambaſſador's too, who by 'his Frequency at the Palace, hath ſeemed rather 'one of the Family and King's Houſhold, than a 'foreign Ambaſſador; and by his Egreſs and Regreſs 'to and from his Majeſty, rather a prime Miniſter of 'State of this Kingdom, than a Counſellor to another 'Prince. And the Truth of all hath been ſo confirm'd 'by *Coleman*'s Letters, making the Duke's Intereſt, 'the *French* Intereſt, and the Papiſts Intereſt ſo much 'one, and by the many Witneſſes that have come in 'about the Plot, that I think we may rather be at 'a loſs for our Remedy, than in doubt of our Diſeaſe. 'And therefore, tho I know the Difficulties I may 'bring my ſelf under, by having thus laid open ſome 'Mens Deſigns, yet ſeeing my King and Country have 'called me to this Service, I am reſolved, That as 'my Father loſt his Life for King *Charles* I. ſo I will 'not be afraid to adventure mine for King *Charles* II. 'and that makes me expoſe my ſelf in his Service in 'this Place.

'*Sir*, I think, ſeeing things are thus, without neg-'lecting our Duty to our King and Country, nay to 'our God too, we cannot defer endeavouring the ſe-'curing of the King's Perſon and Proteſtant Religion 'by all lawful means whatſoever: And therefore I ſe-'cond the Motion that was made, That we may in 'the firſt place take into our Conſideration how to ſup-'preſs Popery, and prevent a Popiſh Succeſſor; that 'ſo we may never return again to Superſtition, Ido-'latry, and Slavery; but may always preſerve that 'pure Religion to be the Religion of this Nation, for 'which ſo many of our Forefathers have ſuffer'd Mar-'tyrdom, I mean the Proteſtant Religion, as long as 'the Sun and Moon endure.'

Reſolution of the Houſe.

After ſeveral more Speeches to the ſame purpoſe, the Houſe came to this Reſolution, *That they ought firſt to proceed effectually to ſuppreſs* Popery, *and prevent a* Po-

Popiſh Succeſſor. The Court expected ſome ſuch Vote; and therefore the Day before the Seſſion the Duke of *York* departed for *Scotland*, he with his Dutcheſs and Retinue going down the River, to embark on the Men of War appointed to attend them, his Majeſty accompanying them as far as *Woolwich*. 32 Car. II. Duke retires.

The King, to pacify the Commons, ſeem'd, as he had done often before, to fall in with them with a like Zeal againſt Popery; and on *October* 30. ſet forth a Proclamation, declaring *his princely Care for ſecuring the true Proteſtant Religion, and for ſatisfying the Minds of his loving Subjects; and that therefore he thought fit to encourage the more effectual Diſcovery and Suppreſſion of the moſt horrid and execrable Popiſh Plot, by promiſing a free Pardon to any Perſons who ſhould come in, and give farther Information and Evidence concerning it.* Proclamation againſt Popery.

But the Commons were ſo little ſatisfy'd with theſe fair Words, that on *November* 2. they fell into a Debate of the Popiſh Plot, and reſolved, 'I. That the 'Duke of *York*'s being a Papiſt, and the Hopes of his 'coming ſuch to the Crown, hath given the greateſt 'Countenance and Encouragement to the preſent De'ſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King and Proteſ'tant Religion. 2. That in Defence of the King's 'Perſon and Government, and Proteſtant Religion, this 'Houſe doth declare they will ſtand by his Majeſty 'with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Ma'jeſty ſhould come to any violent Death, (which God 'forbid) they will revenge it to the utmoſt on the 'Papiſts.' And after ſeveral Speeches it was reſolved, 'That a Bill be brought in to diſable *James* 'Duke of *York* to inherit the imperial Crowns of '*England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto 'belonging.' Reſolutions of the Commons. Bill of Excluſion.

This Bill was read the firſt Time on *November* 4. when it was by a very great Majority reſolved, That it ſhould be read a ſecond Time on *November* 6. in the Morning; at which Time it was reſolved, That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe. On *November* 8. the Houſe accordingly reſolv'd it ſelf into a Committee, and reported their Reſolution, That the ſaid Bill for diſabling *James* Duke of *York*, &c. with the ſeveral Clauſes and Amendments,

An. 1680. be engroſſed. The King was very much diſpleas'd with theſe Proceedings of the Commons againſt his Brother; but notwithſtanding this, on *November* 11. the ingroſſed Bill was read, intitled, *An Act for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, by diſabling* James *Duke of* York *to inherit the imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*; and paſſed the Houſe by a very great Majority.

Paſs'd by the Commons.

The next Day the King ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, *recommending the Condition of* Tangier *to the Care and Conſideration of the Houſe.* Upon this Meſſage a warm Debate aroſe, in which it was argu'd, 'That it was a Duty incumbent on them to ſecure things at home, on which their All depended, before they ſpent their time about ſecuring things abroad: That *Tangier* might be of Importance to Trade, but not a Security to the Proteſtant Religion: That they were indeed afraid of *Tangier*, but more afraid of a Popiſh Succeſſor; and therefore till they were ſecur'd in the latter, they could not think themſelves concern'd in the former; and in the mean time they could not give Money, without endangering the Religion and Government of the Nation: For they *remember'd when one Million one hundred thouſand Pounds was given for building of Ships, and not one Ship built; and above two Millions given to ſupport the Triple League, which was preſently employed for the breaking of it; when one Million two hundred thouſand Pounds was given for an actual War with* France, *and at the ſame time we were under all the Obligations for Peace, and ſo continued*, &c.' At laſt the Commons appointed a Committee to draw up an Addreſs to his Majeſty, *repreſenting the dangerous State of the Kingdom*, in anſwer to his Majeſty's Meſſage. This Addreſs was a Remonſtrance of Grievances ariſing from the Growth of Popery and arbitrary Power.

Meſſage from the King.

Addreſs of the Commons.

On *November* 15. the Bill *for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, by diſabling* James *Duke of* York *to inherit the imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *&c.* was carried up to the Lords by *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, attended by almoſt the whole Houſe of Commons. At the firſt reading in the Houſe of Lords, and its being put to the Vote, whether it ſhould be read a

Bill of Excluſion carried up to the Lords.

ſecond Time, it was carried in the Affirmative by two Votes only. On the ſecond Reading, it was debated till eleven at Night, the King being preſent all the while, to encourage an Oppoſition to it; and then it was thrown out by a Majority of thirty Voices, all the Biſhops preſent voting againſt it. 32 Car. II. Rejected by them.

It is ſaid King *Charles* came in at firſt to this Bill, or ſeem'd ſo to do. The favourite Miſtreſs was prevail'd with, from ſecret Motives and Proſpects of her own, to concur with others in perſuading him to abandon his Brother; and waving the Duke's Right, to accept of an Act of Parliament in his own favour, like that made in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. by which he ſhould have a Power to diſpoſe of the Crown at his Death, under ſuch Reſtrictions and Limitations as might be agreed on. Whether any ſuch Act was really intended by the Parliament, is hard to determine; but it's certain ſome ſuch Offer was made to the King, with a Promiſe of a conſiderable Sum towards ſupplying his preſſing Wants. It's likewiſe certain that King *Charles* ſeem'd willing to accept of it, till a foreign Court, whoſe Intereſt it was to ſupport the Duke of *York*, ſtruck up a Bargain with the King, to give him more Money for refuſing, than had been offer'd for conſenting to it.

Trial of Ld. *Stafford.*

On *November* 30. *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, one of the five Lords impeach'd by the Commons for the Popiſh Plot, was brought to his Trial before the Lords in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, a Committee of the Commons managing the Impeachment againſt him. The firſt Day was taken up in opening the Court, and in hearing the general Evidence to prove the ſaid Plot. Next Day, the Witneſſes proving the particular Charge againſt the Lord *Stafford*, were heard and examin'd. The Trial laſted a whole Week, when he was brought to the Court to receive the Judgment of the Lords, of whom thirty one pronounced him *Not guilty*, and fifty five *guilty*; ſo that Sentence of Death was paſſed upon him. But his Execution was put off for about three Weeks, when he was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, proteſting with his laſt Breath, That he was utterly innocent of the Crimes for which he died.

Reſolutions of the Commons.

On *December* 15. the Commons, in a grand Committee, reſolved, *That one Means to ſuppreſs Popery, is, that a Bill be brought in immediately to baniſh all*

An. 1680. *the considerable Papists out of the Kingdom.* And upon a further Debate on the Dangers of Popery, they resolved, *That as long as the Papists have any Hopes of the Duke of* York's *succeeding the King, his Majesty's Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of all his Protestant Subjects are in apparent danger of being destroyed.* And upon reference made to an Act of Queen *Elizabeth* for an *Association* to revenge her Death upon the Papists, they came to a like Resolution, *That a Bill be brought in for an Association of all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, for the Safety of his Majesty's Person, the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and Preservation of his Protestant Subjects, against all Invasions and Oppositions, and for preventing the Duke of* York, *or any other Papist, from succeeding to the Crown.*

Association propos'd.

King's Speech.

On the same Day his Majesty made a Speech to both Houses, in which there is this Clause: 'I did 'promise you the fullest Satisfaction your Hearts 'could wish for the Security of the Protestant Religion, and to concur with you in any Remedies 'which might consist with preserving the Succession 'of the Crown in its due and legal Course of Descent. I do again, with the same Reservations, renew the same Promises to you.' About two Days after, the said Speech was read and consider'd by the Commons; and after many severe Reflections upon the *French* Ambassador, the *French* Women, the Duke, and the Duke's Creatures, they *presented an Address to his Majesty, in answer to his said Speech,* representing, 'That this Protestant Kingdom can never be safe while there are any Hopes and Expectation of a Popish Successor; and they beseech his 'Majesty, in great Wisdom, to consider whether in 'case the imperial Crown of this Protestant Kingdom should descend to the Duke of *York*, the Opposition which may possibly be made to his possessing it, may not only endanger the farther Descent 'in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it self. They 'therefore become humble Petitioners to his Majesty, 'that in tender Commiseration of his poor Protestant 'People, he would be pleased to depart from the Reservations in his said Speech; and whenever a Bill 'shall be tender'd to his Majesty, in a Parliamentary 'way, *to disable the Duke of* York *from inheriting*

Address of the Commons.

'*the*

'*the Crown*, his Majeſty will give his Royal Aſſent thereto; as alſo to another *Act*, whereby his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects may be enabled to *aſſociate* themſelves *for the Defence of his Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Security of his Kingdoms.* And as ſome farther Means for the Preſervation both of their Religion and Property, they are humble Suitors to his Majeſty, that from henceforth ſuch Perſons only may be Judges as are Men of Ability, Integrity, and known Affection to the Proteſtant Religion; and that they may hold both their Offices and Salaries *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint:* That no one may bear the Office of a Lord-Lieutenant, but who is a Perſon of Integrity and known Affection to the Proteſtant Religion: That Deputy-Lieutenants, and Juſtices of the Peace may be alſo ſo qualified, and be Men of Eſtates and Intereſt in their Country; that none may be employed as military Officers, or in the Fleet, but Men of known Experience, Courage, and Affection to the Proteſtant Religion. And theſe their humble Requeſts being obtained, they ſhall be ready to aſſiſt his Majeſty for the Preſervation of *Tangier*, and for putting his Fleet into ſuch a Condition, that it may preſerve his Majeſty's Sovereignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation.' 32 Car. II.

Caſe of Diſſenters.

The Churchmen now thought it their Intereſt to abate the Severities they had exercis'd againſt the Proteſtant Diſſenters; and therefore the Commons reſolved, 'That the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters, upon the penal Laws deſign'd againſt Papiſts, is at this Time grievous to the Subject, a weakening the Proteſtant Intereſt, an Encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.' Whereupon they prepar'd a Bill *For exempting his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penalties impoſed upon the Papiſts, by repealing the Act of* 35 Eliz. This Bill paſs'd the Commons, and was agreed to by the Lords, and lay ready for the Royal Aſſent: But when his Majeſty came to the Throne to paſs it among other Bills, it was taken from the Table, and never heard of after; which no Man durſt have done without the King's Command, or at leaſt his Privity and Connivance at it. It was commonly ſaid to have been taken away by a natural Son of the King's, who

Bill in favour of them ſtole.

An. 1680. who ſtanding at the Table to play with it, was inſtructed to run away with it.

Reſolve of the Lords. On *January* 6. this Meſſage was brought from the Lords, and read in the Houſe of Commons: 'Reſolved 'by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament 'aſſembled, That they do declare that they are fully 'ſatisfied that there now is, and for divers Years paſt 'hath been a horrid and treaſonable Plot, contriv'd 'and carried on by thoſe of the Popiſh Religion in '*Ireland*, for maſſacring the *Engliſh*, and ſubverting 'the Proteſtant Religion, and the antient eſtabliſh'd 'Government of that Kingdom: To which their 'Lordſhips deſire the Concurrence of this Houſe.'

Commons agree to it. The Commons ſoon reſolved, 'That this Houſe doth 'agree with the Lords in the ſaid Vote, with the Addition of theſe Words, *That the Duke of* York's *being a Papiſt, and the Expectation of his coming to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement thereto, as well as to the horrid Popiſh Plot in this Kingdom of* England.'

His Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Commons in anſwer to their late Addreſs; wherein he let them know, that he was confirm'd in his Opinion againſt the *Bill of Excluſion*. Upon a Debate on this Meſſage, the Houſe came readily to theſe Votes: Votes of the Commons. '1. That there 'is no Security nor Safety for the Proteſtant Religion, 'the King's Life, or Government of this Nation, 'without paſſing a Bill for diſabling *James* Duke of '*York* to inherit the imperial Crown of this Realm; 'and to rely upon any other Means and Remedies, 'without ſuch a Bill, is not only inſufficient but dangerous. 2. That his Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage, 'having aſſured this Houſe of his Readineſs to concur 'in all other Means for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That until a Bill be likewiſe paſſed for excluding the Duke 'of *York*, this Houſe cannot give any Supply to his 'Majeſty, without Danger to his Perſon, extreme 'Hazard of the Proteſtant Religion, and Unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom the Houſe is entruſted. 3. 'That all Perſons who adviſ'd his Majeſty to inſiſt 'upon an Opinion againſt the Bill for excluding the 'Duke of *York*, have given him pernicious Counſel, 'and are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the 'King and Kingdom.'

Af-

After this, the Houſe enter'd into a Debate of Parliamentary Aids, and againſt all other ways of ſupplying the King's Occaſions, as tending to the keeping off of Parliaments, exhauſting the publick Treaſure, contracting Debts, and undermining the Government; and ſo came to theſe concluding Votes: 32 Car. II.

Concluding Votes.

'1. That whoever ſhall lend, or cauſe to be lent any 'Money upon the Branches of the Revenue, ariſing by 'Cuſtom, Exciſe, or Hearth-Money, ſhall be judged a 'Hinderer of the ſitting of Parliaments, and be re'ſponſible for the ſame in Parliament. 2. That who'ever ſhall accept or buy any Tally, or Anticipation 'upon any Part of the Revenue, or whoever ſhall 'pay ſuch Tally hereafter to be ſtruck, ſhall be ad'judged to hinder the ſitting of Parliaments, and be 'reſponſible for the ſame in Parliament.'

Things being come to this paſs, the King was very much troubled to find that he could not protect his Miniſters, his Brother, nor (as he thought) himſelf; and therefore he reſolved to put an End to the Seſſion on *January* 10. which the Commons having private notice of, met early in the Morning, and before the Uſher of the Black-Rod came in, they reſolved, *That whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty to prorogue the Parliament, to any other purpoſe than in order to paſſing a Bill for the Excluſion of* James *Duke of* York, *is a Betrayer of the King, the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Kingdom of* England, *a Promoter of the* French *Intereſt, and a Penſioner of* France. After which they were ſent for up to the Lords, where his Majeſty having given his Aſſent to an Act *prohibiting the Importation of Cattle from* Ireland, and to an *Act for ſupplying a late Act for burying in Woollen*; the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, prorogu'd the Parliament till the twentieth inſtant. But two Days before they were to have met, his Majeſty by Proclamation thought fit to diſſolve them, and to declare,

Reſolve.

Parliament prorogu'd.

Diſſolv'd.

'That he had given Directions for the iſſuing out of 'Writs for the calling a new Parliament, which ſhould 'be holden at *Oxford* the 21ſt of *March* next.'

New Parliament to be held at *Oxford*.

About this time, one *Fitz-Harris*, Son of Sir *Edward Fitz-Harris*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, enter'd on a Deſign of ſmothering the Popiſh Plot, by inventing a new Plot to be charg'd on the Nonconformiſts. He drew up a traiterous Libel, call'd, *The True Engliſhman ſpeak-*

Deſign of *Fitz-harris*.

An. 1680. *speaking plain English*; which was to be fix'd upon the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and to be diſpers'd by the Penny-Poſt to the proteſting Lords, and leading Men in the Houſe of Commons, who were immediately thereupon to be taken up and ſearched. *Everard*, whom he made uſe of in framing the Libel, affirm'd that the Court had a Hand in it, and that the King had given *Fitz-Harris* Money, and would give him more, if it met with Succeſs, And this is the more probable, ſince the King himſelf told Sheriff *Corniſh*, *That* Fitz-Harris *had, three Months before his Apprehenſion, been with him, and acquainted him he was in purſuit of a Plot, which very much related to his Majeſty's Perſon and the Government*, &c. and ſince, upon Sir *William Waller*'s acquainting the King with the Particulars he had taken, while he was by *Everard*'s Direction conceal'd, tho he thank'd him for it, and commanded Secretary *Jenkins* to iſſue out a Warrant for apprehending *Fitz-Harris*, and that Sir *William* ſhould take care of the Execution of it; yet he was no ſooner gone, but Sir *William* ſaid, he was inform'd by two worthy Gentlemen, *That the King was highly offended with him, ſaying, he had broke all his Meaſures, and that he would one way or other have him taken off*. However, *Fitz-Harris* was ſoon after taken by Sir *William*, and committed to *Newgate*; where being examin'd by Sir *Robert Clayton* and Sheriff *Corniſh*, he ſhew'd at length a Willingneſs to diſcover the whole Deſign the next Day after: But to prevent it, he was that Day remov'd to the *Tower*.

The new Parliament was appointed to meet at *Oxford*. This Change of Place was very diſpleaſing, not only to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, but generally to the Members of both Houſes, who fear'd ſome arbitrary Deſigns in it. Whereupon ſeveral of the Nobility, after mature Conſideration, reſolved to petition his Majeſty againſt it. This Petition was deliver'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and ſubſcribed *Monmouth*, *Kent*, *Huntingdon*, *Bedford*, *Salisbury*, *Clare*, *Stamford*, *Eſſex*, *Shaftsbury*, *Mordant*, *Evers*, *Paget*, *Gray*, *Herbert*, *Howard*, *Delamere*.

Fifth Parliament meets at *Oxford*.

The King notwithſtanding perſiſted in his Reſolution of holding the Parliament at *Oxford*; where on the twenty firſt of *March* both Houſes met, and his Majeſty coming into the Houſe of Lords (which was

in the publick Schools) and ſending for the Commons, made a Speech; wherein towards the Cloſe he expreſs'd himſelf thus: 'What I have formerly and ſo 'often declared touching the Succeſſion, I cannot de- 'part from; but to remove all reaſonable Fears that 'may ariſe from the Poſſibility of a Popiſh Succeſſor's 'coming to the Crown, if Means can be found that 'in ſuch a Caſe the Adminiſtration of the Govern- 'ment may remain in Proteſtant Hands, I ſhall be rea- 'dy to hearken to any ſuch Expedient, by which the 'Religion might be preſerv'd, and the Monarchy not 'deſtroy'd.' 32 Car. II.

Speaker choſen.

After the Speech, the Commons return'd to their Houſe to make choice of a Speaker, and unanimouſly elected *William Williams* Eſq; who had been Speaker in the former Parliament, and was now again approved by his Majeſty.

Motion for printing the Votes.

On *March* 24. the Debates of the Commons began with a Motion for printing the Votes; which was oppos'd by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, as *againſt the Gravity of that Aſſembly; that no great Aſſembly in Chriſtendom did it*; that again, *it was againſt their Gravity, and a ſort of Appeal to the People.* But the Members on the other Side argu'd, *That printing their Votes was like true Engliſhmen, who are not aſham'd of what they do, and that the People whom they repreſent, may have a true Account of their Proceedings:* And ſo the Reſolution paſſed for printing.

Deaths of great Men.

But before we go any further, we muſt for a Cloſe of the Year, take notice of the Deaths of ſeveral famous Men; as *Thomas Butler* Earl of *Oſſory*, a Perſon of great Courage and Bravery, an *Iriſh* Earl and an *Engliſh* Baron, and eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Ormond*; *John Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, Son to *Wilmot* the General, a Perſon of a handſome and graceful Appearance, a polite and genteel Behaviour, and of Wit and Pregnancy of Fancy not to be imitated; but being gradually corrupted by the Pleaſures of the Court, the Heat of his Temper tranſported him to the utmoſt Exceſſes and Extravagancies of Thought and Invention; ſo that for keen Satir, and unlimited Senſuality, he was diſtinguiſh'd in a moſt witty and voluptuous Court; till falling into a lingering Sickneſs, he was made ſenſible of his miſerable Condition, and became a ſignal Penitent, and died in the thirty ſecond

An. 1680. cond Year of his Age. Next to these are Dr. *Allestry*, Dr. *Duport*, Master of *Magdalen-College* in *Cambridge*, afterwards Dean of *Peterborough*; Mr. *Joseph Glanvil*, who particularly distinguish'd himself by teaching the Nature of immaterial Substances, Apparitions, &c. Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, a learned Presbyterian Divine; Mr. *Samuel Butler*, who made himself famous for that admirable Poem called *Hudibras*; *Harry Marten*, one of the late King's Judges, who was kept a Prisoner in *Chepstow-Castle* in *Monmouthshire*; and lastly, Sir *Peter Lely*, the renowned Painter of the Age.

An. 1681. Debates on the Loss of a Bill.

On *March* 25. a Motion was made for resuming a Debate begun the Day before upon the Loss of the Bill for repealing the Bill of 35 *Eliz.* Sir *William Jones* argu'd thus: 'This Matter deserves mature 'Consideration, whether in respect of the Loss of the 'Bill, or the shaking the very Constitution of Parlia-'ment. The Bill that is lost is of great Moment, 'and of great Service to the Country, and perhaps to 'their Lives, in the Time of a Popish Successor. Those 'Men that hinder'd the passing that Bill had a Pros-'pect of that; and if it be sent up again, we are like 'to meet with great Opposition: But be the Bill what 'it will, the Precedent is of the highest Consequence. 'The King has his Negative to all Bills, but I never 'knew the Clerk of the Parliament had a Negative. '——If this Way be found out, that Bills should be 'thrown by, it may be hereafter said, they were for-'gotten and laid by, and so we shall never know 'whether the King would pass them or no. If this 'be suffer'd, it is in vain to spend Time here, &c.' The Matter was at last referred to a Conference with the Lords concerning the Constitution of Parliaments in matters relating to passing of Bills.

Case of *Fitz-harris.*

On the same Day was read the Account of *Fitz-harris*, and the Libel wrote by him. The Commons thought the Management in relation to him look'd so much like a Trick, and a Continuation of the Popish Plot, that they resolved to impeach him of High-Treason, and appointed Sir *Leoline Jenkins* to carry up the Impeachment to the Lords; who at first refused it, but being threatned by the House, and better advis'd, he at last obey'd the Order. The next Day an Account was brought to the House, that the Lords had thrown

thrown out the Impeachment of *Fitz-harris*, and had directed that he ſhould be proſecuted at Common Law. This incens'd the Commons to a high degree, and carried them into theſe Votes. '1. That this 'Refuſal of the Lords is a Denial of Juſtice, a Violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments, and an Obſtruction to the farther Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot. '2. That if any Judge, Juſtice, or Jury, or any inferior Court, ſhall proceed againſt *Edward Fitz-harris*, 'or any other Perſon impeach'd in Parliament, for the 'ſame Crimes for which he or they ſtand impeach'd, 'it is a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.' 33 Car. II.

Expedients debated.

On the ſame Day they fell upon debating of ſome Expedients which had been propos'd for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion and the King's Life, without the Bill for excluding the Duke. Sir *J. E.* propoſed a Regency for the next Heir, leaving him the Name of a King, but not the Power. This was ſpoken againſt as a dangerous and impracticable thing; and the Houſe came readily into a Reſolution, 'That there 'was no Remedy to ſave Religion and the Govern-'ment, but excluding the Duke of *York*, and all other 'Popiſh Succeſſors.'

Reſolution againſt the Duke.

On *March* 28. the Bill for excluding the Duke of *York* was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading, and they were reſuming the Debate about *Fitz-harris*; when on a ſudden the Uſher of the Black-Rod commanded their Attendance in the Houſe of Lords; whither they immediately went, and the King told them, 'He perceiv'd there were great 'Heats between the Houſes, and their Beginnings had 'been ſuch as he could expect no good Succeſs of this 'Parliament, and therefore thought fit to diſſolve 'them.' And accordingly the Lord Chancellor declared the Parliament diſſolved. The King immediately took Coach, and drove in haſte to *Windſor*, where he lay that Night; and the next Morning he poſted away to *Whitehall*, ſeeming extremely pleas'd that he had made his Eſcape, as 'twere, and got a Deliverance from his fifth and laſt Parliament.

Parliament diſſolved.

Trial of *Fitz-harris*.

On *April* 3. *Fitz-harris* was arraign'd at the King's Bench Bar, where he three times refus'd to hold up his Hand, inſiſting upon his being *impeached in Parliament, and therefore that he ought not to be tried by any inferior Court*. After long Debates on this Matter,

An. 1681. ter, on the eleventh of *May* the Plea was over-rul'd, and the Priſoner pleaded *Not-guilty*; but alledging, that a material Witneſs for him was abſent in *Holland*, his Trial was put off till the ninth of *June*; on which Day he was brought again to the Bar, and the chief Evidences againſt him were Sir *William Waller* and *Everard*, upon whoſe Teſtimonies he was found guilty of High Treaſon.

Plunket's Trial. The Day before, Dr. *Oliver Plunket*, titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, was tried at the ſame Bar for High Treaſon. The Evidences againſt him were all profeſſed Papiſts, and came out of *Ireland*. The chief Matters ſworn againſt him were, *That he was made Primate of* Ireland *by the Pope, at the* French *King's Recommendation; and had actually levied great Sums of Money among his Clergy, to introduce the* French *Government into that Kingdom, and to extirpate the Proteſtants.* Upon Evidence of this he was found guilty, and on *July* 1. he and *Fitz-harris* were both executed at *Tyburn*.

His Majeſty was particularly offended at the great Reſpect paid to the late Members of Parliament for the City of *London*, in a great Retinue waiting on them to *Oxford*. Of this Number of Attendants was one *Stephen Colledge*, commonly known by the Name of the *Proteſtant Joiner*, a Man of Parts and Courage, and of great Zeal againſt Popery; who went down to *Oxford*, and there is ſaid to have ſpoke Words, and recited Copies of Verſes which reflected on the King. This poor Man was to be made an Example, and ſacrificed to the Reſentment of the Court. So an Indictment of High Treaſon was exhibited againſt him to the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*; but the Jury return'd an *Ignoramus* upon it, for which Mr. *Wilmore* the Foreman was, out of all courſe of Law, apprehended and examined before the Council, and ſent to the *Tower*, and afterwards forced to fly beyond the Seas. When the Deſign againſt *Colledge* had thus miſcarried in *London*, they laid a new Scene againſt him at *Oxford*, where they hoped to find a more pliable Grand-Jury: And to make ſure that the Bill might not a ſecond time miſcarry, the Witneſſes were ſent down poſt to the Aſſizes, and by ſecret Management privately ſhut up with the Jury, till they had found the Bill; which was afterwards complained of as an intolerable

Caſe of Stephen Colledge.

lerable Practice. As ſoon as the Bill was found a- 33 Car. II.
gainſt him, a Jailer and a Meſſenger were ſent away to hurry him down to his Trial, who by Order of the King's Council, took from him all his Inſtructions for his Defence, and carried them to the Counſel for them only to make their Uſe and Advantage of them. This Way of proceeding was look'd upon to be very harſh and illegal; yet the poor Man, under theſe ſevere Circumſtances, was not wanting to himſelf, but ſtoutly made his Defence, and as Sir *John Hawles* obſerves, *The beſt Defence, all Circumſtances conſider'd, that ever Man made for his Life.* But it was a Matter reſolv'd on Above, that he muſt die: and ſo on *Aug.* 18. he was found guilty of High Treaſon, and on the thirty firſt of the ſame Month, he was executed in the *Caſtle-Yard.* In his dying Speech he has theſe Words: *I ever was a Proteſtant, I was born ſo, I have liv'd ſo, and ſo by the Grace of God, I will die, of the Church of* England.——*I know of no Plot in the World but the Popiſh Plot*, &c. On the ſame Day that *Colledge* ſuffer'd, the famous *Titus Oates*, whoſe Salary had been abridg'd ſome Months before, was by Order of Council turned out of his Lodgings at *Whitehall*, where he had continued near three Years, had his Salary taken from him, and Orders given not to come within the Verge of the Council-Chamber.

Oates diſcarded.

The Lord *Shaftesbury* was a Perſon moſt odious to the Court, and the more ſo, becauſe his Lordſhip, with ſeveral other Peers, had entered a Proteſtation againſt the Lords rejecting the Impeachment of *Fitzharris*; and upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament return'd immediately to *London*, as if he intended to influence the City againſt the Court. Soon after his Return, on the Information of one *Bryan Hans* an *Iriſh* Evidence, he was apprehended at his Houſe in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, and on the ſecond of *July* committed to the *Tower* for High Treaſon: And Captain *Wilkinſon*, who had waited on the Earl to *Oxford*, among other Friends and Followers, was now tempted to charge this upon his Lordſhip, as a Deſign of Sedition and Treaſon; but *Wilkinſon*, tho a Priſoner for Debt in the King's Bench, refuſed all their Temptations and Offers, and would not be drawn in to be an Evidence. The Earl, after his Commitment, preſented ſeveral Petitions for a Trial or Bail, according to the *Habeas*

Caſe of Ld. *Shaftesbury.*

An. 1681 *Corpus* Act; but he could not be heard till *November* 24. and then a Bill of High-Treaſon was prefer'd to the Grand-Jury at the Seſſions-Houſe in the *Old-Bailey*. Mr. *Blaithwate* and Mr. *Guynne* ſwore, that the Papers produced in Court were taken in the Lord *Shaftesbury*'s Houſe; and Sir *Leoline Jenkins* depoſed, that one of them, which was a Project of an *Aſſociation*, was the ſame Paper unaltered, that Mr. *Blaithwate* gave him. The two *Macnamarra's* and *Booth* ſwore, That Capt. *Wilkinſon* was to have been Captain of a Troop of Horſe in the Army which the Lord *Shaftesbury* was to raiſe. *Turbervile* ſwore, that the Lord *Shaftesbury* ſaid about *February* laſt, *That there was little good to be done to the King as long as his Guards were about him.* *Smith* depos'd, that the Earl ſhou'd ſay, *If the King ſhou'd offer any Violence to the Parliament at* Oxford, *he wou'd meet with a ſtrong Oppoſition:* And one *Haynes* ſwore to theſe Words ſpoken by the Earl, *The Duke of* Buckingham *has as much Right to the Crown as any* Stuart *in* England. But the Grand-Jury, of whom Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* was Foreman, conſidering of the Depoſitions of Capt. *Wilkinſon* made before the King, which gave a large Account of the Intrigue carried on by *Booth* to engage him to be an Evidence againſt the Earl, and knowing *Booth* to be a Fellow of an infamous Character, who had been condemned for Clipping and Coining; and having no reaſon to believe any thing ſaid by *Turbervile*, *Smith*, or *Haynes*, there being ſo much of their Falſhoods, and of their Reſolutions to perjure themſelves, proved againſt them in *Colledge*'s Tryal, return'd an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill. The People were generally ſo well ſatisfy'd, that the Spite of the Papiſts was grounded on the Lord *Shaftesbury*'s apparent Zeal for their Religion and Liberties, that they publickly rejoiced in his Deliverance, and made Bonfires that Evening in ſeveral Parts of the City. The Earl being cleared, moved to be diſcharged, but could not obtain it till the End of the next Term.

Affairs of *Scotland.* The Duke of *York* was all this while in *Scotland*, as his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, and found there an obſequious Parliament; who being firſt amuſed with an *Act ratifying all former Laws for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion*, fell readily into another

ther *Act acknowledging and asserting the Right of Succession to the Imperial Crown of* Scotland; wherein they declare, *That no Difference in Religion, nor no Law nor Act of Parliament, made or to be made, can alter or divert the Right of Succession and lineal Descent of the Crown to the nearest and lawful Heirs.* 33 Car. II.

The Earl of *Argyle* moved in Parliament for a Security against a Popish Successor; for which he could not be forgiven. He was immediately committed, and soon after prosecuted, under a pretence of having put his own Sense and Interpretation upon the *Test*, when he took it; and he was upon this trivial account found guilty of High-Treason, and must have then suffer'd, if he had not made a shift to escape his Destiny at that time, by exchanging Clothes with his Daughter, and so getting privately out of *Edinburgh-Castle*, and flying beyond Sea. Case of the Earl of *Argyle*.

On *April* 27. his Majesty was pleas'd to create *Lawrence Hyde* Esq; first Commissioner of his Treasury, Viscount *Hyde* of *Kennelworth*, and Baron of *Wotton-Basset*. Soon after *Heneage* Lord *Finch*, Lord-Chancellor of *England*, was created Earl of *Nottingham*. About two Months after, Sir *George Carteret* Bart. was created Baron *Carteret* of *Hawnes* in the County of *Bedford*. Honours confer'd.

Upon occasion of the *Ignoramus*-Juries, the Court-Party concern'd themselves very much in the Election of new Sheriffs; but the Citizens, who thought their Liberties and Lives depended upon it, chose Mr. *Pilkington* and Mr. *Shute* by a very great Majority. The King was resolv'd to express his Displeasure at it; and therefore when on *October* 13. Sir *George Treby* Recorder, and these two Sheriffs were sent to invite his Majesty, in the Name of the City, to do them the Honour of dining at *Guild-Hall* on the 28th, his Majesty gave them this Rebuke: *Mr. Recorder, an Invitation from my Lord Mayor and the City is very acceptable to me; and to shew that it is so, notwithstanding it is brought by Messengers that are so unwelcome to me as these two Sheriffs are, yet I accept it.* *Pilkington* and *Shute* chosen Sheriffs.

His Majesty took all Occasions to express his Satisfaction in the Loyalty of those Churchmen, who came with their Addresses, abhorring the *Association*, and declaring for the unalterable Right of *Succession*; as

An. 1681. particularly Dr. *Gower*, Master of *St. John's College*, and Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, who waited on his Majesty at *Newmarket* on *September* 18. and made a fine flattering Speech in the Name of the University, in which were these Expressions: 'We will still 'believe and maintain, that our Kings derive not 'their Titles from the People, but from God; that 'to him only they are accountable; that it belongs 'not to Subjects either to create or censure, but to 'honour and obey their Sovereign, who comes to be 'so by a fundamental Hereditary Right of Succession, 'which no Religion, no Law, no Fault or Forfeiture 'can alter or diminish, *&c.*'

Dr. *Gower's* Speech to the King.

Sufferings of the Dissenters.

The Protestant Dissenters at this time suffer'd very great Hardships. The King, whose Practice, even against the Law, had been to indulge them, was now drawn in to be very sollicitous for the vigorous Prosecution of them: And the Justices of *Middlesex* were very forward to obey the Instructions of the Court, by putting the Laws in execution against them; and contrived to have the King's express Command for it: For at the beginning of *December* they humbly represented to his Majesty, 'That an Intimation of 'his Pleasure was necessary at this time, as to the 'putting the Laws in execution against Conventicles, 'in regard that when it was lately given them in 'Charge at the Council-Board to put the Laws in 'execution against Popish Recusants, there was no 'mention made of suppressing Conventicles; and 'therefore it was pretended that they were not to be 'disturbed or meddled with.' His Majesty was pleased to take this Occasion to command the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and the said Justices of the Peace, to use their utmost Endeavours to suppress all Conventicles and unlawful Meetings, upon pretence of Religious Worship; declaring, it was his express Pleasure, that the Laws be effectually put in execution against them both in City and Country. In these Proceedings, it was thought the greater Hardship that the Act of 35 *Eliz.* design'd against Popish Recusants, and which when turned against Protestant Dissenters, had a Bill for repealing it brought in the last *Westminster* Parliament, should now be rigorously executed upon all manner of Nonconformists; which at this time gave a general Discontent, and occasion'd some violent Reflections on the

the King: As particularly, on *November* 16. Mr. *Frederick Harvey* was by Warrant of the Lords of the Council, committed to *Newgate* for High-Treaſon, having ſaid, *That his Majeſty's conſenting to the tyrannical Proceedings of convicting Diſſenters, he did not queſtion but wou'd make him the Head ſhorter; and that he did admire the City did not ſecure him the laſt Lord-Mayor's Day, when they had him there.* That which made the Diſſenters the more pitied, was, that very great Partiality was ſhewn in protecting the Papiſts from thoſe Penal Laws, which had their Edge altogether turned upon the Proteſtant Diſſenters. 33 Car. II.

On *Sunday*, *February* 12. between 7 and 8 of the Clock at Night, a barbarous Aſſaſſination was committed upon the Perſon of *Thomas Thynne* Eſq; who paſſing the *Pall-Mall* in his Coach, was ſet upon by three Men on Horſeback, one of which diſcharged a Muſquetoon into the Coach, and mortally wounded him, two Brace of Bullets entring his Body; and having performed this piece of Villany, they made their Eſcape: But ſuch diligent Search was made after them, that upon ſome Information given, they were traced to their ſeveral Lodgings, and there apprehended, and on *Monday* Morning brought before the Council. The Chief of them being called in, readily confeſſed the whole Fact, ſaid 'his Name was *Vratz*, 'that he was a *German*, and a Captain of Foot, that 'he had accompany'd Count *Charles-John Coningſ-* 'mark in his Travels, and came with him into *Eng-* 'land; and that the Friendſhip and Acquaintance he 'had with him, and the Favours he had received 'from his Family, had made him take much to 'heart the Affronts which Mr. *Thynne* had put up- 'on the Count, by his Diſcourſes and otherwiſe; and 'therefore he had reſolv'd to take Satisfaction of 'him, *&c.*' It is to be obſerv'd, that the Quarrel between the Count and Mr. *Thynne* was about a young Lady. Mr. *Thynne* died on *Monday* about ſix in the Morning: And on the *Sunday* following, the Count was taken, as he landed at *Graveſend* in a Diſguiſe, intending to embark on a Veſſel that was going out: He was brought to Town the next Morning, and examined before his Majeſty in Council, who referred the Matter to the Lord Chief Juſtice; and his Lord- Murder of Mr. *Thynne*.

An. 1681. ſhip committed him to *Newgate* in order to his Tryal, at which he was with great difficulty acquitted of the Murder, whilſt the other Actors, Capt. *Vratz*, *John Sterne*, and *George Borotski* were, according to a Sentence paſſed on them at the *Old-Bailey*, executed on *March* 10. in the *Pall-Mall*, where they committed that barbarous Fact; and the Body of *George Borotski*, whoſe Hand did the Murder, was by his Majeſty's Command hung up in Chains.

Duke of *York* leaves *Scotland*.

On the ſame Day that theſe Murderers were executed, the Duke of *York* returning from *Scotland* in one of his Majeſty's Yachts, landed at *Yarmouth*, and went that Night to *Norwich*, where his Reception was contrived to be with great Demonſtrations of Joy.

This Year died Dr. *Michael Honywood* Dean of *Lincoln*; and Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, above twenty Years Miniſter of *St. Sepulchres*, *London*, which he loſt by not conforming to the Act of *Uniformity*, tho for ſeveral of his laſt Years he continued in the Communion of the Church of *England*; an admirable and glorious Man, whoſe Charities were ſo diffuſive, and his Labours in procuring and diſtributing them ſo indefatigable, that Dr. *Tillotſon* ſaid of him, 'That all 'things conſidered, there have not, ſince the Primi-'tive Times of Chriſtianity, been many among the 'Sons of Men, to whom that glorious Character of 'the Son of God might be better applied, *That he 'went about doing Good.*' After theſe may be mention'd two eminent Baronets, Sir *Richard Brown* and Sir *Thomas Herbert*, both conſiderable Travellers.

An. 1682. Duke of *York* complimented at *Cambridge*.

The Duke of *York* being lately returned from *Scotland*, Dr. *Coga* Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, waited on him at *Newmarket*, at the beginning of *April*; and in the Name of himſelf and the Univerſity made a ſhort Speech in *Latin*, 'congratulating his Return 'into *England*, and acknowledging that by his High-'neſs's good Conduct the Government of *Scotland* 'both in Church and State, is ſettled in Peace; and 'therefore they would by no means doubt, but that 'under his Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs's Preſence 'wou'd have a great Influence in effecting the ſame 'here in *England*; by which means all *Great Bri-'tain* being joined in one, the Church of *England* 'and the Rights of the Crown may for ever flouriſh.'

To

To which the Duke anſwer'd to this effect, 'That 34 Car. II.
'he gave the Univerſity Thanks for their kind Ex-
'preſſions; that he was very glad of this and all
'other Occaſions to declare, that he wou'd ever ſtand
'by the Church of *England* as now eſtabliſh'd, and
'countenance the Members of it, as having ſeen
'by Experience, that they are the beſt Supporters of
'the Crown; and that he wou'd uſe his Endeavours
'and Intereſt for the Preſervation of the King's Per-
'ſon, and the Government in the State and the
'Church of *England* as now eſtabliſh'd by Law.'
The Duke, againſt his own Genius, was to purſue the Arts of Popularity; and therefore on *April* 20. he was pleaſed to honour with his Preſence the Artillery Company at their annual Feaſt in *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, where he retired after Dinner into another Room, and gave Acceſs to a great number of Citizens, who were taught to croud in for the Honour of kiſſing his Hand.

Duke of *Monmouth* diſgrac'd.

The Duke of *Monmouth* was now to be publickly diſgrac'd. The firſt Mark of the King's new Anger againſt him, was to ſignify his Pleaſure to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, that they ſhou'd chuſe another Chancellor in his room; with which they comply'd, and choſe the Duke of *Albemarle* to be their Chancellor. And they afterwards put a greater Mark of Ignominy upon the Duke of *Monmouth*, by taking down his Picture that was hanging in their publick Schools, and burning it in a very eager and ridiculous manner; and all as a Compliment to the Duke of *York*.

Duke of *York* goes again for *Scotland*.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* had an Occaſion of going once more to *Scotland*, deſigning to bring his Dutcheſs and Family from thence, and to make but a very ſhort ſtay. Accordingly on *May* 3. he departed from *Windſor*, accompany'd with ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and went down in one of the King's Yachts to embark on the *Gloceſter*, commanded by Sir *John Berry*, and attended by the *Dartmouth*, the *Ruby*, and the *Happy-Return*, &c. But on *Friday* Morning early, *May* 5. the *Gloceſter* Fr gate unhappily ſtruck upon the Sand called the *Lemon and Oar*, about ſixteen Leagues from the Mouth of the *Humber*; tho the Weather was fair, and one *Ayres*, reckoned the beſt Coaſter in *England*, was his Pilot. His Royal Highneſs being awak'd out of his Sleep,

An. 1682. and perceiving the Danger, ſtill ſtay'd as long as he could ſafely on board, till having notice given him, that there was above ſeven foot Water in the Hold, he put off in his Pinnace with as many of the moſt noted Perſons as it wou'd well hold, and ſaved himſelf on board the *Mary* Yacht. Other Boats were immediately ſent to ſave the Men in the ſinking Ship; but before any Service could be done, the Duke and the reſt, to their great Grief, ſaw the Veſſel ſink: By which the Earl of *Roxborough*, the Lord *Obryan*, the Laird of *Hopton*, Sir *Joſeph Douglas*, Lieutenant *Hyde* Brother-in-Law to the Duke, with ſeveral of the Duke's Servants, and above a hundred and thirty Seamen, were miſerably loſt; the Commander Sir *John Berry* hardly eſcaping by a Rope over the Stern into Capt. *Wyborn*'s Boat. Soon after this Diſaſter, the Duke arrived in *Scotland*, on the 7th of *May*, and with great Expedition came back by Sea to *London* in twenty Days.

And returns.

Diſturbance about Sheriffs.

The Court was very much concern'd for the Choice of new Sheriffs for *London* and *Middleſex*, and earneſtly recommended Mr. *North* and Mr. *Box*; but the Hearts of the Citizens were for Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*. This occaſion'd a very riotous Controverſy, the Lord-Mayor complying with the Court, and the old Sheriffs reſolving to aſſert the Rights of the City. This great Struggle put the Court upon conſidering, and in a manner reſolving to take away the Election of Sheriffs out of the Power of the City; and no other Expedient could be found, but taking away their Charter. So in *Hilary*-Term this Year, a *Quo Warranto* was brought againſt the City for two heinous Crimes, 'I. That they had made an 'Addreſs to the King for the Parliament to ſit for 'redreſſing of Grievances. 2. That the City had 'raiſed Money towards repairing *Cheapſide-Conduit*, 'ruined by the *Fire of London*.' The City pleaded their Right: The Attorney-General replied: Upon which there was a Demurrer; and here the Matter reſted for a time. After a long ſuſpence, two Arguments only were permitted on either ſide; one in *Hilary*-Term this Year, and the other in *Eaſter*-Term following: And ſo Judgment was given in *Trinity*-Term next after, againſt the City.

Quo Warranto againſt the City.

While the City of *London* lay under this Awe and Menace of the Court, *Quo Warranto's* were iſſued out againſt many other inferior Places; and ſeveral of them were ſo terrify'd, that they came and reſigned their Charters, and accepted of new Patents with Regulations, at the Pleaſure of the Court. 34 Car. II. Other *Quo Warranto's*.

Zeal againſt Popery was now looked upon to be only a Faction; and thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by it, were to be mark'd as ſeditious Men, and Enemies to the Government. Upon this Rule of the State, popular Rejoicings on the *Fifth of November* were to be prevented and ſuppreſs'd: But when it was impoſſible to reſtrain the Spirit of the People, the Court reſolved to puniſh it for a Terror to others; and therefore at the Seſſions held at the beginning of *December* at the *Old-Bailey*, ſeveral Apprentices and young Perſons were indicted for having committed a Riot within the City on *Monday* the 6th of *November* at Night; of which being convicted, they were fined twenty Marks each, and ordered to ſtand on the Pillory at ſeveral Places; which was executed on the 9th of *December*. Zeal againſt Popery criminal.

The Meetings of the Diſſenters were now by Authority reſtrained. On the 20th of *June*, the Lord-Mayor iſſued out his Orders for ſuppreſſing of Conventicles, commanding all Conſtables to attend upon *Sundays* for that purpoſe in every Ward.

Amidſt the abundance of Honours and Preferments this Year, his Majeſty was pleas'd to create the Earl of *Halliſax*, Marquiſs of *Halliſax*. Not long after, his Majeſty created *James* Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, a Duke of this Kingdom, by the ſame Name and Title; and the Marquiſs of *Worceſter*, Duke of *Beauford*; and the Lord *Norris*, Earl of *Abingdon*; and the Honourable Colonel *Churchil*, *John* Lord *Churchil* of *Aymouth* in *Scotland*. Honours and Preferments.

This Year was remarkable for the Deaths of ſeveral great Men; as his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, a Perſon of great Forwardneſs and Fire in his Youth, and afterwards of good Temper and Sedateneſs: He had of late Years proved a faithful Counſellor to the King, and a great Patron to the *Engliſh* Liberty, and therefore was towards his latter End neglected by the Court to that degree, that nothing paſs'd between him and his great Relations but bare Civilities. Deaths of great Men.

This

An. 1682. This Year died alſo *Heneage* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, the famous Earl of *Shaftesbury*, who died at his Houſe in *Amſterdam*, whither he had retir'd; and *John Maitland* Duke of *Lauderdale*, who had promoted ſome of the moſt unjuſtifiable Proceedings in this Reign, and therefore had been much fear'd and hated both in *Scotland* and *England*. Beſides theſe of the Nobility, there died ſeveral other famous Men this Year, as Sir *John Finch* Brother to the Lord Chancellor; Sir *Henry Blount*; Sir *Thomas Browne*, Author of *Religio Medici*; and Sir *Philip Warwick*.

An. 1683. On *May* 8. many were tried at the *Old-Bailey* for a pretended Riot and Aſſault, made on Sir *John Moore* Knt. late Lord-Mayor, on *Midſummer*-Day laſt, being the Day for electing of Sheriffs; and being found guilty, they had theſe ſeveral Fines impos'd on them; *Thomas Pilkington*, 500 Pounds; *Samuel Shute*, 1000 Marks; *Ford* Lord *Gray*, and *Henry Corniſh* Alderman, the like Sum; Sir *Thomas Player*, 500 Marks; *Slingsby Bethel* Eſq; 1000 Marks; Mr. *Jenks*, 300 Marks; Mr. *Deacle*, 400 Marks; Mr. *Freeman*, 300 Marks; Mr. *Jekyl*, 200 Marks; Mr. *Goodenough* and Mr. *Swinock*, 500 Marks; Mr. *Keys* and Mr. *Wickham*, 100 Marks each. This Reckoning was made the more ſevere, on occaſion of a late Arreſt of the preſent Lord-Mayor, the Sheriffs, and ſeveral Aldermen, made at the Suit of Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*, who claimed a Right of being legally elected Sheriffs the laſt Year.

Riotors at *Guildhall*.

Lord-Mayor arreſted.

Theſe Diſtractions of the City haſten'd the Loſs of their Charter and their Conſtitution: For on *June* 12. the Court of *King's-Bench*, in the abſence of the Lord Chief Juſtice, gave Judgment for the King upon the *Quo Warranto*, *That the* Franchiſes *and* Liberties *of the City be ſeized into the King's hands.* But Judge *Jones* was pleaſed to ſay, 'That by the 'King's ſpecial Command, Judgment ſhould not be 'enter'd till his Majeſty's Pleaſure were further 'known.' This was generally looked upon as deſign'd to make the Citizens reſign their own Liberties, inſtead of being condemn'd to a Deprivation of them. And accordingly on *June* 18. a Petition of the Lord-

Judgment againſt the City.

Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, was preſented to his Majeſty in Council, wherein they *implore his Princely Compaſſion and Grace to be extended to this his antient City, moſt humbly beg his Majeſty's Pardon for all their Offences, and promiſe to ſubmit to his Majeſty's good Pleaſure.* Whereupon their Submiſſion was requir'd to theſe Regulations: '1. That no 'Lord-Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common Serjeant, 'Town-Clerk, or Coroner of the City of *London*, or 'Steward of the Borough of *Southwark*, ſhall be ca-'pable of or admitted to the Exerciſe of their re-'ſpective Offices, before his Majeſty ſhall have ap-'proved them under his Sign-Manual. 2. That if 'his Majeſty ſhall diſapprove the Choice of any Per-'ſon to be Lord-Mayor, and ſignify the ſame under 'his Sign-Manual to the Lord-Mayor, or in default 'of a Lord-Mayor, to the Recorder or ſenior Alder-'man, the Citizens ſhall within one Week proceed 'to a new Choice; and if his Majeſty ſhall in like 'manner diſapprove the ſecond Choice, his Majeſty 'may, if he pleaſe, nominate a Perſon to be Lord-'Mayor for the enſuing Year. 3. If his Majeſty ſhall 'in like manner diſapprove the Perſons choſen to be 'Sheriffs, or either of them, his Majeſty may appoint 'Perſons to be Sheriffs for the enſuing Year, by his 'Commiſſion, if he ſo pleaſe.' The Lord-Keeper told them, That *theſe Regulations being made, his Majeſty would not only pardon this Proſecution, but confirm their Charter in ſuch manner as may be conſiſtent with them*; concluding thus, *That you may ſee the King is in earneſt, and the Matter is not capable of Delay, I am commanded to let you know, he hath given Order to his Attorney-General to enter up Judgment on* Saturday *next, unleſs you prevent it by your Compliance in all theſe Particulars.* At their Return, a Common Council was held, to conſider of theſe Propoſals; and the Queſtion being put, Whether they ſhou'd aſſent and ſubmit to his Majeſty's Order of Regulations, it was carried in the Affirmative by a majority of eighteen Voices; and this Submiſſion was preſented to his Majeſty on the 21ſt of *June*. 35 Car. II.

Theſe, with many other manifeſt Violations of Liberty and Property, improved by the nearer Proſpect of Popery, had provoked many of the Nobility and Gentry

An. 1683. Gentry to enter into ſome Meaſures for ſtopping the Torrent of the Court, and providing, if poſſible, for the Enjoyment of their eſtabliſhed Laws and Religion. This was the true Riſe of what they called the *Fanatick Plot*, firſt diſcover'd by one *Keeling*, who gave a long and confuſed Narrative of it, only naming ſome mean Perſons, and charging three ſeveral Deſigns, one of ſurprizing the Guards, another of murdering the King and the Duke of *York* at the *Rye-Houſe*, as they were to paſs by from *Newmarket*; and a third of an Inſurrection at *Black-Heath*, upon a Match at Foot-Ball there appointed. Upon this Diſcovery, a Proclamation was publiſh'd for apprehending Col. *John Rumſey*, *Richard Rumbold* Malſter, *Richard Nelthorp* Eſq; *Edward Wade* Gent. *Richard Goodenough* Gent. Capt. *Walcott*, *William Thompſon*, *James Burton*, and *William Hone* Joiner. Upon this Proclamation Col. *John Rumſey*, for a Pardon and Reward, ſurrender'd himſelf the next Day, and was examin'd by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, and made a large Confeſſion; which was ſoon confirmed by the Information of Mr. *Robert Weſt* and Mr. *Sheppard*: ſo that on *June* 28. another Proclamation was iſſued for the apprehending of *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, *Ford* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, and *Robert Ferguſon*. The Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* had been formerly committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*, upon Information given by *Fitz-Harris*'s Wife, that he was concerned in writing that Libel for which her Husband was executed. This Peer had join'd with the Whig-Party in the Houſe of Lords, and had heard them talk many things with a Liberty common to diſcontented Men; which gave him an Opportunity of being capable to be made an Evidence: and it was ſaid that the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* did now reconcile him to the Court, upon Condition *he ſhould go thro the Drudgery of Swearing*; and upon this Encouragement he ſoon became (as Sir *John Hawles* calls him) *a thorow-pac'd Evidence*: And upon his Information, Warrants for High Treaſon were iſſued out againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ruſſel* and others.

Rye-houſe Plot.

Walcott's Trial.

On *Thurſday July* 12. Captain *Thomas Walcott* was brought to his Trial upon this Plot, and was found guilty of High Treaſon in conſpiring the Death of his Majeſty, and preparing Money and Arms in or-

order to an Inſurrection for the Subverſion of the Government. The next Day *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, *William Hone*, and *John Rouſe* were indicted for the ſame Crimes, and found guilty. As to the Lord *Ruſſel* it was obſerv'd, that he was condemn'd for treaſonable Words, tho there was not one Witneſs that ſwore one ſuch Word againſt him; it being only depoſed, that treaſonable Words were ſaid in his hearing, to which, as was ſworn, he was conſenting, tho no Words of his were expreſs'd, that imported any ſuch Conſent. 35 Car. II. Ld. *Ruſſel's*, *Hone's*, and *Rouſe's*.

On the ſame Morning the Lord *Ruſſel* was upon his Trial, the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had been committed to the *Tower*, was there found with his Throat cut by a Razor from Ear to Ear. Particular Care was taken to give immediate notice of it to the Court at the *Old-Baily*; and the King's Counſel made a direct Uſe of it to confirm the Plot, and to condemn the Lord *Ruſſel*, as the more apparently guilty of it. This occaſion'd a ſtrong Suſpicion that the Earl of *Eſſex* was murder'd: And ſome other Circumſtances happen'd to confirm it: The King and the Duke of *York* were at that very time within the *Tower*, where they had not been for near fifteen Years. Before the Jury was impanelled to make an Inqueſt upon this Fact, the Earl's Body was taken out of the Cloſet, where the Fact was committed, and ſtripped of the Clothes, which were carried away, and the Cloſet waſh'd; and when one of the Jury inſiſted upon ſeeing my Lord's Clothes in which he died, the Coroner was ſent for into another Room, and upon his Return told the Jury, it was the Body and not the Clothes they were to ſit upon. After this, a Motion being made, that the Jury ſhould adjourn and give notice to my Lord's Relations that if they had any thing material to diſcover, they ſhould do it within ſuch a Time, it was anſwered, that the King had ſent for the Inquiſition, and would not riſe from the Council-Board till it was brought. Earl of *Eſſex* kill'd in the *Tower*.

On *July* 20. *Walcott*, *Rouſe*, and *Hone* were drawn upon Sledges to *Tyburn*, and there hang'd and quarter'd. And theſe Executions were the next Day followed by that of the Lord *Ruſſel*, whoſe Caſe was pitied, and whoſe Perſon was admired to a very high Degree; and having many great and rich Friends, ſeveral Attempts were made, as well for his Eſcape as his Execution of *Walcot*, *Hone*, and *Rouſe*.

An. 1683. his Pardon. For the obtaining of the latter, we are assured, that his Father the Earl of *Bedford* offer'd his Majesty no less than a hundred thousand Pounds for his Life, a Sum very tempting at this Season: But the Influence of the Duke of *York* is thought to be the main Reason why the King prov'd inexorable. Upon which a Petition was drawn up for six Weeks Reprieve, which was presented by the Lord *Russel*'s Wife; and tho carried by so excellent a Lady, and Daughter to the King's greatest Friend the Earl of *Southampton*, it was rejected. As to the Lord *Russel*'s Escape, it was particularly projected by his intimate Friend, the Lord *Cavendish*, who was willing to run any Hazard to serve him; and therefore being about the same size, tho of no resemblance in Faces, he sent a Message to him by Sir *James Forbes*, That he would come and change Clothes with him in Prison, and try if by such a Disguise he could make his Escape. But the Lord *Russel* was too generous to throw his Friend into such imminent Danger at this time; therefore he declined the obliging Offer, and seemed to have no other Thoughts than to prepare himself for Death: In which Preparation he was assisted by Dr. *Tillotson* and Dr. *Burnet*, tho they may be said to have been some hindrance to him herein, by needlessly perplexing him with the Business of Non-Resistance: But Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, who had been his Lordship's Chaplain, tells us, 'That they 'made their Assaults against a Rock, and that the 'contrary Opinion, *viz. That Resistance may be used 'in case our Religion and Rights should be invaded*, 'could not be wrested from this excellent Person at 'his Death; tho, says he, the wretched Author of all 'our Miseries, and the everlasting Enemy of our 'Country, knows very well at what Disadvantage 'that great Lord was taken, when he was practis'd 'upon to retract that Opinion, and to bequeath a 'Legacy of Slavery to his Country.'

Intentions to save the Ld. *Russel*.

His Execution.

But to come to the Execution of this excellent Lord: Having taken his leave of his sorrowful Lady, the Lord *Cavendish*, and several other of his Friends at *Newgate*, his Lordship took Coach with Dr. *Tillotson* and Dr. *Burnet*, who accompanied him to the Scaffold in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, where ten Companies of the King's Guards, and a Troop of Horse, were

were ready drawn up to ſecure the Peace againſt ſo mighty and vaſt a Concourſe of People, as appeared there on that melancholy Occaſion, and where there were ſo many weeping Eyes and bleeding Hearts. Having mounted the Scaffold cover'd with Mourning, his Lordſhip gracefully bowed to thoſe who were preſent; and after a little Pauſe, deliver'd a Paper to one of the Sheriffs, with this ſhort Speech to him: Mr. Sheriff, *I expected the Noiſe would be ſuch that I could not be very well heard: I was never very fond of much ſpeaking, much leſs now; therefore I have ſet down in this Paper all that I think fit to leave behind me. God knows how far I was always from Deſigns againſt the King's Perſon, or of altering the Government; and I ſtill pray for the Preſervation of both, and of the Proteſtant Religion. I am told that Captain* Walcott *has ſaid ſomething concerning my Knowledge of the Plot: I know not whether the Report be true or no; but I hope it is not: For, to my knowledge, I never ſaw him to ſpeak with him in my whole Life: And in the Words of a dying Man, I know of no Plot, either againſt the King's Life, or the Government. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a better. I forgive all the World, and I thank God I die in Charity with all Men; and I wiſh all ſincere Proteſtants may love one another, and not make room for Popery by their Animoſities.* Then kneeling, his Lordſhip pray'd by himſelf, after which Dr. *Tillotſon* kneeled down and pray'd with him; and then he pray'd a ſecond time by himſelf: Which done, he embraced the two Divines, and made himſelf ready; and ordering the Executioner, after he had laid down a ſmall moment, to do his Office without a Sign, he laid himſelf down upon the Block. The Executioner miſſing his firſt Stroke, tho with that he took away Life, at two more he ſevered his Head from his Body; which were ordered by the Sheriff to be delivered to his Friends and Servants.

35 Car. II.

His Speech on the Scaffold.

The Paper he left in the Sheriffs Hands, was long. The Subſtance of it was, 'Firſt he bleſſed God, that 'he was born of worthy good Parents, and had had 'the Advantage of a religious Education, which for 'many Years had ſo influenced and poſſeſſed him, 'that he felt the Effects of it in his preſent Extremity: 'That as he had liv'd, ſo he died a true and ſincere 'Pro-

The Paper left behind him.

An. 1683. ‘ Protestant, and in the Communion of the Church of ‘ *England*, tho he could never yet comply with, or ‘ rise up to all the Heights of some People: That he ‘ had always loved his Country much more than his ‘ Life, and never had any Design of changing the Go- ‘ vernment, which he valu'd and look'd upon as one ‘ of the best Governments in the World, and would ‘ have suffer'd any Extremity, rather than consented ‘ to any Design to take away the King's Life: That ‘ for the King, he wish'd him well, and sincerely pray- ‘ ed for him; that the Protestant Religion, the Peace ‘ and Safety of the Kingdom, might flourish under his ‘ Government; and that he in his Person might be ‘ happy both here and hereafter: That as for the ‘ Share which he had in the Prosecution of the Po- ‘ pish Plot, he proceeded in it in the Sincerity of his ‘ Heart, being fully convinced then (as he was still) ‘ that there was a Conspiracy against the King, the ‘ Nation, and the Protestant Religion; and that he ‘ never knew any thing, directly or indirectly, of any ‘ Practice with the Witnesses: That as for his present ‘ Condition, he had no repining in his Heart at it; ‘ and that he freely forgave the World, and those con- ‘ cern'd in taking away his Life, conjuring his Friends ‘ never to think of Revenge. He denied, that he ‘ was privy to the undertaking of seizing the Guards, ‘ but own'd that there was some Discourse at Mr. ‘ *Sheppard*'s about the Feasibleness of it; and several ‘ times by Accident in general Discourse elsewhere, ‘ he had heard it mentioned as a thing might easily be ‘ done, but never consented to, as fit to be done; ‘ and particularly at the Lord *Shaftesbury*'s, he flew ‘ out and exclaimed against it. He further own'd, that ‘ at Mr. *Sheppard*'s there were some things said with ‘ more Heat than Judgment; which he did sufficient- ‘ ly disapprove, yet for these he stood condemn'd: ‘ But he thanked God, his Part was sincere and well ‘ meant. How much he was acquainted with these ‘ ill Designs, was but Misprision at most; and so he ‘ died innocent of the Crime he stood condemn'd for. ‘ He thought it a strange Fetch, that the Design of ‘ seizing the Guards, should be construed a Design of ‘ killing the King. Towards the Conclusion, to sum ‘ up all, he declar'd, as he had never any Design a- ‘ gainst the King's Life, or the Life of any Man ‘ what-

'whatſoever, ſo he never was in any Contrivance of altering the Government; he could not repreſs the Heats, Paſſions, and Vanities of other Men, tho he now ſuffer'd for them.' 35 Car. II

Inſtead of giving a Character of this noble Perſon, it will be ſufficient only to inſert here Part of the Preamble to the Patent granted in the Year 1694. by King *William* and Queen *Mary*, for creating his Father Duke of *Bedford*; in which, among other Reaſons, for conferring that Honour, it is ſet forth, * "That this is "not the leaſt, That he was Father to the Lord "*RUSSEL*, the Ornament of his Age, whoſe great "Merits 'twas not enough to tranſmit by Hiſtory to "Poſterity, but they were willing to record them in "their Royal Patent, to remain in the Family as a "Monument conſecrated to his conſummate Vertue; "whoſe Name could never be forgot ſo long as Men "preſerv'd any Eſteem for Sanctity of Manners, Great-"neſs of Mind, and a Love to their Country, conſtant "even to Death: Therefore to ſolace his excellent "Father for ſo great a Loſs, to celebrate the Memory "of ſo noble a SON, and to excite his worthy "GRANDSON, the Heir of ſuch mighty Hopes, "more chearfully to emulate, and follow the Exam-"ple of his illuſtrious FATHER, they entail'd "this high Dignity upon the Earl and his Poſterity."

To go on with our Hiſtory: On *Michaelmas* Day, the uſual Time for the Election of a new Lord Mayor, the Choice was adjourn'd over for ſix Days longer: but before that Day came, the King taking advantage at the Delays of the City's not ſigning the Particulars relating to the Charter formerly yielded, cauſed the Attorney General to enter Judgment of Seizure in the *Quo Warranto*; which was actually done on the fourth of *October*. And thereupon his Majeſty gave his Commiſſion to Sir *William Prichard*, the preſent Lord-Mayor, to execute the ſaid Office during Pleaſure; and the ſame to the two new Sheriffs, *Daniel* and *Daſhwood*, who all took the uſual Oaths. Lord Mayors during the King's Pleaſure.

On

* *De quo, cum multa prædicanda ſint, tum hoc minime ſilendum eſt, Quod ſeculi hujus ornamentum,* Gulielmus *Dominus* Ruſſel, *ex eo naſcatur, cujus ingentia merita, non tantum Anna-*

An. 1683. On the twenty ninth of *October*, the annual Solemnity of ſwearing the Lord-Mayor in the *Exchequer*, his Majeſty thought fit to give a further Inſtance of his Authority, by appointing Sir *Henry Tulſe*, by his Commiſſion, to execute that Office during his Pleaſure. Accordingly that Day he was, after the uſual Manner, attended to *Weſtminſter* by the ſeveral Companies, did the uſual Ceremonies in the Hall, made the uſual Cavalcade in *London*, but without Pageants, and din'd at *Guild-Hall*; the other Companies dining without Noiſe at their ſeveral Halls.

Change in the Bench. About this time, there happen'd a conſiderable Change in *Weſtminſter-Hall*: The noted Sir *George Jeffereys* was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, in the Room of Sir *Edward Saunders* deceas'd; and in the Common Pleas, Sir *Francis Pemberton* being put out, Sir *Thomas Jones* was made Lord Chief Juſtice there in his Room; and Sir *Richard Holloway* was ſworn one of the Judges of the King's Bench in the Room of Judge *Raymond* deceas'd.

Trial of Col. *Sidney*. Under a vigorous Proſecution of what was called the *Fanatick* or *Rye-Houſe* Plot, the Honourable Col. *Algernon Sidney* was taken up, not directly for a Plotter, but for a Republican and a Fanatick, as he was call'd. He lay ſome time in the *Tower*, and was brought thence by *Habeas Corpus* on the ſeventh of *November* to the King's Bench Bar; where he was arraigned upon an Indictment of High Treaſon in conſpiring the Death of the King, and levying War againſt his Majeſty. To which he pleaded Not-guilty, and deſir'd a Fortnight's time for his Trial; which being

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lium fide poſteritati tradentur, ſed & Regiis noſtris literis (ut ſacratum conſummatiſſimæ in ea Familia virtuti Monumentum) inſcribi volumus; neque illius nomen unquam delebitur, quamdiu ſanctiſſimis moribus, celſiſſimo animo, & in patriam caritati uſque ad mortem conſtanti, ſuus reſervabitur honos. Ideoque ad optimi patris orbitatem ſolandam, ad præclariſſimi filii Memoriam celebrandam, & ad digniſſimi nepotis ad tantam ſpem nati, emulationem excitandam (quo alacrius maximi parentis veſtigiis inſiſteret) ſummos etiam ei honores ſuſtinendos mandamus. Sciatis igitur, &c.

Teſte, &c. 8 May, 1694.

ing granted, he came to the ſaid Trial on the twenty firſt of *November*, and was found guilty. He was known to be a Perſon of excellent Parts and political Knowledge; and yet he was obſerved to ſay very little in his own Defence, as believing whatever he ſhould ſay would ſignify nothing with that Judicature, who he thought had already prejudged him: And ſo it was really in Effect; for, as Sir *John Hawles* has remarked, 'He was merely talk'd to Death under the 'Notion of a Commonwealth's Man; and found guil-'ty by a Jury who were not much more proper Judges 'in the Caſe than they would have been, if what he 'had wrote had been done by him in *Syriack* or *Ara-'bick*.' The two chief Articles againſt him were, his *ſending a Meſſenger into* Scotland *to invite them into a Rebellion*; *and his writing a treaſonable Libel found in his Cloſet, upon the Original and Forms of Government*. As to the firſt Fact, the Priſoner abſolutely deny'd it. As to the other he anſwer'd, That if the Papers were his, they might be written long ſince in anſwer to Sir *Robert Filmer*'s Book, for his own Diverſion, and not for Publication: But one of the Counſel warmly urg'd this new Axiom in Law, *Scribere eſt agere*, and cited this Paſſage out of the ſaid Writing: *The King is ſubject to the Law of God as he is a Man, and to the People that made him ſuch as a King*; and further argu'd, That the ſaid Author had maliciouſly produced ſeveral Examples, how ſome evil Princes had been ſometimes deſtroyed. The Lord Chief Juſtice *Jefferys* ſhew'd himſelf an angry Party againſt him: for without any regard to the noble Family of the Earls of *Leiceſter*, and to the Name of the *Sidneys*, he was pleaſed to tell the Jury, *The Priſoner was born a Traitor*. After his Condemnation, he is ſaid to deſpiſe the Way of petitioning to his Majeſty about the Diſpoſal of his Body; but by the Application of his Friends he had the Honour on *December* 7. to die upon a Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*; where he made a long Speech. 35 Car. II

It may not be improper to add in this Place ſome Obſervations out of Dr. *Welwood*: 'This Plot, ſays 'he, was in ſome part a greater Myſtery than the Po-'piſh Plot had been before, and had more diſmal Ef-'fects. The ſhatter'd Remains of *Engliſh* Liberty Obſervations from Dr. *Welwood*.

An. 1683. 'were then attacked on every ſide; and ſome of the 'nobleſt Blood in the Nation was offer'd up a Sacri-'fice to the *Manes* of Popiſh Martyrs, and made to 'atone for the Bill of Excluſion. Swearing came once 'more into Faſhion, and a new Evidence-Office was 'erected at *Whitehall*. But whereas the Witneſſes 'of the Popiſh Plot were brow-beaten and diſcourag'd, 'thoſe of the Proteſtant Plot were highly encourag'd; 'and inſtead of Judges and Juries that might per-'haps boggle at half Evidences, as it fell out in the 'Proſecution of the former, Care was taken in this to 'pick out ſuch as ſhould ſtick at nothing to ſerve a 'Turn. It was by ſuch Judges and Juries that the 'Lord *Ruſſel* and Mr. *Sidney* fell; and the cutting 'off thoſe two noble Lives may be reckoned among 'the firſt Triumphs of the Duke's Party in *England*. 'It's true, King *Charles* ſeemed inclined to pardon 'both the one and ther; and the very Day the Lord '*Ruſſel* was executed, ſome Words eſcaped him, that 'ſhew'd ſufficiently his Irreſolution in that Matter: 'But by this time he was too far gone to make a 'handſome Retreat on a ſudden; and there was ob-'ſerv'd ever after a ſenſible Change in his Temper; 'for from an Eaſineſs and Debonairneſs that was na-'tural to him, he came at length to treat Men with 'hard Names, and upon ſome Occaſions to expreſs a 'Severity in his Diſpoſition, that he had ever been 'averſe to before.'

Information againſt Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*.

An Information had been preferred againſt the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, for writing and publiſhing what was termed a very ſcandalous and ſeditious Book, called *Julian the Apoſtate*: wherein the Author had only confuted thoſe Notions of Paſſive-Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, which ſome Writers, and thoſe eſpecially of his own Order, had carried up to a Conſequence of Tyranny and Slavery. He was called to his Sentence on *February* 11. when the Court of King's Bench adjudged, 'That he ſhould pay five 'hundred Marks for a Fine to the King, that he find 'Sureties for his good Behaviour for a Year, that he 'ſhould be committed to the Priſon of the King's 'Bench till this be paid and done, and that the Book 'be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman.'

This

This Year the King join'd in one very popular Act, and highly acceptable to his Subjects; and that was the Marriage of his Niece the Lady *Anne*, to Prince *George*, Brother to the King of *Denmark*, a Proteſtant Prince; who arrived at *Whitehall* about ten Days before the Match was determin'd. The Ceremony of it was performed upon *Saturday* the twenty eighth of *July*, being St. *Anne*'s Day, about ten in the Evening, by the Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of the King, Queen, Duke and Dutcheſs, and moſt of the great Perſonages of the Court. 35 Car. II. Marriage of Princeſs *Anne*.

On the firſt Day of *Hilary-Term*, Sir *Thomas Jenner*, *John Wyndham* Eſq; *Edwin Wyat* Eſq; *Edward Birch* Eſq; *Henry Bedingfield* Eſq; Sir *Edward Nevile*, Sir *Paul Barret*, *Anthony Farrington* Eſq; *John Jeffreſon* Eſq; *Edward Lutwiche* Eſq; *Richard Heath* Eſq; *Henry Selby* Eſq; *John Millington* Eſq; *Thomas Powel* Eſq; *Owen Winne* Eſq; and Sir *George Pudſey*, being called by the King's Writ to take upon them the State and Degree of Serjeants at Law, appear'd in the Court of *Chancery*, and took their Oaths, and performed the uſual Ceremonies of a Proceſſion to *Weſtminſter-Hall* on *January* 31. when they preſented their Rings with this ſervile Motto, *A Deo Rex, a Rege Lex.* Call of Serjeants.

This Year was remarkable for the formidable Siege of *Vienna* by the *Turks*, and the raiſing of it by the King of *Poland*, and the Electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*: And likewiſe for the demoliſhing of *Tangier*, which the King of *England* could hold no longer, without a greater Expence than he was willing to bear. Siege of *Vienna*.

This Year died Dr. *Richard Sterne* Archbiſhop of *York*, Dr. *James Fleetwood* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Dr. *John Durell*, Dr. *John North*, Dr. *Benjamin Whichcote*, Dr. *John Owen* a learned Independent Divine, Sir *William Scroggs*, Dr. *Robert Moriſon* an eminent Doctor of Phyſick, Mr. *John Collins*, and Mr. *John Oldham* the Poet.

The whole Hiſtory of this laſt Year of King *Charles*'s Reign ſeems to have little elſe in it but Proſecutions, Penalties, and Puniſhments. On *April* 19. Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* (who was convicted the laſt Term of high An. 1684. Judgment againſt Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton*.

An. 1684. high Misdemeanours for writing and publishing, in Letters to several Persons in the Country, most scandalous and seditious Reflections against the Government) was brought to the King's Bench Bar to receive the Judgment of the Court; which was, 'That he 'should pay a Fine of ten thousand Pounds to the King, 'should find Sureties for his good Behaviour during 'Life, and be committed to the King's-Bench Pri-'son till the same was paid and done.' But rather than pay his Fine, he chose to be a Prisoner, and continued such all the rest of this Reign, and a considerable Part of the next.

Hollaway's Trial. On *April* 21. *James Holloway*, who upon Discovery of the late Plot had fled to *Nevis* in the *West-Indies*, and being there seized, had been sent a Prisoner hither, was brought from *Newgate* to the King's Bench Bar; and being asked why Execution should not be awarded against him, he standing attainted by Outlawry upon an Indictment of High-Treason, &c. he desired to hear the Indictment read: Which being done, Mr. Attorney-General acquainted the Court, that his Majesty was graciously pleased, in Mercy to the Prisoner, to wave the Outlawry, and to allow him Liberty to make his Defence upon a Trial, if he were able to make any: But he saying nothing for himself, and seeming to confess the Indictment, the Court made a Rule, that he should be executed at *Tyburn* on *Wednesday* sevennight, which was accordingly done.

Bradon and *Speke*. On the same Day Mr. *Laurence Braddon* and Mr. *Hugh Speke*, who by a private Verdict given in to one *Judge*, had been last Term found guilty of spreading a *false and scandalous Report*, that the Earl of *Essex* was murder'd; were now fined, the first 2000 *l.* the other 1000 *l.* to the King, and to find Sureties for their good Behaviour during Life.

Duke's Action against John Dutton Colt. His Royal Highness, the Duke of *York*, in *Michaelmas* Term last had brought his Action upon the Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum* against *John Dutton Colt* Esq; sometime Bailiff of *Leominster* in the County of *Hereford*, and Burgess for that Borough in the three last Parliaments, for several scandalous and abusive Expressions: And in a Trial at the King's Bench Bar on *May* 3. this Year, the Jury brought in their Ver-

Verdict for his Royal Highneſs, and aſſeſſed for Damages a hundred thouſand Pounds. 36 Car. II.

Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, who had been nam'd in his Majeſty's Proclamation of the twenty eighth of *June* 1683. was apprehended at *Leyden* in *Holland* by Order of the States; and being put on board one of his Majeſty's Yachts at *Roterdam*, he was brought to *Greenwich* on the tenth of *June* at Night, and the next Morning committed to *Newgate*; and was brought to the King's Bench Bar on the fourteenth; where being asked why Execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him, he ſtanding attainted by Outlawry upon an Indictment of High Treaſon, *&c.* he offered nothing in his own Defence, which the Court thought material: And therefore a Rule was made, That he ſhould be executed on *Friday* next at *Tyburn*; which was done accordingly. Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* apprehended.

On the ſecond of *May*, *William Sacheverell* Eſq; (who had been a very active Member in the Houſe of Commons for the Bill of Excluſion) together with *George Gregory* Eſq; *Charles Hutchinſon* Eſq; and about eighteen more of the moſt ſubſtantial Inhabitants of *Nottingham*, were try'd at the King's Bench Bar, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jefferys*, for a pretended Riot committed at that Town the twenty ninth of *September* laſt, at the Election of a Mayor, when they refuſed to deliver up their old Charter, and receive a new one from the Court. After a long Trial they were all found guilty but one, and were ſentenc'd to a Fine, ſome more, ſome leſs, and to give Security for their good Behaviour for a twelvemonth. Trial of *W. Sacheverel* Eſq;

Dr. *Titus Oates* was on *May* 10. publickly arreſted at the *Amſterdam* Coffee-Houſe, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, at the Suit of the Duke of *York*, for ſaying, *his Royal Highneſs was a Traitor*, with ſeveral ſuch other Reflections charged to be malicious and ſcandalous. He was carried from thence to *Wood-ſtreet Compter*, for the greater Ignominy, where he lay in durance two Days, and then was removed by *Habeas Corpus* to the King's Bench Priſon. The next Term he ſuffer'd Judgment to paſs by Default; and on *June* 18, the laſt Day of the Term, a Writ of Enquiry of Damages was exhibited at the King's Bench Bar; where the Jury upon hearing the Evi- Duke's Action againſt Dr. *Oates*.

An. 1684. dence, gave a hundred thousand Pounds Damages to the Duke. In *Michaelmas* Term following, he was indicted in the King's Bench for Perjury; to which he pleaded Not-guilty, and had his Trial deferred till the next Term. Soon after he was again indicted at the *Old-Baily* for Perjury, upon another Matter of Fact, and had his Trial appointed to be likewise next Term in the Court of King's Bench.

Trial of Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*.

On *November* 6. a Trial was held at the *Guild-Hall* before the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferys*, upon an Action brought by Sir *William Prichard*, formerly Lord Mayor of *London*, against Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois* (the latter of whom was lately dead) for *maliciously causing him to be arrested and falsly imprisoned during his Mayoralty*. This Fact was represented by the Counsel as *a very evil Design and malicious Practice, contrived with several of the Traitors lately fled from Justice, as well against his Majesty's Government and the Magistracy of the City, as against the Person of the said Sir* William Prichard. Upon which the Jury brought in their Verdict for Sir *William*, and gave him ten thousand Pounds Damages.

Persecution of Dissenters.

The Dissenters were violently persecuted this Year. Mr. *Robert Mayot* of *Oxon*, a pious Conformist, who had devoted his Estate to charitable Uses, gave by his last Will six hundred Pounds to be distributed by Mr. *Baxter* to sixty poor ejected Ministers, adding, 'That he did it not because they were Nonconformists, but because many such were poor and pious.' But the King's Attorney Sir *Robert Sawyer* sued for it in the *Chancery*, and the Lord-Keeper *North* gave it all to the King. It was by Order paid into the *Chancery*, and as Providence order'd it, there kept safe till King *William* ascended the Throne; when the Commissioners of the Great Seal restor'd it to the Use for which it was intended, and Mr. *Baxter* dispos'd of it accordingly. This Year also, while Mr. *Baxter* lay in Pain and languishing, the Justices of the Sessions sent Warrants to apprehend him, he being one in a Catalogue which was said to contain the Names of a thousand Persons, who were all to be bound to their good Behaviour. Knowing that their Warrant was not to break open Doors, he refused to open to them, tho they were got into his House: Whereupon they set six Officers at his Study-Door, who kept him from his

his Bed and Food by watching all Night, and the next Day he yielded. They carried him to the Seſſions, when he was ſcarce able to ſtand, and bound him in a Bond of four hundred Pounds to his good Behaviour. He deſired to know his Crime and Accuſers; but was told 'twas only to ſecure the Government againſt ſuſpected Perſons. He was ſome time after carried again to the Seſſions-Houſe in great Pain, and forced to continue bound: He refuſed to ſtand bound, not knowing what they might interpret a Breach of the Peace; but his Sureties would be bound, leſt he ſhould die in Jail. He was carried thither a third time, and ſtill bound, tho for the moſt part he kept his Bed. On the nineteenth of *January* Mr. *Jenkins* died in *Newgate*, as did alſo Mr. *Bampfield* and Mr. *Ralphſon*, and ſeveral others in other Priſons. 36 Car. II.

Trial of Mr. *Roſewell.*

About this Time alſo Mr. *Thomas Roſewell*, a diſſenting Teacher at *Redriffe* in *Surrey*, was tried at the King's Bench Bar for High Treaſon, and particularly charged with ſpeaking theſe Words in a Sermon preach'd on *September* 14. *That the People made a flocking to the King upon pretence of healing the King's-Evil, which he could not do; but that we are they to whom they ought to flock, becauſe we are Prieſts and Prophets, that by our Prayers can heal the Dolours and Griefs of the People: We have had two wicked Kings together, who have permitted Popery to enter in under their Noſes, whom we can reſemble to no other Perſon but to the moſt wicked* Jeroboam; *and if they would ſtand to their Principles, he did not fear but they would overcome their Enemies, as in former Times with Rams-horns, broken Platters, and a Stone in a Sling.* The Priſoner made a very handſome Defence, eſpecially as to the Infamy of the Witneſſes; but in half an Hour's time the Jury brought him in guilty of High Treaſon. But Sir *John Talbot*, who was preſent at the Trial, was pleaſed of his own accord to repreſent the Paſſages of it, with his Opinion to the King; who thereupon gave Directions to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffrys*, that he ſhould have Counſel aſſigned him to plead to the Inſufficiency of the Indictment, in Arreſt of Judgment. Accordingly the Caſe was argu'd by Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, and Mr. *Bampfield*; and the Court took till the next Term

An. 1684. Term to consider of Judgment: But in the mean time the King granted him a Pardon, and he was thereupon discharg'd.

Surrender of Charters.

Many Charters were surrender'd this Year. Most of the Cities, Towns, and other Corporations thinking their Liberties could not survive those of the great Metropolis, and finding the Court resolute in the Demand of them, did generally agree to offer them up a Sacrifice to his Majesty's Will and Pleasure: And even many of the Courtiers were employ'd to make an Interest in those Places where they were most concern'd, to obtain and extort the said Surrendry; and the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferys*, in the Midland Circuit, made it his great Business to terrify the People into this Compliance; and at his Return he waited on his Majesty at *Windsor*, and deliver'd up to him the Charters of the City of *Lincoln*, and of several other Corporations within his Circuit, as an Oblation of his own Loyalty, and a Triumph over the People's Liberties.

D. of *York* governs.

By these Measures the Duke of *York* was known to govern all; and he was now restor'd to his Offices of Profit and Honour, without any further Scruple, tho it was against the Law to hold them. For on *May* 12. the King declared, *That he had thought fit to revoke and determine the Commission for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of* England, *and to commit those Affairs to the Care of his Royal Highness*: And on *May* 28. his Majesty declar'd in Council, *That he thought it fit for his Service, that his Royal Highness should be present at the Meetings of the Council.*

Sudden Change in the King.

But the King, who never till now could be brought to think that the Papists had any Design upon his Life, chang'd his Mind not long after: For while some of our Neighbours were playing their Game to the Prejudice of *England* abroad, and the Duke's Creatures managing all things to their own Mind at home, Nature prevail'd upon the King at length, and the Shame of seeing himself impos'd on by others far inferior to him in Parts, and that the Court was anticipating his Death by their Addresses to his Brother, as if he had been already King, did help to awake him out of his Slumber, and brought him to lay a Project for a mighty Change in the Affairs of *England*, which probably

bably might have made both him and the Nation happy. *Monmouth* was now ſhortly to be recalled to Court, the Duke of *York* was to be ſent beyond Sea, a new Parliament was to be convened, and the King reſolv'd to fling himſelf into the Arms of the City. But this being diſcover'd to the Duke of *York* at *St. James*'s, by one of the three Perſons who were intruſted with the Secret, Matters were laid to haſten the King's Death, which happen'd not long after. 36 Car. II.

For on Monday Morning the ſecond of *February*, he was ſuddenly ſeiz'd with a violent Fit, which for a while made him look'd upon as a dead Man; but being immediately let blood, he was brought to his Senſes, and to a hopeful way of Recovery. But his Fits ſoon return'd, and ſo he continu'd four Days in a weak and languiſhing Condition; yet for the moſt part ſenſible of his approaching Fate. During this time, Biſhop *Kenn*, lately preferr'd and moſt eſteem'd by the King, gave as cloſe Attendance as he was permitted to the Royal Bed, and without any Intermiſſion for three whole Days and Nights watching at proper Intervals to ſuggeſt ſeaſonable and pious Thoughts and Ejaculations on ſo ſolemn an Occaſion: He ſeveral times propos'd the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament; but tho it was not abſolutely rejected, it was delay'd from time to time, till by ſome new Authority, the Biſhop and others were remov'd from his Preſence. So immediately the Duke of *York* brought in Father *Huddleſton*, a Benedictine, who appear'd on Thurſday *February* 5. about eight in the Evening; and his Majeſty readily accepted of his Service, which he perform'd in the Preſence of the Duke himſelf, the Earl of *Bath*, firſt Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and the Earl of *Feverſham* Captain of the Guards. The Father went thro ſome of the *Romiſh* Offices, and adminiſter'd to the King three of their Sacraments, as that of *Penance*, *Extreme Unction* and the *Euchariſt*: And ſo now being fully enter'd into the Boſom of the Church of *Rome*, and declaring himſelf a true Catholick, his Majeſty's Weakneſs increaſing, he expir'd the next day about Noon, being Friday the ſixth of *February*, in the fifty fifth Year of his Age, and in ſuch a manner and with ſuch Circumſtances, as will be a Problem to Poſterity, whether he died

King's Illneſs.

King *Charles* dies a Papiſt.

An. 1684. died a natural Death, or was haſtned to his Grave by Treachery.

His Character. As to his Character, we ſhall take it from Dr. *Welwood*: He was a Prince endu'd with all the Qualities that might juſtly have render'd him the Delight of Mankind, and entitled him to the Character of one of the greateſt Genius's that ever ſat upon a Throne; if he had not ſullied thoſe excellent Parts with the ſoft Pleaſures of Eaſe, and had not entertain'd a fatal Friendſhip, that was incompatible with the Intereſt of *England*. His Religion was Deiſm, or rather that which is call'd ſo; and if in his Exile, or at his Death, he went into that of *Rome*, the firſt was to be imputed to a Complaiſance for the Company he was then oblig'd to keep, and the laſt to a lazy Diffidence in all other Religions, upon a review of his paſt Life, and the near Approach of an uncertain State. His Perſon was tall and well made, his Conſtitution vigorous and healthy; and it is hard to determine, whether he took more Pains to preſerve it by Diet and Exerciſe, or to impair it by Exceſs in his Pleaſures. —— His Face was compos'd of harſh Features, difficult to be trac'd with the Pencil; yet in the main it was agreeable, and he had a noble majeſtick Mien. In contradiction to all the common receiv'd Rules of Phyſiognomy, he was merciful, good-natur'd, and in the laſt twenty four Years of his Life, fortunate, if to ſucceed in moſt of his Deſigns may be call'd ſo. Never Prince lov'd Ceremony leſs, or deſpis'd the Pageantry of a Crown more; yet he was maſter of ſome things in his Perſon and Aſpect, that commanded both Love and Veneration at once. He was a great Votary to Love; and yet the eaſieſt and moſt unconcern'd Rival: He was for the moſt part not very nice in the Choice of his Miſtreſſes, and ſeldom poſſeſſed of their firſt Favours; yet would ſacrifice all to pleaſe them, and upon every Caprice of theirs, denied himſelf the uſe of his Reaſon, and acted contrary to his Intereſt. He was a reſpectful civil Husband, a fond Father, a kind Brother, an eaſy Enemy, but none of the firmeſt or moſt grateful Friends: Bountiful by ſtarts; one day laviſh to his Servants, the next leaving them to ſtarve; glad to win a little Money at Play, and impatient to loſe

but

but a thouſandth Part of what within an hour after he wou'd throw away in groſs. He ſeem'd to have had nothing of Jealouſy in his Nature, either in Matters of Love or Power: He bore patiently Rivals in the one, and Competitors in the other; otherwiſe he would not have contributed to a foreign Greatneſs at Sea, or given his Brother ſo uncontroul'd a Share in the Government. Tho his Underſtanding was quick and lively, with a vaſt Compaſs of Thought, yet he would ſubmit his Judgment in the greateſt Matters to others of much inferior Parts: And as he had an extraordinary Share of Wit himſelf, ſo he lov'd it in others, even when pointed againſt his own Faults and Miſmanagements. He had read but little, yet had a good taſte of Learning, and would reaſon nicely upon moſt Sciences. The Mechanicks were one of his peculiar Talents, eſpecially the Art of building and working of Ships, which no body underſtood better, nor if he had liv'd would have carry'd it further. He had a ſtrong laconick Way of Expreſſion, and a genteel, eaſy and polite way of Writing; and when he had a mind to lay aſide the King, which he often did in ſelect Companies of his own, there were a thouſand irreſiſtible Charms in his Converſation. He lov'd Money only to ſpend it, and would privately accept of a ſmall Sum paid to himſelf, in lieu of a far greater to be paid into the Exchequer. He lov'd not Buſineſs, and ſought every occaſion to avoid it; which was one Reaſon he paſs'd ſo much of his Time with his Miſtreſſes: yet when Neceſſity call'd him, none of his Council could reaſon more cloſely upon Matters of State, and he wou'd oft-times by Fits outdo his Miniſters in application and diligence. No Age produc'd a greater Maſter in the Art of Diſſimulation; and yet no Man was leſs upon his guard, or ſooner deceiv'd in the ſincerity of others. If he had any one fix'd Maxim of Government, it was, *To play one Party againſt another, to be thereby the more Maſter of both*; and no Prince knew better how to ſhift hands upon every Change of the Scene. To ſum up his Character, he was dexterous in all the Arts of Inſinuation, and had acquir'd ſo great an Aſcendent over the Affections of his People, in ſpite of all the unhappy

Meaſures

An. 1684. Measures he had taken, that it may in some sense be said, he died opportunely for *England*, since, if he had liv'd, 'tis probable we might in compliance with him have complimented our selves out of all the Remains of Liberty, if he had had but a mind to be Master of them.

The End of the Third VOLUME.

BRITISH MUSEUM